



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

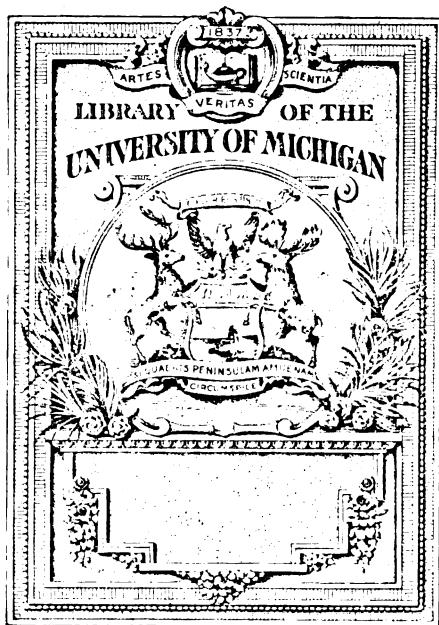
Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

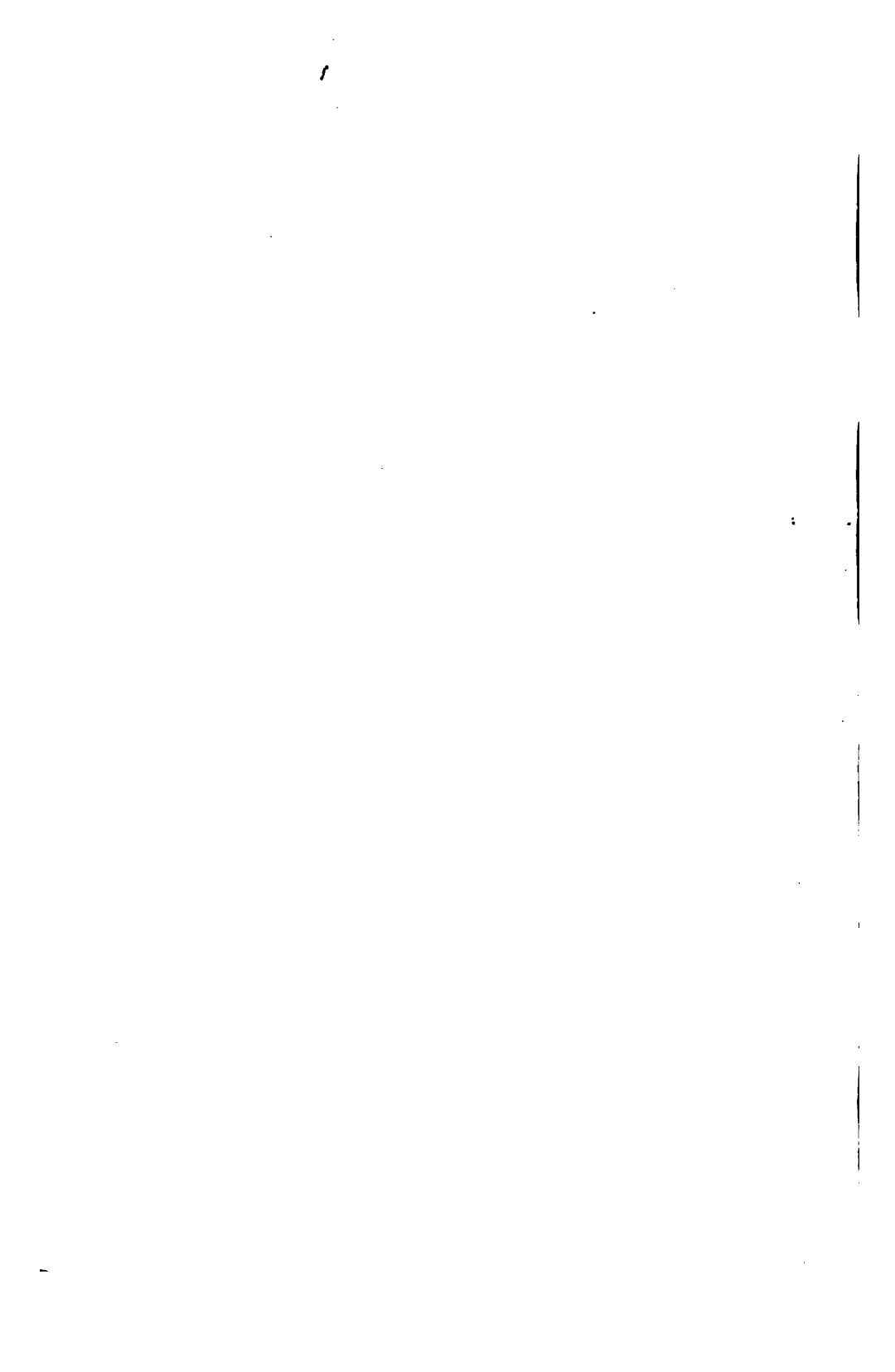


DA.

32

, R22

185





Hyde - 21 Vols, but Apr. 21/90
THE *for #C. 22*

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND.

Written in FRENCH by

M. RAPIN DE THOYRAS.

Translated into ENGLISH, with Additional Notes, by

N. TINDAL, M. A.

Rector of ALVERSTOKE in HAMPSHIRE, and
Chaplain of the Royal Hospital at GREENWICH.

ILLUSTRATED WITH

MAPS, GENEALOGICAL TABLES, and the HEADS
and MONUMENTS of the KINGS.

The FOURTH EDITION, corrected.

VOL. I.

L O N D O N :

Printed, by Assignment from Mr. KNAPTON, for
T. OSBORNE and J. SHIPTON, J. HODGES, J. ROBINSON,
H. WOODFALL, W. STRAHAN, J. RIVINGTON, J. WARD,
R. BALDWIN, W. OWEN, W. JOHNSTON, J. RICHARDSON,
P. DAVEY and B. LAW, T. LONGMAN, T. CASLON, S. CROW-
PER and H. WOODGATE, M. COOPER, and C. WARE.

MDCCLVII.



TO HIS
ROYAL HIGHNESS
FREDERIC
Prince of WALES.

S I R,

MY presuming to offer to Your
Royal Highness this translation,
is in some measure justified by
the nature of the subject, and reason of
the thing. For history, however useful
to others, is infinitely more so to a Prince,
and particularly the history of that crown
He is born to wear. How instructive, as
well as agreeable, must a fair and im-
partial narration of the lives and actions
of a long series of predecessors be to Him?
And that such is the following history,
originally penned by a foreigner, who
had no party to serve, or interest to pro-

A 2

mote,

note, may be undoubtedly concluded from the universal approbation it every where meets with.

Here then, as from a faithful monitor, uninfluenced by hopes or fears, Your Royal Highness will learn, in general, That to a Prince nothing is so pernicious as flattery ; nothing so valuable as truth : That proportionable to his people's liberty and happiness will be his glory and strength : That true valour consists not in destroying, but protecting mankind ; not in conquering kingdoms, but defending them from violence : That a Prince's most secret counsels, motives and pursuits, will probably one day be published and rigorously judged ; and, however flattered whilst living, yet when dead, he will be treated as his actions have deserved, with honour or reproach, with veneration or contempt.

More particularly, Your Royal Highness will here perceive, that foreign acquisitions and conquests were generally fatal to England ; all increase of empire burdensome to her, except that of the ocean, which can never be too extensive,

as

DEDICATION.

as it enlarges and protects her trade, the principal fountain of her riches and grandeur.

But above all, you will here see the origin and nature of our excellent constitution, where the prerogatives of the crown, and privileges of the subject are so happily proportioned, that the king and the people are inseparably united in the same interests and views. You will observe, that this union, though talked of by even the most arbitrary princes with respect to their subjects, is peculiar to the English Monarchy, and the most solid foundation of the Sovereign's glory, and the people's happiness.

Accordingly, you will here constantly find, that in the reigns where this union was cultivated, the kingdom flourished and the Prince was glorious, powerful, trusted, beloved. On the contrary, when by an arbitrary disposition, or evil counsels, it was interrupted, the constitution languished, mutual confidence vanished, distrust, jealousy, discord arose ; and when entirely broken, as was unfortu-

D E D I C A T I O N.

nately sometimes the case, confusion and civil wars ensued.

As this union, so essential to our government, was by your Royal Grandfather, and is by his present Majesty, your Royal Father, steadily adhered to, so it is with extreme satisfaction presumed, that the same adherence will distinguish Your Royal Highness's future reign, a presumption grounded upon your many noble endowments, but chiefly on that foundation of all other, as well as royal, virtues, a generous mind, which naturally abhors oppression and tyranny.

Presuming on this known generosity, I most humbly intreat Your Royal Highness's gracious acceptance of this address and translation, and beg leave to have the honour of subscribing myself, with profound respect and submission,

S I R,

YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS'S

Most humble, most dutiful,

And most obedient Servant,

N. T I N D A L.

T H E

P R E F A C E.

WHEN Mr. Rapin first begun this work, he little thought of writing a complete history of England. His long stay in our island, gave him an opportunity of learning our language; and his post in the army, during the war in Ireland, even obliging him to it, he diligently applied himself to the reading of English books, and particularly of such as treated of the government and history of England, after the Norman conquest. As the desire of knowledge continually increases, he was not satisfied with understanding the nature, but wished also to know the original, of the English constitution. To this end, he thought it necessary to peruse carefully the history of the Anglo-Saxons, who introduced this form of government into Great-Britain. He found this study to be very discouraging, the history of the Anglo-Saxons being like a vast forest, where the traveller, with great difficulty, finds a few narrow paths to guide his wandering steps. It was this however that inspired him with the design of clearing this part of the English history, by removing the rubbish, and carrying on the thread so as to give at least a general knowledge. In order to this, he was indispensably obliged to show, how the Saxons came to send troops into Great Britain, and why a conquest, which had cost them so much, was abandoned by the Romans. In a word, he fixed the beginning of his history to the time of Julius Cæsar, who first attempted to conquer our island, intending to conclude with the Norman conquest. But not knowing how to employ his time better, and besides, finding that after the conquest, the scene was changed, and from a wild forest he was entered into a cultivated country, where the way was easy, he resolved to proceed. However, when he came to the reign of Henry II. he was going to relinquish his work, of which the beginning gave him no encouragement, when an unexpected assistance not only induced him to continue it, but also to form the project of a much larger history

A 4

history than what he at first intended. This assistance was Rymer's *Fœdera*, communicated to our author by the famous Le Clerc, to whom the volumes, as they came out, were sent by the lord Halifax, a great promoter of that noble work.

This collection, published at the government's charge, was of infinite service to our author in compiling his history, and helping him to clear numberless things which remained in obscurity. It afforded him means, 1. To rectify the dates in many places. 2. To discover a great number of errors in the best English, Scotch, French, Italian, and Spanish historians. 3. To decide, on many occasions, concerning the contrarieties between the historians. 4. To insert in his history many events, wholly omitted, or but slightly mentioned by others. In a word, it is this that chiefly distinguishes his history from all that have appeared before this collection was published. For it is easy to see what an advantage it was to him, since it contains treaties of peace, truce, league, marriages, commerce, made by the kings of England with other princes; ambassadors instructions; their letters and informations, as well concerning their own negotiations, as the affairs of the courts to which they were sent; very instructive memoirs upon affairs confusedly spoken of by the historians; letters-patents; orders; safe-conducts, with numberless other papers, which cannot be ranged under general heads, and which are of great use to a historian. All these Mr. Rapin was so well acquainted with, that he hath published abstracts of seventeen volumes, to show the relation of these acts to the history of England. This work to a man less versed in the English history than Mr. Rapin, would require his whole life; but to him, who knew the intent and motive of every act, it was only a diversion. By the way, it may be added, that Mr. Rapin had a thorough knowledge of our parties and factions, as appears in his Dissertation on the Whigs and Tories, published in 1717, and translated into English, Dutch, Danish, and twice into High Dutch.

The advantage which the use of Rymer's collection, gave Mr. Rapin over all our historians, serves to remove the objection of his being a foreigner. But if it is farther considered, that, besides this advantage, he not only carefully perused all the English historians, but also confronted them with those of the neighbouring states, whether they wrote in Latin, French, Italian, or Spanish; it must be owned this objection entirely vanishes, and that supposing his judgment and capacity equal to the work (which the public by an uncommon
appro-

approbation seems to allow) he was in all other respects as well qualified as any Englishman can be.

As his assistances were extraordinary, so there is reason to believe his impartiality is uncommon. For besides his privilege, as a foreigner, of freely speaking the truth, without fear of offending any party, he had no motive or interest to induce him to be partial to England, or any of the neighbouring states. His life was equally spent in France, England, Holland, and Germany. During the seventeen years he was employed in this work, he had no post or pension, nor exercised any profession, which might bias him to one nation more than another; and as he had no particular obligations to any of the forementioned states, so he had no reason to complain of ever receiving the least injustice.

But notwithstanding his impartiality, he plainly foresaw people's prejudices in favour of their own nation, would prevent them from doing him justice upon several occasions. But this was a rock he could not avoid. How is it possible, for instance, to relate the contests between the English and Scots, to the satisfaction of both? The war between them in the XIVth century, concerning the sovereignty of the kings of England over Scotland, cannot be described with its causes and circumstances, without exasperating the one or the other. The Scots are persuaded, Edward I. acted very unjustly with their ancestors, and that his grandson Edward III. was not more scrupulous. The English, on the contrary, believe, their kings had then, and long before, an uncontested right of sovereignty over all Scotland, and that Edward the First's war upon that account was very lawful. Our author has declared for the Scots, as believing the truth on their side. For which reason he has endeavoured to set that whole affair in the clearest light possible, thinking it the duty of a historian, to correct such errors as have gathered strength from time, or from the negligence and prejudices of former writers.

The quarrel between Edward III. and Philip de Valois, in which so much blood was spilt, is another instance wherein it is almost impossible to please both the English and French. Among the French, the Salic law is a *Noli me tangere*. To satisfy them, not only the antiquity of the law must be acknowledged, but the sense and extent must also be left unexamined. The English, on their side, are no less prejudiced: without considering that Edward could have no right to the crown of France, but on supposition of the authority of the Salic law, they alledge against it such reasons, as are not only unserviceable, but even prejudicial to that prince's rights. Our
author,

author, without being restrained by the fear of displeasing either, has explained, in a dissertation at the end of Edward the Third's reign, what is meant by the Salic law ; wherein consisted the difference between the two kings, and shown, that their rights were so litigious, as to be very difficultly decided by that law.

If it is hard to satisfy two nations in the recital of their contests and quarrels, it is no less so to content the English themselves, in things wherein their opinions are divided ; as for instance, the prerogatives of the king, the privileges of parliament, the succession of the crown, and the like. Mr. Rapin observes, that disputes on these points were first broached among us in the last century, by two opposite parties, one whereof was for an absolute power in the king, whilst the other endeavoured not only to divest him of his just prerogatives, but even to render him dependent on the parliament. These two extremes he equally condemned ; and as he had no motive or interest to incline him to either party, he has done his utmost to discover the truth, through the passions and prejudices of the writers on both sides. He has fairly confronted the facts laid down by the several historians ; received for true, such as they all agree in ; and of such as are variously related, he has admitted only those that are supported by strong evidence. The barons wars are also a subject that can hardly be treated to the satisfaction of all readers ; some considering as rebellion, what others deem a just defence of liberty and property. Mr. Rapin has declared for neither of these opinions, farther than induced by solid reasons, and, by means of the *Fœdera*, has clearly accounted for the rise and progress of these wars, which, for want of that assistance, are very confusedly explained by others.

What most embarrassed our author, is the national partiality of the historians, chiefly upon two articles, *The Violation of the Treaties*, and, *The Success of the Battles*. For the first, where the truth was no other way to be discovered, he has frequently made use of a very natural maxim ; namely, that it is not likely the party, to whom a treaty is advantageous, should be the first to break it. As for the second article, nothing is more common than to see historians loth to own their nation vanquished, and think it incumbent on them to diminish its losses, or magnify its victories. On these occasions, when our author could not fix the success of a battle by the consequences, he has taken care to inform the reader of the disagreement between the historians.

Mr.

P R E F A C E.

xi

Mr. Rapin, professing to write for the information of foreigners, was obliged to give a particular account of the English constitution: the following essay therefore was solely designed for the instruction of such as are strangers to our government, which, being different, as he observed, from all others, the reader, as well as historian, must always have it in sight; lest wrong ideas lead them into great errors.

ORIGIN and NATURE of the ENGLISH Constitution.

THE government of England is a mixed and limited monarchy, as it is certain, all the governments in Europe established by the northern nations formerly were. They were monarchies, invested, not with absolute and arbitrary, but with a power bounded by the national laws. Such is still the English constitution, whatever changes have happened in the other European kingdoms. The king and people make but one body, of which the king is head. He directs and gives motion to all the other members, takes care of their welfare, and ought always to have an eye to the public, to procure their good, and guard them against all impending evils. By watching thus for the public, he consults his own interest, since, being strictly united with his subjects, he is sure to be a gainer by all the advantages he procures them.

But to enable the king to labour effectually for the good of the kingdom, it was necessary to cloath him with a great power, and to assign him a revenue sufficient to live in splendor, in order to attract the veneration of the people. It was necessary to grant him privileges approaching absolute power; as the command of the armies and fortified places; the execution of the laws, and the administration of justice in his own name; the pardoning of condemned criminals; the disposal of all the high offices; the calling and dissolving of the parliament; the rejecting of bills he thinks contrary to the public good; the proclaiming peace and war. These are called the prerogatives of the king, or of the crown. I do not pretend to give an exact list of them. I am sensible some extend them much farther: but all I mean here is, that the king has great prerogatives, which were the effect or consequence of the mutual agreement of the first Anglo-Saxon kings with their people. The king wants nothing to render him happy and powerful. His revenues are more than sufficient for his ordinary expences, and to reward those who distinguish themselves by their merit, besides the preferments in the church, state,

state, and army, which he may bestow as he pleases. Has he a just war to maintain? he is not obliged to burden his people with taxes. It is the people themselves that voluntarily furnish him with every thing necessary. Thus, without being under a necessity of heaping up riches for the future, he is sure of finding in the purses of his subjects wherewithal to supply his present occasions.

There are but two things the Saxons did not think proper to trust their kings with; for being of like passions with other men, they might very possibly abuse them; namely, the power of changing the laws enacted by consent of king and people; and the power of raising taxes at pleasure. From these two articles sprung numberless branches concerning the liberty and property of the subject, which the king cannot touch, without breaking the constitution, and they are the distinguishing character of the English monarchy. The prerogatives of the crown, and the rights and privileges of the people, flowing from the two fore-mentioned articles, are the ground of all the laws that from time to time have been made by the unanimous consent of king and people. The English government consists in the strict union of the king's prerogatives with the people's liberties. So far are these two things from destroying one another, that they are rather the strongest cement of that strict union, so necessary between the prince and people. The king, by means of his prerogatives, is able to protect his subjects; to see the laws duly executed, and justice impartially administered; to defend the weak against their powerful oppressors; to assist the unfortunate, and punish the disturbers of the society. On the other hand, the people, whilst in possession of their liberties, confiding in the laws and the king's care to execute them, live securely without any fears for their lives or properties. They enjoy the fruits of their industry, which turns to the king's advantage, since from the people it is, that the king's occasions are supplied. If they make their court to the nobles, it is only when their interest or assistance may be necessary, and not out of fear of being oppressed, since the greatest are equally subject to the laws, with the meanest.

It cannot be denied, such a government is extremely proper to render both prince and people happy. But when kings arose, as some there were, that aimed at absolute power, by changing the old, and making new laws at pleasure; by imposing illegal taxes on the people; this excellent government being, in a manner, dissolved by these destructive measures, confusion and civil wars ensued, which some very wrongfully ascribe

ascribe to the fickle and restless temper of the English. On the other hand, the people have not always been contented with maintaining their privileges, when once infringed by the king; but, for fear of the like attempts for the future, have proceeded to measures very destructive of the just rights of the crown. And this is the reason why the prerogative, abused by some former kings, runs not at present so high as formerly.

Since then the English constitution consists in an intimate union between the prince and the people, as between the head and the body, it is consequently in its utmost perfection and strength whilst this union subsists, and both, without mutual suspicions, jealousies, and fears, securely enjoy their respective rights. On the contrary, it decays and degenerates, when one invades the privileges of the other.

To preserve a perfect union between the king and the people, it was necessary to establish a way of communication between them. This was done by means of a Wittenagemot, or assembly of wise men, who represented the whole nation. This method the Saxons brought with them from Germany, where all public affairs were decided in such an assembly, of which their generals, chosen in time of war, were presidents. However, they were obliged to make some alterations, because in Germany they had no kings, the supreme power being lodged in the Wittenagemet; whereas in England, their chiefs or leaders assumed the title of kings. Hengist, who first led Saxon troops into Britain as auxiliaries, was the first that assumed this title, probably with the approbation of the Saxons under his command. For since he was not naturally their king, how could he become so without their consent? But it must be observed, Hengist may be considered in a double capacity. At his arrival in Great Britain, he was certainly only general of the Saxons: but after receiving the grant of Kent from Vortigern king of the Britons, he became as much sovereign of that country as Vortigern was before him, and therefore he assumed the title of king of Kent; but this new title did not make him king of the Saxons, of whom he was only intrusted with the command. Wherefore, it is likely, the Saxons, in consenting their general should become their sovereign, did not give him an absolute power over their lives and properties, supposing, what would be very difficult to prove, he was invested with such power over his British subjects. There is a remarkable passage in the history of France to this purpose: Clovis was king of the Franks, before he led his army into Gaul, and
his

his large conquests there, gave him no more power over his own countrymen than he enjoyed before. This is evident from his being prevented by a common soldier from presenting the archbishop of Rheims with a piece of plate taken among the spoil. The soldier could not bear the king should appropriate to himself what belonged to all in common, so hewed it in pieces with his battle-ax [and took his share.] The king, who knew he exceeded his power, did not dare to punish him; and though he afterwards took an occasion to put him to death, it was upon some other account, wherein he might lawfully do it. It may then with good reason be affirmed, that the Saxon generals, in assuming the title of king, acquired not a despotic power over their own followers, by whose assistance they conquered Britain. Since therefore the first kings had not such a power, it was necessary to establish some way to prevent their usurping it; and that could not be done better, than by general assemblies, which, consisting of the king, and the chiefs of the people, kept the balance even betwixt both. It must be farther observed, there is one material difference between the settlement of the Franks in Gaul, and of the Saxons in Britain. In Gaul, the number of the conquered was always superior to that of the conquerors. Whereas in Britain, if any Britons remained in the conquered provinces, they were but few, and in a state of slavery. So, the country was properly inhabited only with Saxons, Jutes, and Angles, over whom the conquests made by their own arms, gave to their first kings no power but what they consented to. We are ignorant indeed of the particulars of the agreement between the kings and their respective people, but the proofs that afterwards appear, of the people's liberty, leave no room to doubt, there was at first some regulation thereon.

It is not easy to know, who the Witan or wisemen were that composed their Wittenagemots. At first, these assemblies might only consist of the Saxon officers, among whom the conquered lands were divided, and who from thence became the principal persons in the several states. In process of time, the Britons having entirely abandoned their country, the conquerors, finding themselves too few to cultivate the whole, sent for a great number of families from Germany, to whom the rest of the lands were given. These distributions were thus made: the new king gave to those of his followers, who were distinguished by their birth, services, or personal merit, such a portion of land, on condition they served the crown on certain occasions; which these parcelled out again

again to others, with a reservation of such and such services to themselves. These two sorts of possessors were called Thanes, that is, Servants: but the first were distinguished by the title of King's Thanes, which answers to that of the immediate vassals of the crown. These, after the Norman conquest, were called barons, and afterwards peers of the realm: for earl and duke were only honorary titles or names of officers. It is not denied, the king's thanes were members of the Wittena-gemots: but that the other thanes, were so, is greatly disputed, as will be seen in the Dissertation on the Government, Laws, and Customs of the Saxons. It suffices at present, that there was in each kingdom an assembly of Witan or wisemen, who, jointly with the king, regulated all important affairs, made laws and ordinances, and imposed taxes. As nothing was decided but by the mutual consent of the king and the assembly, their interests not being separate, and their aims the same, namely, the good of the public, this is a clear evidence, that the essence of the government consisted in the strict union between king and people. If we look into the histories of the other European kingdoms founded by the northern nations, we shall find the like assemblies under different names, as Diets in Germany and Poland, and Cortez, in Spain. It is not therefore strange, the Saxons should establish in England the only form of government known to them.

After the Norman conquest these assemblies were called parliaments. If William the Conqueror continued them, which perhaps is not easy to prove, it was not with the same rights and privileges they enjoyed under the Saxon kings, It is true, in the following reigns, some traces of them appear, which make it thought, they were not entirely abolished. However, parliaments were not frequent till king John, and Henry III. in whose reign, several affirm, and perhaps not without reason, that the commons, for the first time, sent representatives to parliament. Probably, the lords and commons, after their separation, the time whereof is unknown, met in two different houses, since the English still call houses the two rooms, where they assemble, though under the same roof. They say, the upper house, or house of lords, and the lower house, or house of commons, to denote what is expressed in French by the word Chamber. It is but since the reign of Edward I. successor to Henry III. that there has been an uninterrupted series of parliaments.

After the commons became a distinct house from the lords, they pretended to be the sole representatives of the people,
by

by whom they were chosen. The lords could pretend only to act for themselves, or for the body of the nobility, as making a considerable part of the nation. However this be, the barons, of whom very likely the parliament at first consisted, lost by degrees many of their antient rights, and the house of commons came to be considered as the guardians of the people's interests. However, the lords still retain very great privileges; they are, for instance, the highest court of justice in the kingdom; they have a power to bring in, approve, and throw out bills; in a word, they always make an essential part of the parliament. The bishops and abbots, who had all along a right to sit in parliament, had it continued to them after the conquest. It cannot well be doubted that they sat in the Witten-gemots, as king's thanes, or barons, since they were the immediate tenants of the crown, as representatives of the clergy.

The commons, as a consequence of their being the representatives of the people, claim an undisputed right of laying taxes, and granting money to the king. So that the house of lords in this case have no other power than to pass, or throw out, the bill, without offering to make any alterations or amendments.

Thus, the two houses of parliament compose the body of the nation, jointly with the king, who is the head. The close and necessary union between the king and the parliament, appears in nothing so much as in the manner of making an act of parliament, or law. When either of the two houses designs to bring in a bill (for so is an act called before it is passed) after examining and debating every clause, it is sent to the other house for their approbation. If it passes there, it is brought to the king for the royal assent; after which, and not before, it has the form and force of a law. But if either of the houses reject it, or the king refuses his assent, it comes to nothing, as if it had never been mentioned. Nothing more plainly demonstrates, that the essence of the English government consists in the union between the king and his people: take away this union, and it becomes confusion and anarchy.

Whether the commons originally sat in parliament, or only since the reign of Henry III. it is certain, their power by degrees is very much increased, to which the maxim, that their house solely represents the people, has greatly contributed. This maxim was not yet established in the reign of Henry VIII. since we find he applied to the barons for a supply of money. But this is not the only new privilege they have acquired,

quired. Upon their separation from the lords, the interests of the two houses were not the same upon all occasions. They have had frequent contests concerning their respective rights. But generally the commons had the advantage of the lords; and no wonder, since they alone dispose of the nation's money.

On the other hand, great alterations have happened with regard to the lords or peers. Formerly all the immediate vassals of the crown were barons, and, as such, had a seat in parliament. But now, as there are none of those lands that were called fees of the crown, the right of sitting in the house of lords is annexed to the bare honorary titles of duke, marquiss, earl, viscount, and baron, which give those that are invested therewith, no power over the shires, cities, or lands, whose names they bear, and which the king may bestow on whom he pleases. However, when once these titles are conferred on a family, the head cannot be deprived of his right to sit in parliament, unless he has been judicially condemned by his peers for some crime that renders him unworthy. But it must be observed, it is in the king's power to extend or limit, many ways, the right of succeeding to these honours; so that sometimes, though rarely, he extends it to the female, in default of the male line. Though a peer only has a right to sit in the house of lords, the king may, if he pleases, call the son of a nobleman to the house of peers in his father's lifetime. The inferior titles are always included in the superior, so that every duke is at the same time marquiss, earl, viscount, and baron^a. Thus all the lords are barons, and properly as such, are members of the parliament, according to ancient usage. For before and long after the conquest, the lords of parliament were considered only as the king's thanes or barons. For this reason, the civil wars in the reigns of king John and Henry III. are called the barons wars. The title of duke was first conferred in England, after the conquest, by Edward III. on his eldest son, whom he made duke of Cornwall. The title of marquiss is much later. In the time of the Saxons, earls or counts were properly governors or chiefs of shires or counties, so called from them. William the Conqueror having distributed the lands of the English among his followers, they on whom he conferred the title of earl or count, became really lords of those lands whose titles they bore, so that they were hereditary in their families.

^a This is not so, unless they have marquisses, and many earls not viscounts. There are few dukes that are

Afterwards, but at what time is not known, they lost this privilege, and the title of earl, as was before observed, is become only honorary. The viscounts, under the Saxon kings, were lieutenants to the earls in their counties. They discharged the office of high-sheriff, which is now left to inferior officers, whilst the viscounts are ranked among the peers, and have even the precedence of the barons. This last title was formerly general, and included the whole body of the nobility or peers of the realm, of whom the upper house of parliament consists. Next to these are what they call in England, the gentry, who, though distinguished by several titles, as knight, esquire, &c. are all included in the body of the commons, who in France are called, the third estate. From among these are chosen the knights of the shires, citizens and burgesses, who compose the lower house, to the number of five hundred and thirteen: but it seldom happens that all are present, and forty are sufficient to make a house.

What has been said shows, how the two houses of parliament are part of the legislature, since by them the laws are made, with the royal assent. Accordingly, the parliament has ever been very tenacious of its privileges, for fear of losing them by degrees, as it has happened in other kingdoms. On the other hand, most of the laws tend to maintain the liberty and property of the subjects, so that they can be deprived of them only by law. There are absolutely but two ways to deprive the English of their liberties: either by laying aside parliaments entirely, or by bribing the members to sacrifice their country to their ambition or avarice. Both these methods have been tried more than once, and for some time with seeming success, but in the end have turned to the confusion and ruin of the projectors. The English have ever been extremely jealous of their liberties, and this jealousy has frequently caused violent motions in the kingdom, when they have seen or suspected a tendency to undermine their privileges, and they have thereby preserved the constitution of their government in much the same state as in the beginning of the monarchy.

After this short essay on our constitution, the reader is referred for a fuller account to the reign of Alfred the Great; and to the author's Dissertation on the Government, Laws, &c. of the Anglo-Saxons.

This preface to the former editions, shall here be closed, with the following observations.

Mr. Rapin's History has now stood a thirty-years test without any material objection. His impartiality and candor has gained

P R E F A C E.

xix

gain'd him an univerfal applaufe, as well among foreigners as among the Englifh themfelves. It would perhaps be very difficult to find a greater inftance of the force of truth on the minds of men, than the general approbation given to a hiftory penned in fo naked and undorn'd a manner. For, though he was a judicious, he was not an elegant writer.

The tranflation of this hiftory has alfo met with uncommon fuccels, which, though founded chiefly on the merit of the original, is in fome meafure to be afcribed to the following caufes :

The tranflation of a hiftory compiled by a foreigner in a foreign tongue, has a peculiar advantage over all others. Tranflators generally fall very fhort of their originals; but here the cafe is quite the reverfe. When a foreigner writes in his own tongue the hiftory of a nation, he muft neceffarily tranflate his materials out of the language of the country, and fo far becomes a tranflator. Thus Rapin was obliged to turn into French all the paffages he collected from our hiftorians, and particularly charters, letters, fpeeches, petitions, addreffes, debates, conferences, votes, and the like. All thefe are inferted by the tranflator in the very words of the authors from whom they are taken, and confequently his tranflation is fo far an original. Upon this account it is that from Henry VII. to the revolution, that is, during the moft material and interefting tranfactions, the Englifh is in effect the original, and the French may be deemed the tranflation.

It is alfo to be obferved, that Rapin has omitted many particulars, which though of little moment to a foreigner, (for whom he profefsedly wrote) are yet of ufe to an Englifhman. Thefe are in a great meafure fupplied in the tranflation by additional notes.

Befides, as a foreigner, Rapin could, hardly avoid falling into little miftakes relating to our cuftoms, laws, names, families, etc. which are all rectified by the tranflator.

This being the cafe, it ought not to appear ftrange that this tranflation has been fo univerfally received, and even preferred to the original, not only by thofe who do not, but by thofe who do underftand the French tongue.

To conclude, in this fourth edition the tranflation has again been revifed: fuperfluous notes are omitted and more ufeful ones added: the errors and miftakes, that had efaped in the former editions, are corrected: in a word, the tranflator has endeavour'd to render the whole as complete as he could.

SOME
PARTICULARS of the LIFE
OF
Mr. RAPIN DE THOYRAS.

In a Letter to —

S I R,

I Imagined you would be surprized at my backwardness to second your design of writing the life of Mr. de Rapin. This has given me some concern, for I wish to be of your mind, but must confess, I have hitherto been unresolved. I know not how the public stands affected; and though I supposed, with you, that the world would be glad to be acquainted with Mr. de Rapin, I should think nothing can better satisfy their curiosity, than his new History of England; it not being possible, in my opinion, but in so voluminous a work, an author (undesignedly) draws his own picture himself, more to the life than any other can do. If you say, this is not sufficient, because his family and actions are not seen there; I answer, the two panegyrics on Mr. de Rapin (in the tenth volume of the *Bibliothèque Germanique*, and in the *Historie Littéraire* of February 1726) seem to contain all that is proper to be said on these two heads. By this, you see, I have not the same scruple concerning your present proposal, that these panegyrics may at least be re-published and prefixed to his History of England. Indeed I think it very requisite, and what is more, am resolved to publish them myself, with some alteration, that is, of the two I design to make one discourse, borrowing from each what shall occur to my mind, without affecting either to swerve from, or copy them, that there may be room to insert some par-

THE LIFE OF MR. DE RAPIN.

xxi

particulars that are passed over in silence. It may be, I shall go too far, contrary to my first intention; but however, you may be assured, I shall say nothing but what I have been fully informed of, and what Mr. de Rapin's family are ready to justify. Nevertheless, as in all this my sole aim is to oblige you, use this letter as you please; suppress what you do not like; nay, if you think fit, be satisfied with the panegyrics alone as first published, which perhaps would be best. But to begin:

Mr. de Rapin counted among his ancestors and relations many eminent persons as well of the sword as the gown. His family is originally from Savoy, where it flourished time out of mind^a, and enjoyed several honourable posts^b. As I am ignorant of their personal qualities, I cannot say whether it was through a wise precaution, or to perpetuate an ill-grounded enmity, that a bishop of Maurienne caused to be engraved, in the episcopal palace, the following inscription still to be seen, "Caveant successores nostri a familiâ Rapinorum, i. e. Let our successors beware of the Rapins." On the other hand, this family pretends, that their external lustre was impaired solely by their steady adherence to the laws of honour and justice. This is insinuated by the author of the following verses, which are not quoted for their elegance:

"Pour n'avoir sans besoin su prendre,
"On voit tomber cette maison;
"Si l'effet eut suivi son nom,
"Elle auroit de quoi se défendre.

i. e. "This family, for being too honest to invade the property of others, is gone to decay. Had they been given to what their name implies, they would have wherewithal to support themselves."

But to draw nearear to Mr. de Rapin, I shall proceed to four brothers of that name, who settled in France in the reign of Francis I.^c

One, a clergyman, was almoner to queen Catherine de Medici, who desired him of the duke of Savoy. Besides the

^a By the titles of this family it appears that the Rapins were noble in the year 1250. The branches that are in Savoy pretend to a greater antiquity: but of that nothing can be said.

^b It is known in general, that some

of the Rapins at several times were syndics of the nobles of their country; others were deputed by the nobility to go in their name and do homage to the duke of Savoy their sovereign.

^c Between the years 1525 and 1547.

SOME PARTICULARS OF

preferments he enjoyed in his own country, he was called the king's orator, but what that means I cannot tell.

His brothers (of whom but one has left issue) were all three soldiers, and embraced the reformed religion; for the sake of which, very probably, they abandoned their country.

The eldest was a colonel of foot, and governor of Montauban, with authority over the neighbouring governors. His name is among the neighbouring viscounts, who commanded the troops of the reformed in the southern provinces of France. Letters, still extant, show how well known he was to king Henry IV. to Lewis and Henry princes of Condé, to admiral Chastillon, and many other persons of the first quality.

All we know of one of his brothers, called Peter, is, that a commission of captain of horse must, by all circumstances, belong to him; but of this we cannot be sure, because the name is not expressed.

Philibert, another brother, was gentleman to the prince of Condé, and afterwards his steward^d. He had no less reputation in military^e, than capacity in civil affairs^f, but both prove fatal to him, as they drew upon him the enmity of the catholics, and particularly of the parliament of Toulouse^g, who caused his head to be struck off at the very time he was come, by the king's order, to register the edict of peace of 1568.

The French historians frequently speak of these two brothers. Father Daniel alone does not mention them, and passes over in silence, this cruel execution^h. The reason does

^d Maître d'hôtel de sa maison, that is, he had the management of the prince's house in the highest sense of the word, and not as we understand the term steward at present.

^e Bello strenuus, says Thuanus, lib. xxxii.

^f "In fine, Rapin was in great repute amongst his own party. The conspirators of Toulouse made choice of him to treat in their name with Fourquevaux, which is a clear evidence that he had a head to manage, as well as a hand to act." Annals of Toulouse, Ann. 1568. The conference spoken of in this passage, was held to see whether there was any way of accommodation between the two parties: but it proved fruitless, and only served to exasperate them more than ever. Shortly after a battle was fought

in the city, which lasted some days, wherein the protestants, who were numerous there, but however inferior to the catholics, lost three thousand men, and were in the end chased out of the city. A solemn procession was instituted in commemoration of this event. When peace was restored, the reformed complained of this procession, as a thing which revived the memory of the troubles, whereupon it was prohibited for the future; nevertheless it has been all along continued; only it was removed from the 12th of May, to the 17th, on some pretence or other.

^g "Homo bellis superioribus—clarus ob idque Tolosanis invidus," Thuanus, lib. xxxii.

^h It might be alledged there are no proofs of it. But since Thuanus and Mezerai, with whom few writers can

THE LIFE OF MR. DE RAPIN.

xxiii

does not appear at first, for he cannot say, this sentence, how unjust soever it may be supposed, is only a private affair, which therefore he might omit if he pleased, since it is visible, on the contrary, that such an event, rendered memorable¹ by its circumstances and consequences, ought necessarily to have place in history. But when we consider, we find this able historian has very artfully managed this omission for two purposes; first, to extinguish, as far as in him lay, all remembrance of a rage which casts a blemish on the papists; secondly, to render the reformed odious, when he comes to speak of the ravages committed by the admiral's army, some time after, about Toulouse. Mean while, with regard to these ravages, he was not so free as he desired, but was obliged to speak of them in general terms, for he could not descend to particulars, without discovering the connexion between these ravages and Rapin's death, by which they were both occasioned and justified. But what he slightly mentions, Thuanus^k and Mézerai relate more at large, and set in a true light. Mézerai, (who is more circumstantial, and informs us, there were then in Toulouse eight thousand regular troops, which added to the great number of inhabitants, deprived the reformed of all hopes of becoming masters of the city) says expressly, that the Hugonots — “set fire to all the lands and houses of the counsellors, on the ruins whercof the soldiers writ with smoaking coals, “RAPIN'S REVENGE.”

Peter de Rapin, baron of Mauvers, son of Philibert, was governor of Mas-Granier, one of the cautionary towns granted to the reformed in Guienne. He was a soldier from his

be compared for faithfulness, speak of it, it must be inferred either there were proofs in their days, or they were warranted by the notorioufness of the fact. And what puts it out of all question is, that M. de la Faille, who writ last at Toulouse, the Annals of that city, of which he was judge, though he takes notice that the arret against Rapin is not to be found (having been doubtless razed out of the registers for the parliament's honour) yet says more of the matter than all those that went before him.

i “This execution of Rapin made a great noise, and the prince very justly complained of it to the king and queen. Their majesties also expressed great resentment against the parliament of Toulouse, in their let-

ters to them on that occasion.” Annals of Toulouse, Ann. 1568.” It is left to the reader to judge whether any thing like this would have happened for a private concern.

k “Incensis oppidanorum et senatorum, præcipue circa urbem, prædiis, quod eos à publicâ quiete maximè omnium abhorreret dicent Protestantes, recenti adhuc ob oculos obversante Rapini, ante biennium à Rege et Condæo ut editi pacificationi promulgationem urgeret, in urbem missi, & immani perfidiâ ignominioso supplicio affecti, memoria; ejus indignam necem illi, inauditis et jure belli inaccessis vastat onibus, ultum iri testabantur.” Thuanus, lib. lxii.”

SOME PARTICULARS OF

youth, and attended king Henry IV. in all his expeditions. Most part of that time, he received not a farthing from his estate, which threw him into great straits, as well as many others for the same reason. The king himself was in no better circumstances, as may be inferred from his answer to Mr. de Rapin, who having lost his horse, besought his majesty to give him wherewithal to buy another: "I would," says he, "with all my heart, but see, I have scarce a shirt to my back." But Mr. de Rapin's sufferings in the religious wars were not confined to what passed in the army. He thrice saw his house burnt and battered down during his life, and every thing plundered. It is true, he had amends made him the last time, as far as was possible, and in a manner which must have been very agreeable to him: for the catholic gentlemen of the neighbourhood, by whom he was esteemed and beloved, meeting together, resolved to supply him with necessaries to plough and sow his lands; and as those troubles lasted but eight months, when they were appeased, he found a crop ready, and all his estate, except his house, in as good condition as the most diligent owner could have kept it. On another occasion, he had a pleasure without any alloy: upon a rumour of his death, he read himself a letter from queen Mary de Medici, expressing her great sorrow to his family. He married a daughter of Mr. de Lupé, lord of Maravat, captain of fifty men at arms, governor of Mauvezin, a cautionary town, and a major-general.

He left a numerous issue, of whom his second son James, fleur de Thoyras^l, was the darling of his parents. His father left him more than any of the other younger children, and his mother gave him moreover that portion of the estate of John de la Ferrière, vidame^m of Chartres, and one of the heads of the French protestants, which fell to her in right of her mother. He was designed for a soldier, like his brothers; but his mother willing to have him near her, was for breeding him a scholar, to which the father consented. After he had finished his studies, he was admitted advocate in the court of the Edictⁿ of Castres, and contrary to the custom of the country, where persons nobly descended are never of that profession, he practised it both at Castres and at Castelnaudary, and Toulouse, above fifty years, to the

^l The name of a village belonging to his family.

^m That is, judge of a bishop's temporal jurisdiction.

ⁿ Les Chambres de l'Edit were courts

of judicature erected in several towns in behalf of the Hugonots, the judges being half reformed, and half catholics.

THE LIFE OF MR. DE RAPIN.

xxx

day of his death. It is true, I include the four years he spent at Paris, where he went, upon news of Mr. Pellisson, his brother-in-law, being arrested with Mr. Fouquet. Nothing passed in that famous affair, but what he was privy to, and he was very serviceable in many respects. He was one of the three concerned in the factum, and supplied all we find there relating to the Roman law. I saw in France a letter sent to him by Mr. Fouquet from the Bastile, thanking him for it in the most affectionate manner. All that knew him, of whom several are now living, have always described him as one of the prime advocates of his time, and very eminent for his impartiality and integrity. His wife, who died at Geneva, where she was sent by the king's order, for refusing to turn papist, was sister of George and Paul Pellisson, whose memory is still recent. Her father and grandfather were judges in the parliament of Toulouse, and in the court of the edict of Castres. Raymond Pellisson her great-grandfather, after having been master of the requests, and ambassador to Portugal, was at last first president of the senate of Chamberi, and commandant in Savoy, whilst in possession of the French. I say nothing of a very extraordinary affair that befel him, and on which several authors * have enlarged, nor of his descendants above-named, because I should only copy what is to be found in the supplement to Moreri's Dictionary printed at Amsterdam in 1716. This family, from whence have sprung several illustrious persons †, is originally English ‡, and comes from an attorney-general to the prince of Wales when in Guienne.

I proceed now to Mr. de Rapin, who is properly the subject of my letter. Paul de Rapin, sieur de Thoyras, younger son of James, was born at Castres, March 25, 1661. He began to study Latin under a tutor his father kept in the house, after which he was sent to Puylaurens, and from thence to Saumur. At this last place, when about seventeen, he had a quarrel with a friend, upon a slight occasion; and they immediately challenged each other. But whether they lost time in fetching their swords, for being students they seldom wore any, or the duel held long, night came whilst they were engaged, and then Mr. de Rapin's sword broke near the hilt without his perceiving it. His adversary immediately seeing it, generously told him. Whereupon the combat ceased,

* Recueil d' Arrêts de Papon, liv. xix. art. 9. Histoires Admirables de Simon Goulart, tom. i. p. 6.

† See Recherche des Antiquitez de

la langue Française, ou Dictionnaire Gaulois. By Bercl.

‡ Bercl in the same place, p. 377.

SOME PARTICULARS OF

and embracing each other, they returned together to town. Some time after he had another quarrel with a person much older than himself, who rudely jostled him as he was walking through a narrow and difficult passage. Mr. de Rapin fell upon him, but they were quickly parted by the people there present. He ran for his sword, and speedily returning, found the person gone, neither could he meet with him, though he carefully sought him several days. Some time after, he heard the man was gone to Paris, where Mr. de Rapin followed him. He was no sooner arrived, but he was seized by a guard of the marshals of France. This accident, which he did not expect, believing his design very secret, because he had not imparted it, was occasioned by the advice his uncle Pellisson received from Saumur, from whence he was informed of the supposed cause of his nephew's journey, which might be of ill consequence, and withal, of the place where his antagonist might be heard of. Mr. Pellisson fearing a duel would ensue, which, however it ended, would ruin his nephew, acquainted the marshals of France with the matter, Mr. de Rapin, who was yet very young, afforded them opportunity to secure him, by going directly to his uncle's. The marshals having heard both parties, condemned the aggressor to lie in prison at Port-l'Eveque, till Mr. de Rapin should consent to his discharge, which he did about a month after, at the desire of the prince of Furstemberg bishop of Strasburgh, who was then at Paris. Mean while, the next day after the sentence, the prisoner's brother, who was reckoned a good sword's-man, meeting Mr. de Rapin in the street, accosted him, and, talking to him so as to renew the quarrel, Mr. de Rapin answered him by drawing his sword, and wounded him before they were parted. But this rencounter was kept secret by the advice of the friends of both parties, for fear of incensing the marshals.

The beginning of the year 1679, Mr. de Rapin returned to his father's, in order to apply himself closely to the study of the law. But before he had made any progress, he was obliged, with many other young gentlemen, to commence advocate, upon notice of an edict which was published soon after, that a doctor's degree should not be given to any person, who had not studied five years in some university.

This same year, the courts of the edict were suppressed, by which Mr de Rapin's family were forced to remove to Toulouse. Not long after, Mr. de Rapin perceiving the ill state of the reformed,

reformed, and that probably it would daily grow worse, desired his father's consent to quit the profession of advocate for that of arms. His father, without absolutely denying his request, returned such an answer as only tended to gain time: not that the request seemed to him unreasonable and ill grounded, but he was apprehensive this new way of life, where ambition is more fired than in any other, would expose his son to great temptation, when he should find by daily experience, that it would not be possible to rise to any tolerable post, so long as he adhered to his religion; whereas that obstacle being removed, he might hope to be advanced like the rest. This state of uncertainty made him very remiss in the study of the law: he pleaded however one cause as advocate, but stopped there, and applied himself more closely than ever to the reading of good authors, to the mathematics and music, in which he acquired great skill.

In the year 1685, his father died; and two months after, the Edict of Nantz was revoked, whereupon Mr. de Rapin retired into the country with his mother and brothers. But as the persecution, shortly after, was at the highest, he departed with his youngest brother, and arrived in England, in March, 1686.

Not long after, there came to London a French abbé of quality, and friend of Mr. Pellisson, who made Mr. de Rapin frequent visits, and introduced him to Mr. de Barillon the French ambassador, from whom Mr. de Rapin received great civilities. These gentlemen would have persuaded him to wait upon the king, assuring him of a gracious reception: Mr. de Rapin, who could not see what pretensions he had to such an honour, and besides was apprehensive that a proposal seemingly so advantageous, might tend to his prejudice, excused himself in the handsomest manner he could. This affair put him upon seriously reflecting on his present situation, continually teased about his religion, by the marquis of Seissac and other French catholics then at London, but especially by the abbé, who, though extremely courteous and civil, always turned their conversation to controversy. Perceiving therefore it was not possible for him to defend himself unprepared, against a man who was master of these subjects, and managed them with great art, he returned into the country, from whence he was come to visit the abbé, without taking leave. He knew himself guilty of ill manners, but chose to be so, rather than remain any longer exposed.

As he had then no expectations in England, he made but a short stay; and going over to Holland, where he had relations,

lations, he listed himself in a company of French volunteers at Utrecht, commanded by Mr. de Rapin, his cousin-german.

The same year, Mr. Pellisson published his *Reflections on Religious Differences*, and sent them to Mr. de Rapin, charging him to tell him his opinion; which he did very largely, as he said himself, retorting, in several places, Mr. Pellisson's expressions. But nothing of this appears among his papers. Not that I think it either lost or mislaid, but rather believe, that out of modesty he never took a copy, imagining that what he could say on such a subject was not worth preserving.

He was still in the company of volunteers when they went into England with the prince of Orange. But in 1689, the lord Kingston made him ensign in his own regiment, with which he passed into Ireland. At the siege of Carrickfergus, just after his arrival, he had the good fortune to gain the esteem of the officers of the regiment, and especially of lieutenant-colonel Fielding, who, in less than a year, procured him a lieutenancy.

In the beginning of 1690, the regiment to which Mr. de Rapin belonged, was given to lieutenant-general Douglas, who, upon the recommendation of three French colonels of the army, took more notice of him than of the rest of the subalterns, and afterwards put a very great confidence in him.

After the battle of the Boyne, in which Mr. de Rapin was present, general Douglas was detached with his own and twelve other regiments of horse and foot, to make a diversion about Athlone, and, if possible, surprize the town. He appointed Mr. de Rapin and Mr. Carles, now lieutenant-general in Portugal, to act as quarter-master-general of his little army. This siege not proving successful, the town being strongly garrisoned, general Douglas was recalled. Mr. de Rapin, who was sent before to receive orders, found the king at the head of a line, who stopping him, asked several questions, to which Mr. de Rapin made such answers, as served to remove some ill impressions infused into his majesty concerning Douglas's conduct.

At the assault of Limerick he was shot in the shoulder, and next day, the siege being raised, was forced to ride four miles on horseback in great anguish. He was left with the rest of the wounded, (among whom was his brother, who was shot through the body) and so lost his regiment, which was ordered to the north. But shortly after he heard general Douglas had procured him a company, and caused him to be admitted,

THE LIFE OF MR. DE RAPIN.

xxx

mitted, though absent. It was the same company where he had been ensign, and where was still the same lieutenant, which made Mr. de Rapin extremely uneasy.

The next year, general Douglas had orders to go to Flanders. Mr. de Rapin, whom he designed for his aid de camp, not being in a condition to attend him, by reason of his wound, advised him to take another, to whom the general soon gave a company in the Scotch guards, of which he was now colonel. The campaign opened in Ireland with the taking of Baltimore, where Mr. de Rapin had the satisfaction to be serviceable to a poor, distressed, captive family, with whom he was acquainted the foregoing year. He was afterwards at the siege of Athlone, and in the assault that was made through the river, under the strongest rampart of the town, a very bold and brave action, and which succeeded, as it is thought, contrary to the expectations of the generals. In this town were left two regiments of different nations, commanded by the lieutenant-colonels, who understood not each other's language, and were both very jealous of their power, which might have occasioned disputes. Happily Mr. de Rapin belonged to one, and his intimate friend, a captain of good sense, to the other, who were both equally esteemed by their respective commanders; so whenever any accident happened that was like to breed a quarrel, these two officers, who were unprejudiced, agreed between them upon what was to be done, and advised it each with constant success.

After that, Mr. de Rapin was sent successively to several garrisons, and among the rest to Kilkenny, where he frequently waited on the bishop, who seemed pleased with his conversation. This commerce would have been very agreeable, could he have peaceably enjoyed it; but the warm and daily contests between the mayor and the officers, scarce allowed him a moment's repose. He often used his endeavours to stifle them, and prevented their proceeding to extremities. Mean while, his fear that things would be brought to a desperate pass, made him gladly embrace the opportunity of commanding two companies in another place. Some time after, he rejoined his regiment at Kingsale, where he contracted an intimate friendship with Sir James Waller, who commanded there.

About the end of the year 1693, he received an order to repair to England, without any reason assigned; but at the same time a letter from Mr. Bolcafel informed him, he was to be governor to the earl of Portland's son. He could not

conceive

conceive whence this proceeded, having never had any such thoughts; and it was some time before he knew he was recommended by the lord Galloway. He came therefore to London, and entered upon his office. Here was an end of all his hopes of rising in the army to such posts as several younger officers of his acquaintance have obtained. All the amends he received, was leave to resign his company to his brother,

who died in 1719, lieutenant-colonel in a regiment of English dragoons. It is true, some time after, the king granted him pension of one hundred pounds a year, till he should better provide for him, which never happened. So he enjoyed his pension several years; but upon that prince's death it ceased; and a place was given him, which brought him in but a moderate income.

His new employment obliged him to be sometimes in Holland, often in England, and also in France whilst the earl of Portland was ambassador, till the young lord was fixed at the Hague, where he learned his exercises. Whilst he was there in the year 1699, Mr. de Rapin married Mariamne Tostart, an advantageous match, of whom I shall say nothing, as she is living. This did not hinder him however from minding his pupil, and attending him in his travels. He began then with Germany, where they made some stay at several courts, and particularly at Vienna: from thence they passed into Italy, by way of Tyrol, where they saw marshal Villeroy a prisoner, who gave Mr. de Rapin a letter for cardinal d'Étrés, then at Venice.

At his return, his employment ceasing, he repaired to his family, who in his absence lived at the Hague, where he spent some years. During that time he improved his leisure hours, as far as the common duties of life would allow, in resuming the study of fortification, and especially of history, which led him to draw many general and particular genealogical and chronological tables. But what was most agreeable to him, and, as he thought, most instructive, was his being member of a society or club, still in being, to the erecting of which he was proud of contributing, where several persons of learning and merit reasoned upon such subjects as occurred, and spoke their opinion on such questions as were usually proposed. Mean while, as he found his family encrease, he resolved to sacrifice to the good of his children the pleasures of the Hague, by retiring to a cheaper country. Accordingly he removed, in 1707, to Wezel, in the duchy of Cleves. He found there a good number of French refugees, among whom were several officers, men of quality, with whom

THE LIFE OF MR. DE RAPIN.

whom he lived very friendly; and he was also received as kindly as could be expected, by persons of the highest rank, who were chiefly concerned in the government of the country, and who, on all occasions, gave him marks of their favour.

The way of living at Wezel, different in many respects from that of the Hague, rendered him more than ever master of his time, and allowed him almost as much leisure as he could desire, to study the history of England, and the nature of the government. This was a more extensive design than perhaps it seems at first, for it obliged him not only to peruse all the English historians, but also those of other nations, who had any affairs with the English, in order to procure light, and be assured of the truth of the facts, by confronting the several authors. He would have found it very difficult to succeed, or rather would probably have miscarried, had he not before qualified himself for reading in their original tongue; all the books he was obliged to consult. Besides Greek and Latin, which he learned at the college, and had since improved, he understood Italian and Spanish, not to mention High and Low Dutch, of which indeed he was not so much master. As for English, which was the most necessary of all, he had made that his particular study.

Though he was of a very strong constitution, yet a seventeen years constant application to compose his History, entirely ruined his health. About three years before his death, he found himself quite spent, and frequently seized with violent pains in his stomach. He might have recovered, if he would have relinquished his work, and unbent his mind for a time. Of this he was sensible, but could not resolve it as he ought. All he indulged himself in, was not to rise before six o'clock, after which it was impossible for him to sleep or lie in his bed. As to his diversions, of which walking was the most usual, he was quickly tired of them, and, if his indisposition permitted, returned to his work, which was the cause of his illness, and properly his sole delight. At last, a violent fever, attended with an oppression upon his lungs, carried him off the seventh day, being the 16th of May, 1725.

He left one son and six daughters.

From what has been said, it appears that Mr. de Rapin was naturally grave. This led him, whilst he was in the service, to seek the conversation of the serious, which prejudiced not only several of his comrades, but even some of his superiors, against him, who would have had him partake of all their diversions. But, on the other hand, it gained him the esteem and

SOME PARTICULARS OF

and friendship of many persons of merit, who were in considerable posts. We are not however to imagine he was an enemy to mirth: he could be merry on occasion, though not so frequently, nor so immoderately as many are. Nay, he writ several little things in prose and verse, with humour and gaiety: but as they were on light and ludicrous subjects, and designed only as a present amusement with his friends, he never thought them worth revising, and I question whether there is one to be found among his papers. What has been said of his application to his study, and works, is also to be understood with this limitation, that it never hindred him from embracing all opportunities to serve his friends, and reconcile their differences.

Thus have I done what lies in my power, to make known Mr. de Rapin's character. I am sensible, that to have a complete idea of him, we must, besides what I have said, consider him in his writings; but this is what I shall not undertake. It belongs to the public to declare what opinion he there gives of himself, and to determine whether he shows good sense and judgment in his manner of discovering the motives of actions; and above all, whether he has justly observed an entire impartiality, so essential to a good history.

This is all I have to say to you concerning Mr. de Rapin, I wish it may be satisfactory, and am,

S I R;

Yours, &c;

INTRO-

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

History of ENGLAND.

CONTAINING

The extent of GREAT BRITAIN, or ALBION: Whence so called. The first inhabitants, customs, and manners of the BRITONS. Their way of fighting, and commerce. Their religion. The Druids. Their government. Original of the IRISH, SCOTS, and PICTS.

GREAT BRITAIN is, without contradiction, the largest, finest, and most considerable island in Europe: nay, one might venture to affirm, she holds the first rank among all the isles of the known world; and it would be, perhaps, no difficult task to prove, she justly deserves this preference. But not to enter into so needless a discussion, it suffices to say, very few can be compared to her for temperateness of air, number of inhabitants, and all the necessaries as well as comforts of life. If she wants any thing of foreign growth, her wants are easily and plentifully supplied by her commerce, which brings home to her whatever is rare and excellent in all parts of the world.

I shall not undertake to display here all that may be said to the advantage of this island, or repeat all the encomiums bestowed on her, as well by the ancients as moderns. The present flourishing state of Great Britain sufficiently speaks for her. Her fleets, by which she reigns sovereign of the British

INTRODUCTION.

seas; her troops, whose valour makes them every where dreaded; her illustrious generals, who have carried the terror of her arms to the utmost bounds of Europe, exalt her much higher than all I can say in her praise. Besides, every one knows, this truly Fortunate Isle, by her riches, and the excellent constitution of her government, long since established, enjoys a happiness unknown to the rest of the world.

I do not question but the figure England has made for some time, inspires many persons with a curiosity to learn by what steps she is arrived to that height of grandeur and power, which renders her so formidable to her neighbours. It was this imagination that led me to publish the present History in French, for the benefit of those who not understanding the English tongue, cannot satisfy their curiosity by reading the histories writ in the language of the country. I am apt to believe this work must needs meet with a favourable reception, if the History itself does not suffer by the historian's defects. But,

As Great Britain has all along been divided into two parts, namely, England and Scotland, I must warn the reader, that my design is only to write the History of England in particular. Though the neighbourhood of these two states has been productive of several events common to both, their histories are nevertheless distinct from each other. And therefore, I see no sufficient reason to induce me to imitate sundry historians, who have joined them together, on pretence that the two kingdoms in the last century were united under one and the same sovereign. As for the particular History of England, to which I intend to confine myself, I will venture to say, it contains as great variety, with as many entertaining and remarkable events, as most histories hitherto extant. It is true indeed, it has its dry and barren places, especially in the beginning; but this is an imperfection common to it with the histories of France, Spain, and all the rest of the kingdoms founded by the northern nations. As there were but few men of letters, among the nations, that, like a deluge, over-ran the Roman empire, there were consequently but few writers who took care to transmit to posterity, memorials of their histories. This History, like most others, may be compared to a river, which swells in proportion to its distance from the fountain-head, and grows immensely great where it falls into the ocean. But as England is a part, and that the most considerable of Great Britain, it will not be improper to prefix to the History of that kingdom, a general account of the island, of the first inhabitants, their customs, manners, government, and religion.

INTRODUCTION.

iii

THE ISLAND of ALBION, or BRITAIN, was scarce known to the Romans till the time of their emperors. Julius Cæsar was properly the first that discovered it to them, by carrying thither the Roman eagles, and by the account of his two British expeditions, the particulars whereof he has given in his Commentaries. He says, it is an island in the shape of a triangle: he sets down the length of each side, and says, the whole circuit of the isle measures about fifteen hundred miles, or five hundred French leagues. After such a description, one cannot but wonder at what Tacitus seems to assert, and Dion Cassius positively affirms, that Britain was not discovered to be an island till the government of Julius Agricola, that is, in the reign of Vespasian, Titus, or Domitian. Was it possible for Cæsar's Commentaries to be unknown to these historians?

Tacit. Life
of Agricola.
Dion Cas.
lib. 39.

Great Britain, as Cæsar observed, being almost triangular, if it be considered as bounded by three right-lines, forming a perfect triangle, the three sides together may be reckoned about fifteen hundred miles: but allowing for the windings of the coast, they are found to make about eighteen hundred miles, or six hundred French leagues in compass. The shortest side, which looks towards France, and reaches from the North Foreland in Kent^b, to the Land's End^c, in Cornwall, contains about three hundred miles; the western side, over against Ireland, from the Land's End to the northernmost point of Scotland, may be about eight hundred miles in length; and the third or eastern side about seven hundred.

Extent of
Great Britain.

Camd. Brit.

The names of Albion and Britain, by which this isle has been known, are both of so ancient a date, that their origin is not to be traced. To conjecture only, recourse has been had in this case. The first of these names, say some, was received from a certain giant, son of Neptune. Others derive the name Albion from the Greek word Alphon, signifying White, because the coasts, when viewed at a distance, look of that colour. Some again imagine Albion comes from the Celtic word Alp, or High, the land appearing so as you approach it from the continent^d.

Etymology
of the word
Albion.
Camden.

As

^a Tacitus says, "Hanc oram novissimi maris, tunc primum Romana classis circumvecta, insulam esse Britanniam affirmavit." "These words tunc primum, as appears by the context, must refer to the government of Agricola." This is Rapin's observation. But, after all, Tacitus might say this, and yet have seen Cæsar's Commentaries. For in Cæsar's time

Britain was only supposed to be an island, but not known to be so by the Romans, till Agricola's fleet sailed round it. Dion Cassius lived about an hundred years after Tacitus, in the latter end of the second; and the beginning of the third Century.

^b Called by the Romans Cantium.

^c Belerion.

^d Alpin, in the Phœnician tongue signifies

Etymology
of the word
Britain.

Somner.

Bochart in
Canaan.

Strabo, lib. 2.

Examination
of the four
etymologies.

As for the origin of the name Britain, we find, among the antiquaries, variety of opinions or conjectures, the principal of which are these four. The first, that the name of Britain was given to the island by Brutus, a Trojan prince. The second is Somner's, a learned Englishman, who supposes that because of the violent motion of the sea, which washes the coasts of Great Britain, this name may come from the British word Brydio, or Rage. The third, espoused by Camden, sir William Temple, and others, is founded upon the word Brith, signifying in the British tongue Woad, because the ancient Britons used to dye their Skins blue with that plant. The fourth is Bochart's: that famous antiquary believed, the Phœnicians coming to buy tin in the island of Albion, gave it the name of Barat-Anac, that is, the Land or Country of Tin, which being by the Greeks mollified into Britannia, was adopted by the Romans. This etymology seems to be confirmed by the Grecians calling the isles of Scilly, Cassiterides, which signifies in Greek the same as Barat-Anac in Phœnician.

If I may be allowed to speak my opinion of these four etymologies, the first seems to be founded altogether upon a fable. The second, deriving the name Britain from a British word, signifying Rage, is, I think, unwarrantable; because the island receiving this name from foreigners, as will be shown presently, it is not likely they should take it from the British language, of which probably they were ignorant: besides, it is not fact that the sea rages more on the coast of Great Britain than in other places; consequently, its motion not being uncommon, could not give occasion to derive this name from a word signifying Rage. The third, deriving the name from the word Brith, or Woad, is the most generally received. But, however, it is liable to one objection, which those that embrace it ought to remove, and that is, the name of Britain was certainly given to the island by foreigners. This is evident from the natives never styling their country Britain, or themselves Britons: their true name is Cumri, or Cumbri; from whence Cambria, the name of Wales to this day among the Welsh. Now it is by no means

signifies a High Mountain; and Alben, in the same language, signifies White. The derivation from Alben seems to be countenanced by the British poets, who call Britain, Inis-wen, i.e. the White Island. See Selden's notes on Polyolbion, p. 20.

The termination — tania, signifying in Greek, Region, shews, ac-

cording to Camden, that this word was formed by the Greeks, just as Mauritania, Lustania, Aquitania, etc. Rapin. It is a question whether there is any such Greek word as Tania, signifying a Country. Tan in Celtic, as well as in Asia, signifies Country, as the names of numberless places witness, Kurdistan, Dagistan, etc. etc.

probable,

I N T R O D U C T I O N.

probable, that foreigners should make use of a British word to form the name of this island. So the fourth opinion, viz. Bochart's, seems to me the most natural. It cannot be said to be unlikely that the Phœnicians, the first traders to this island, should give it the name of Barat-Anac, or the Land of Tin. Supposing this, it is probable the name passing from the Phœnicians to the Grecians, and from these last to the Romans, was changed into that of Britannia^f. However this be, we have nothing to trust to in this matter but very doubtful conjectures. The late instances of the names given to new-found lands are so many demonstrations, that caprice has as great a share as reason in coining these new names. A saint's day, the name of a leader or pilot, the first object that chanced to present itself to view, an accident happening at the time of the discovery of these new lands, have usually served for foundation to the names assigned them. So that perhaps the conjectures of Camden and Bochart are as little to the purpose with respect to Britain, as ours would be, if ignorant of the occasion of the names given to the several parts of America, we should endeavour to trace them from the language, customs, or commerce of the natives.

We are as much in the dark concerning the origin of the first inhabitants of the island of Albion, for in all likelihood it was peopled by colonies from different places, and at different times. Endeavours therefore have been used to give us some light into this matter from their customs, manners, religion, and form of government. But before I proceed to what has been conjectured on this head, it will be necessary just to touch upon the fabulous story of Brutus, published by Geoffrey of Monmouth, a writer of the twelfth century. Not that it deserves notice; but being mentioned by almost all the English historians, it seems hardly pardonable to pass it over in silence. Besides, it is the part of a good historian not only to relate matters of fact, but also to guard his readers against the fictions obtruded upon the world for truths.

Geoffrey of Monmouth, a Benedictin monk, penned in Latin a History of Britain, and dedicated it to Robert earl of Gloucester, natural son of Henry I. king of England. In this pretended History, Britain is said to receive her name from Brutus, the first of her kings. What the historian relates is as follows :

^f A modern author gives the following derivation. The Phœnicians having passed the Straights, met with no island in the ocean comparable to these now called the British isles. These therefore, by way of eminence, they

called Brithan, that is Outer, or Islands in the Outer Sea, in opposition to those in the Mediterranean, which they called the Inner Sea. From Brithan, Britannia naturally flows. Le Clerc.

Origin of the Britons.

Cæsar, Tacitus.

The story of
Brutus.

Brutus, son of Sylvius, grandson of Æneas, had the misfortune to kill his father as he was shooting at a deer. As he could not, or would not, after this fatal accident, stay any longer in Italy, he retires into Greece, where gathering together the descendants of the Trojans that were brought thither after the destruction of their city, he puts to sea with them, and after long wandering on the Mediterranean, enters the Atlantic ocean, and performs wonders in several places, particularly in Gaul against Goffarius king of Aquitain. At length, guided by an oracle, he comes and lands in the island of Albion, at a place where Totneſs now ſtands, in the county of Devon. The iſland was at that time inhabited by giants of the race of Cham, whoſe chief or king was Gog-Magog. Brutus and his Companions, though few in number, not only keep their ground, but root out the giants and get poſſeſſion of the iſland, which Brutus from his own name called Britain. Before his death, he divided his dominions among his three ſons. Locrin, or Leogrin, had for his ſhare Loegria, ſo called from him, the ſame with England now, excluſive of Wales, which was the ſhare of Camber, Brutus's ſecond ſon, and from him named Cambria; Albanact, the youngeſt, had the country ſince called Scotland, to which he gave the name of Albania^s.

Having laid theſe foundations, the author continues his Hiſtory, giving an account of the various revolutions that happened in the iſland, under the kings ſucceſſors of Brutus, whoſe names he relates with ſome of their actions. But as to the time of their reigns he is not ſo exact, ſetting down neither when they began, nor how long they laſted. He is contented with ſaying, Brutus's arrival in Albion was twelve hundred years after the flood, and ſixty-fix after the deſtruction of Troy. This Hiſtory, publiſhed in ſo dark an age, was greedily received, particularly by the Welch, the poſterity of the ancient Britons. But it brings with it ſo many marks of forgery, that it is looked upon by all that have examined it with any attention, as a fiction of Geoffrey himſelf, or ſome other author whom he has too implicitly followed.

After rejecting this fable, I wiſh it were in my power to give a ſatisſactory account of the origin of the Britons: but that is impoſſible. We muſt be ſatisfied with the conjectures of Cæſar, Tacitus, and ſome more modern authors. The moſt probable account ſeems to be this:

^s The name of Loegria is loſt; proof of the origin of theſe names being ſuch as Geoffrey of Monmouth related, Rapin, Cambria is retained by the Welch, as Albany is by the Scots. But this is no

INTRODUCTION.

vii

That Great Britain was peopled by the Celtæ or Gauls, descended from Gomer, son of Japhet, is universally acknowledged. Of this the name Cumri^b, by which the Welsh call themselves still in their language, and several other reasons, will not suffer us to doubt. Besides, the numerous swarms of Gauls that over-ran so great a part of Europe and Asia, make it credible, they neglected not to send colonies into Great Britain, which lay so near them. The affinity, taken notice of by antiquaries, between the Gauls and Britons with respect to religion, is a farther confirmation of this opinion. It is true indeed, the Belgæ are said by some writers to settle in the eastern, the Spaniards in the western, and the Hibernians or Irish in the northern parts of Great Britain. But this is not inconsistent with the common opinion. The Belgæ were no other than Gauls; and the Spaniards, as well as the Irish or Scots, were, according to some writers, colonies of the Celtiberian Gauls that inhabited along the western coasts of Spain. But supposing it were not very certain, that these Spaniards were Celtiberians, it cannot be denied that the southern part, now called England, was peopled by the Gauls. This is the most probable account of the origin of the Britons.

Camden.
Brit. p. xiv.
etc.

As for their manners, customs, religion, and government, though mentioned by Cæsar in his Commentaries, should we confine ourselves to what he has said, our knowledge would be but very imperfect. A fuller discovery of these things must be drawn chiefly from the authors who writ after the Romans were become masters of Britain. As the Britons did not at once, but by degrees, alter their customs and manners, what these authors say of the Britons of those days, may be presumed to agree in many respects with the ancient inhabitants of the island.

Manners and
Customs of
the Britons.
Cæsar. Com.
lib. v.
Tacit. Vit.
Agricol.

The Britons were generally tall and well-made, and, like most of the Irish at this day, yellow-haired. Their constitution was so good, that, according to Plutarch, they frequently lived a hundred and twenty years. This length of days was probably owing to their sobriety and temperance, as much or more than to the wholesomeness of the air. The use of cloaths was scarce known in the island. None but the inhabitants of the southern coasts covered their nakedness with the skins of wild beasts carelessly thrown over them, not so much to defend themselves against the cold, as to avoid giving offence to the strangers that came to traffic with them.

^b That is Indigene, or the first in opposition to those that came over and most ancient inhabitants of Britain, from Ec.g.t.m. Mag. Brit. p. 8.

Solinus.
Plin. Hist.
Nat. lib. xxiii.
cap. 1.

They were wont by way of ornament to make incisions in their bodies in the shape of flowers, trees, and animals, which with the juice of woad they painted of a sky-colour that never wore out. These scars are by Tertullian termed *Britanorum Stigmata*.

Cæsar. Com.
lib. v.

They lived in woods, in huts covered over with skins, boughs, or turf. There are people now in the north of Scotland that are said to have no other houses. I remember also to have seen in Ireland poor people living in a hut covered only with green turf, and not above three or four times bigger than their body. I was told, they lived quietly in these habitations, without stirring abroad, unless to provide for their subsistence, and, contented with milk and potatoes, gave themselves no farther trouble. This may serve to give us an idea of the way of living as well among the ancient Britons, as, perhaps, among many other nations. Their usual food was milk, and flesh got by hunting, their woods and plains being well stocked with game. As for domestic fowls, hens, and geese, if they bred any, it was for their pleasure, being strictly forbid by their religion to eat them, as Cæsar expressly observes. Neither did they eat any fish, though the rivers and the sea that surrounded them were plentifully stored with them. Their towns, or rather villages, were only a confused parcel of huts placed at a little distance from each other, without any order or distinction of streets. They generally stood in the middle of a wood, the avenues whereof were defended with slight ramparts of earth, or with the trees that were felled to clear the ground. Notwithstanding this their plain and simple manner of living, so remote from the luxury of other nations, they were as quick of apprehension as their neighbours the Gauls, and, if Tacitus may be credited, of greater penetration. Diodorus Siculus does not scruple to prefer their honesty and integrity before that of the Romans. One custom however they had, that seemed detestable to other nations, though for their part they thought it very innocent; and that was, for ten or a dozen brothers or friends to live all together and have their wives in common. This custom continued a long time among them, though in other respects they were grown very civilized by their commerce with the Romans, when masters of this island. A British lady being upbraided one day by Julia, Severus's empress, with a custom so contrary to the practice of other nations, is said, by an historian, to return this bold answer: "The Roman ladies have little
" reason to reproach us upon this account, since we do pub-
" licly with the best of our men no more than what they do
" privately

Dio, l. lxxvi.

“privately with the worst of theirs, freedmen and slaves.” The Britons, without doubt, differed from more civilized nations in many other customs^l. But their country being little frequented by foreigners, we know but few particulars about them, especially with regard to the time before the arrival of the Romans. We must therefore be satisfied with what we find scattered here and there in authors, who it may be, for the most part, knew but little of the matter.

Cæsar gives a great character of the valour of the Britons, and their going to battle with undaunted bravery. But it is hard to understand his description of their way of fighting. He says, they fought for the most part in chariots, from whence, furiously driving among their enemies, they flung their darts: but when they had to deal with the horse, they left their chariots to fight on foot with advantage. Now this seems very strange. For my part, I own I cannot conceive what advantage they could have to engage the horse rather on foot than in their chariots. The Britons manner of fighting. Cæsar. Com. lib. iv.

As well situated for trade as the Britons were, we do not find they had any large vessels, or ventured to sea beyond the coasts of Gaul. Their chief commerce was with the Phœnician merchants^k, who, after the discovery of the island, exported every year great quantities of tin, with which they drove a very gainful trade with distant nations. But notwithstanding all their care to conceal the fountain-head, the Greeks^l discovered it at length, and came and traded also to the same place. Their trade.

The commerce being carried on in the furthest parts of Cornwall only, foreign merchants had no opportunity to know exactly the state of the island. For which reason we are ignorant at this day, of many particulars concerning the religion and government of the Britons, that probably would have been transmitted down to us, if other nations had met with information. A full account therefore must not be expected of these matters, since here, as well as in many other cases, conjectures only are all we have to go upon. Thus much however is known, that the Britons had in a manner the same gods with the Gauls. For instance, Dis and Samoths were deities equally worshipped by both nations. But the Britons had a very particular veneration for Andate, goddess of victory, to whom they sacrificed their prisoners of war. Their religion.

^l Another custom they had, viz. If a wife was found accessory to her husband's death, she was proceeded against with fire. Hence, says Coke, our present law of burning women that have killed their husbands,

^k The Phœnicians first came to Britain before the Trojan war. Sam. Brit. p. 47.

^l The Greeks came hither one hundred and sixty years before Julius Cæsar. Sam. Brit. p. 74.

I N T R O D U C T I O N .

The druids.
Cæsar, lib. vi.
Pliny, l. xvi.
cap. 44.

We know moreover the druids, as well among the Britons as Gauls, had the care and direction of all religious matters^m. The name Druid comes from the word Deru, signifying 'in the British or Celtic language, an Oak, like Drus in the Greek'. For the mistletoe that grows on the oak was looked upon by them as a most sacred thing, and the greatest blessing from heavenⁿ. The druids were held in such veneration by the people, that their authority was almost absolute: no public affairs were transacted without their approbation; not so much as a malefactor could be put to death without their consent. Religion not only afforded them a pretence to concern themselves in the government, but authorised them, as they pretended, to intermeddle in private affairs. Under colour, that there is hardly any case but where religion may be concerned, they claimed a power to exclude from the sa-

Et vos Barbaricos ritus moremque finistram
Sacrorum, Druidæ, positis repetistis ab armis.
Solis nosse deos, etc.

Lucan.

The Druids, now, while arms are heard no more,
Old mysteries and barbarous rites restore:
A tribe who singular religion love,
And haunt the lonely coverts of the grove.
To these, and these of all mankind alone,
The gods are sure reveal'd, or sure unknown.
If dying mortals doom they sing aright,
No ghosts descend to dwell in dreadful night:
No parting souls to grisly Pluto go,
Nor seek the dreary silent shades below;
But forth they fly, immortal in their kind,
And other bodies in new worlds they find.
Thus life for ever runs its endless race,
And like a line, death but divides the space;
A stop which can but for a moment last,
A point between the future and the past.
Thrice happy they beneath their northern skies,
Who that worst fear, the fear of death despise:
Hence they no cares for this frail being feel;
But rush undaunted on the pointed steel;
Provoke approaching fate, and bravely scorn,
To spare that life which must so soon return.

^a Father Pezron, in his book of the Original of the Celtic Language, will have both Greek and Latin to come from Celtic. If so, the Greek word Drus must come from the Celtic Deru. Rapin.

o Ad viscum druidæ, druidæ cantare solebant.

Ovid.

They called the mistletoe, as they still call it in some part of Wales, the Pren-Awyr. These groves were they worshipped were called Llwyn, thence probably the word Llan, signifying now in Welsh a Church. These groves were inclosures of spreading oaks, ever surrounding their sacred places: in

which were, 1. Gorseddau, or hillocks, where they sat and pronounced their decrees, and spoke orations to the people. 2. Carnedd, or heaps of stones, on which they had a peculiar mode of worship. 3. Cromleche, or altars, on which they performed the solemnities of sacrifices, Rowland, p. 69.

crifices

INTRODUCTION.

xi

crifices all such as refused to submit to their determinations. By that means they became very formidable, this sort of excommunication being deemed so infamous, that the person on whom it was pronounced, was avoided by all. The Christian clergy in this point have but too closely imitated the ancient druids. The chief of the druids was a sort of pontiff, or high-priest, who had authority over all the rest. This dignity was elective: and sometimes, when the candidates were of equal merit, such heats and broils have raged among them, that they have fallen to blows before the election was over.

The Bards, among both Britons and Gauls, were priests of an inferior order to the druids. Their business was to celebrate the praises of their heroes in verses and songs, which they composed and sung to their harps^p. They continued in being a long time: there were some even after the Romans had entirely abandoned the island.

The Bards.
Caesar, Com.
lib. ix.

A third sort of priests, as well in Britain as Gaul, were the Eubates^q, who applied themselves chiefly to the study of philosophy, and the contemplation of the wonderful works of nature, as Marcellinus informs us.

The Eubates

In short, as the Britons and Gauls had properly but one and the same religion, it is very probable one of these nations received it from the other. Caesar was of opinion, that the Gauls had it from Britain, because, as he observes, those that were desirous to have a thorough knowledge of this religion, went thither to study it. But this argument at most serves only to prove, that their religious mysteries were celebrated with greater exactness in Britain, it may be by reason of the revolutions that happened in Gaul, by the wars raised there by the Romans. Buchanan, not so positive as Caesar, says, it cannot certainly be known which of the two nations received it from the other. It is very likely, however, the Gauls, when they peopled Britain, brought their religion with them. Be this as it will, since the British and Gaulish druids had the same notions; and there is nothing certain concerning the first, we can form no idea of their religion, but by that of the Gauls, which is a little better known to us. This knowledge, however, is of no great extent, the druids having left nothing

Religion of
the Gauls
and Britons.

^p You too, you bards! whom sacred raptures fire,
To chaunt your heroes on your country's lyre,
Who consecrate, in your immortal strain,
Brave patriot-souls in righteous battle slain.

Lucan.

^q *Ovalisq*, Strabo. In Welsh or British, *Offwyrr* or *Offyddion*. Mon. Antiq.
B. 650.

INTRODUCTION.

Gollut.
Mem. de.
Franch.
Comt.
Maxims of
the druids.

In writing, it being their custom to teach their disciples every thing by heart. A Burgundian author has been at the pains to collect some of the druidical maxims or rules, of which the most remarkable are these :

- “ None must be instructed but in the sacred groves.
- “ Mistletoe must be gathered with reverence, and if possible in the sixth moon. It must be cut with a golden bill.
- “ Every thing derives its origin from heaven.
- “ The arcana of the sciences must not be committed to writing, but to the memory.
- “ Great care is to be taken of the education of children.
- “ The powder of mistletoe makes women fruitful.
- “ The disobedient are to be shut out from the sacrifices.
- “ Souls are immortal.
- “ The soul after death goes into other bodies.
- “ If the world is destroyed, it will be by fire or water.
- “ Upon extraordinary emergencies, a man must be sacrificed.
- “ According as the body falls, or moves after it is fallen ; according as the blood flows, or the wound opens, future events are foretold.
- “ Prisoners of war are to be slain upon the altars, or burnt alive inclosed in wicker, in honour of the gods.
- “ All commerce with strangers must be prohibited.
- “ He that comes last to the assembly of the states, ought to be punished with death.
- “ Children are to be brought up apart from their parents, till they are fourteen years of age.
- “ Money lent in this world will be repaid in the next.
- “ There is another world, and they who kill themselves to accompany their friends thither, will live with them there.
- “ Letters given to dying persons, or thrown on the funeral piles of the dead, will faithfully be delivered in the other world.
- “ The moon is a sovereign remedy for all things, [as its name in Celtic implies.]
- “ Let the disobedient be excommunicated ; let him be deprived of the benefit of the law ; let him be avoided by all, and rendered incapable of any employ.
- “ All masters of families are kings in their own houses, they have a power of life and death over their wives, children and slaves.”

These

INTRODUCTION.

xiii

These articles may serve to give us a specimen of the principles and religion of the druids, which flourished a long while in Great Britain as well as in Gaul. It spread as far as Italy, as appears by Augustus's injunction to the Romans not to celebrate its mysteries. There were women as well as men druids. It was a female druid of Tungria^r, that, according to Vopiscus, foretold to Dioclesian (when a private soldier in Gallia) that he would be emperor of Rome^s.

If the religion of the Britons may be learned by that of the Gauls, an idea of their government may likewise be formed the same way. As both nations were of Celtic extraction, they had, very probably, the same form of government. In order, therefore, to know the nature of the British government, recourse may be had to what was in use among the Gauls. From the time of the founding of Rome, the Gauls were divided into several petty states, with a head or king over each. Some of these being more powerful than the rest, kept their neighbours in a sort of dependance, and one of them, upon great and imminent dangers, was by common consent chosen chief commander, whose power was limited, as well as the time of his administration. During his office, he was considered as a sovereign magistrate, having power to put the laws in execution, and act as captain-general of all their forces. Livy (according to the custom of the Romans) calls this magistrate King. But a modern author, who believed he understood better the nature of that dignity, affirms the title of King not to be at all proper for the person invested with it, and therefore calls him only Paramount, or, "one superior to the rest." However this be, the Britons may be supposed to have had much the same form of government, since we find the whole country between the Tine and the Chan-

The government of the Britons.

S. Julius Orig. of the Burgund.

Pomp. Mel. lib. iii.

^r The present bishopric of Liege.

^s Rowlands, in his *Mona Antiqua*, imagines the Second Sight (which he seems to believe) called Taith in Scotland, to be a relique of druidism, and builds his conjecture upon this noted story related by Vopiscus, who says, Dioclesian, when a private soldier in Gallia, on his removing thence, reckoning with his hostess, a druid woman, she told him he was too penurious, but that he needed not to be sparing of his money, for after he should kill a Boar, she assured him (looking steadfastly in his face) he would be emperor of Rome. These words made great impression upon him, and he was afterwards much delighted in hunting

and killing boars, often saying when he saw many made emperors, and his own fortune not much mending, "I kill the boars, but 'tis others that eat the flesh." However, many years after, one Arrius Aper, father-in-law of the emperor Numerianus, grasping for the empire, treacherously slew him, for which fact being brought by the soldiers before Dioclesian (then become a prince commander in the army) he asked his name, and being told he was called Aper, (i. e. Boar) without further pause sheathed his sword in his bowels, saying, "Et hunc Aprum cum cæteris," which done, the soldiers saluted him emperor.

nel was divided into seventeen petty states, with each its head, dignified by authors with the name of King. When Julius Cæsar invaded Britain, the command of their army was conferred by the Britons on Cassibelanus, king or chief of the Trinobantes; and in the time of Claudius, Caractacus, king of the Silures, was chosen general. In the map annexed, the names and situation of these states are laid down. These nations, without doubt, depending on each other no farther than necessity compelled them, had frequent quarrels and contests. But we have no certain knowledge of their affairs; and therefore the beginning of their history can be dated no farther back than Cæsar's invasion. From thence, to the time of their being freed from the dominion of the conquering Romans, the thread may in some measure be carried on, though several large gaps occur, which it is not possible to fill up, by reason of the fewness of the authors that have treated of this subject. But before I begin, it will be necessary to premise a brief account of the Picts and Scots, inhabitants of North Britain.

If the Britons aspire to a very ancient original, by calling themselves descendants of Brutus, great-grandson of Æneas; the Scots, ever jealous of the glory of their neighbours, resolve not to yield to them, even in this imaginary honour: nay, they go beyond them, and lay claim to a much greater, but withal a no less fabulous antiquity. Their histories are full of their nation being founded by Gathelus, son of Cécrops king of Athens; or, as some say, son of Argus, fourth king of Argos, jointly with Scota, daughter of Pharaoh king of Egypt. This fable is dressed up in the following manner:

The fabulous orig. of the Scots. Hector Boethius. Buchanan.

Gathelus, being forced to quit his native country, to avoid the persecution of his enemies, puts to sea in company with some friends, who would not forsake him. After several adventures too long to relate, he comes into Egypt, and serves under Moses in Pharaoh's war with the Ethiopians. At length, upon Moses leaving Egypt, Gathelus having signalized himself by many brave actions, succeeds him in the command of Pharaoh's army, who gives him his daughter Scota in marriage. Thirty-nine years after, Gathelus, terrified by an oracle foretelling the destruction of Egypt, sails from thence with a great number of Greeks and Egyptians who adhere to his fortune. He makes several attempts to settle in Africa; but not succeeding, roves about uncertain of his fate, and at last lands at a port on the western coast of Spain, calling the place *Portus Gatheli*, from whence came the name of *Portugal*.

INTRODUCTION.

xv

gal. [Here the author of this fable forgot that Gathelus spoke Greek and not Latin.] After some stay, Gathelus, leaving a colony here, steers his course farther northward, and settles in a country from his own name called Gathelicia, or Galicia. Some time after, his son Hiberus embarking with some of his father's followers, sails towards the north, and leads a colony to an island by him named Hibernia, and afterwards Ireland. As this island was not then very populous the natives gladly received the new-comers, and mixing with them, soon became one nation under the general name of Scots, from *Scota* mother of Hiberus.

It would be lost time to refute a fable that brings its own confutation along with it. Neither should I have mentioned it, had not Buchanan inserted it in his History of Scotland, and shewn the absurdities of it, to remove the prejudices of those of his countrymen who stood up in its defence. This may be called the fabulous origin of the Scots. The account given for truth by the writers that are less prepossessed in favour of the antiquity of their nation, is as follows:

The island of Iren, called by the Romans Hibernia, and by the English and Scots Iren-landit or Ireland, had been long possessed by the Scots from Scythia in Europe, when a colony of Spaniards came with a design to settle there, much about the time that the Carthaginians became masters of Spain. The number of these foreigners not being very considerable, the natives, far from being alarmed, willingly admitted them, and assigned them lands to cultivate. Buchanan supposes these Spaniards to be descended from a colony of the Celtiberians that were settled in Spain. The good reception these met with in Ireland, drew others thither; insomuch that in the end the island grew very populous, and the two nations mixing together, became one people under the name of Scots. In process of time, the land being over-stocked, abundance of families threw themselves into the Ebudes or Hebrides, islands situated north of Ireland, which being small, were likewise in time as well peopled as Ireland itself. The Scyths or Scots are said to land in Ireland not long after the flood, and the Spaniards to arrive there in the year of the world 3380.

The Hebrides being thus peopled by the Scots, certain strange ships came and offered to land. These ships were filled with Picts, a German nation inhabiting the countries now called Mecklenburg and Pomerania. They were roving about, according to the custom of the northern nations, in quest of new habitations, their country being too populous

A probable account of the origin of the Scots.

Arrival of the Picts in Britain. Bede lib. i. cap. 1.

to find them a subsistence^t. They demanded of the Scots some part of their isles to settle in. The Scots replied, the soil was so barren, that it was incapable of supplying them all with necessaries. But withal informed them, that a large island, called Albion, lay not far distant, where the northern parts being thinly inhabited, they would infallibly find room enough, offering them assistance in case of opposition. The Picts satisfied with this discovery, steered directly to Albion, and finding but few inhabitants where they landed, settled without much trouble in the northern parts.

Buchan.

Picts and
Scots unite.

They separate.

Distinction
between the
Scots and
Great and
Little Scotland.
Camp. Desc.
of Scotland.

The Scots, having been long desirous to extend their habitations into Albion, where they hoped to find greater plenty than in their islands, laid hold of this opportunity to share in the new settlement^u; the Picts were not displeased to see such numbers flock over, for besides the need they stood in of their assistance against the attacks of the natives of Albion, they could not possibly have subsisted long in that country, if the Scots had not supplied them with wives to perpetuate their colony. But this was done upon condition the heirs of the women should have the preference before those of the men in the succession to the kingdom they were going to establish. This law, Bede says, was in force in his time. The two nations, being thus united together in one common interest, compelled by degrees the ancient inhabitants of Albion to retire to the southward, and leave them in possession of all the country lying north of the Tine. At length, their numbers being greatly increased, they agreed to separate; whether the difference of their laws and customs occasioned frequent quarrels, or for some other unknown reasons. The Scots chose the western part, as nearest Ireland, with the Hebrides; and the Picts took the eastern part, as opposite to Germany^x. After the separation, the two nations began to be distinguished from one another, and governed each by their own laws. The Scots that inhabited Albion began to be distinguished from those that remained in Ireland and the adjacent isles: the former were called Albins and the latter Irish. Hence comes likewise the distinction between Great Scotland or Ireland, and Little Scotland or North Britain. The Albin Scots,

^t In St. Kilda, the most western isle of the Hebrides, the inhabitants now live upon eggs, which the wild geese come and lay constantly at a certain season. Martin's Voyage to St. Kilda, printed at London, 1698. Rapin.

^u This is strongly contested, for it is pretended by many, that the Scots

did not settle in the northern parts of Britain till the beginning of the sixth century. Buchanan's account is followed here. Rapin.

^x They were parted by Grantf-bain hills, called by Tacitus, in the Life of Agricola, cap. xxv. Mons Grampius.

strengthened

INTRODUCTION.

xvii

strengthened by continual supplies from their brethren the Irish, increased to such a degree, that in the end growing much more powerful than the Picts, they utterly destroyed them. But this happened not till many ages after their separation.

It is difficult for amity and a good understanding to remain long between two bordering nations. Jealousy and opposite interests furnish them with too frequent occasions of quarrel. The Picts and Scots were no sooner parted, but they began to fall at variance about some trifling affair. The contest being inflamed, they were upon the point of coming to an open rupture by the instigations of the ancient inhabitants, who fomented the division to the utmost of their power. These last, whom I shall for the future call Britons, though I know not when that name was first given them, began to repent of suffering these foreigners to settle in the island: wherefore, at this so seemingly favourable an opportunity, they thought it their interest to kindle a war which could not fail to be fatal to both parties, and might even prove equally destructive of both. As the Britons were in most danger from the Scots, by reason of their neighbourhood to Ireland, they offered their assistance to the Picts to drive the Scots out of the country, in expectation afterwards to find an opportunity to do the same by those they were now so desirous to side with. The Scots being informed of this alliance, turned their thoughts to Ireland, and applied for aid to king Ferchard, who sent over his son Fergus. This young prince, finding the Albin Scots in a sort of anarchy, without a chief or head but what they chose upon extraordinary occasions, and representing to them the inconveniences attending such a state, they resolved to invest him with sovereign authority. Fergus therefore was the first king of Scotland properly so called, for Great Scotland or Ireland not only had been governed by kings many ages before, but, if the Irish are to be credited, was the most ancient monarchy in the world. Fergus is said to arrive in Scotland in the year of the world 3627, about the time Alexander the Great made his entrance into Babylon. But this pretension is so strongly contested, it must not be too easily admitted.

Fergus, as soon as he was seated in his throne, made great preparations for the war against the Picts, without neglecting however the means to avoid it. He represented to them by his ambassadors, that the contest between the two nations being of little moment, might easily be decided without coming to blows, would both sides but agree to hearken to reason: that it was to be feared their weakening one another, would

Contest between the Scots and Picts.

The Picts make an alliance with the Britons.

Fergus sent from Ireland to aid the Scots.

Is made king of Scotland. Buchanan.

Buchan.

Fergus joins with the Picts against the Britons.

INTRODUCTION.

afford their neighbours and common enemies the Britons an opportunity to destroy both nations, which it was easy to perceive was their intention. This remonstrance made such impression on the Picts, that suddenly altering their first design, they entered into a strict alliance with the Scots against the Britons. Fergus thus strengthened by the assistance of the Picts, marched against the Britons, and gave them battle, in which their king Coilus was slain. After this defeat, the Britons finding themselves too weak to resist the two northern nations, sue for peace. Fergus shortly after, returning to Ireland, was cast away, and drowned near the place where Carickfergus now stands ^y.

This is the account of the Scottish historians concerning the settlement of the two nations that inhabited North Britain. From the arrival of Fergus to the Roman invasion, they pretend things remained in much the same state, without any considerable alteration in the island, or of the inhabitants. From the Channel to the Tine the country was possessed by the Britons, and divided into seventeen petty states or kingdoms. From the Tine to the utmost bounds of the north, the Picts ^z inhabited the eastern, over against Germany, and the Scots the western parts opposite to Ireland, from which they were parted by a very narrow channel. The Scots count fifteen kings from Fergus to Ederus, who reigned in Scotland when Cæsar invaded Britain.

Dispute
about the
settlement
of the Scots
in Great
Britain.

Though one should think the Scots best know the origin of their own monarchy, yet this antiquity of theirs is greatly contested by several famous and learned English writers. Instead of admitting what the Scots advance, they pretend to demonstrate that the nation was not settled in Great Britain till the beginning of the sixth century. This dispute appears at first sight to be of little consequence, the Scots being able to plead too long a prescription to apprehend their right of possession may be called in question. On the other hand, it does not seem to be of much benefit to the English to contest with them the honour of this antiquity, supposing it to be imaginary. Notwithstanding, as religion was concerned in the case, the dispute was carried on with great warmth. The Presbyterians, among their objections against episcopacy, advance, that the church of Scotland was governed by Presbyters only, called Culdees ^z, before there were any bishops in

^y This was the first place besieged by duke of Schomberg at his arrival in Ireland in 1689. Rapin.

^z The name of Picts is first men-

tioned by Fumenius in his Panegyric to Maximian, about the year 286. Tyrrel, p. 92.

a Bishop Lloyd says they were called

INTRODUCTION.

ix

in the country; whence they would infer that episcopacy is not of divine institution. The English bishops answered this objection by denying the fact, affirming the church of Scotland was so far from being governed by presbyters, that it was not yet in being, the Scots not settling in the island before the year of our Lord 503. According to the English then, eight hundred years after the time the Scots ascribe to their settlement in Great Britain must be taken away. This difference is so considerable, that one can hardly think the Scots should be so much mistaken. Is it possible the forty kings that are pretended to sit on the throne of Scotland, from Fergus I. to Coran, who reigned in the year of Christ 501, were imaginary kings only? On the other side, it is no less difficult to believe that their learned adversaries would lay so great an error to their charge, were they not persuaded they had good proofs to support their opinion. As the generality of my readers are but little concerned in this dispute, it is not, I suppose, expected that I should fully relate the arguments urged on both sides, they being the subject of many volumes. I shall content myself therefore with briefly shewing how this dispute was managed.

Had the Scots been obliged to prove directly their settlement in Great Britain from the time of Alexander the Great, I am afraid their arguments would not have been altogether satisfactory to unprejudiced judges. But they wisely gave the dispute another turn. When a nation, say they, ascribes any thing to itself, in an historical way, it ought not to be denied without sufficient evidence to the contrary. By this means they put their adversaries upon proving a negative, which every one knows to be a very difficult task. However, this is what they have undertaken to do. Their main argument is drawn from no writers mentioning the Scots as inhabitants of Great Britain till the sixth century. They alledge on the contrary several passages from Latin authors, wherein you have a list of the nations that inhabited the northern parts of the island, without the least mention of the Scots. But the Scots maintain, that this negative proof destroys not their

ed Kelledei, or, in old Scotch, Kyldes, from Cylle, a Cell, and Tee, or Dee, a House, that is, a House of Cells. But afterwards, when it was usual to find out Latin derivations for those words of which men did not know the original, Kyldes or Kylledei came to be called Culdei or Colidei, that is, Worshippers

of God. Either way it appears they were monks. Now the first monks among the Scots were St. Martin's disciples, who died in 401. Consequently the Culdees were not of so ancient a date as pretended by Selden and the Scotists historians. They are not mentioned by Bede or Neanias.

INTRODUCTION.

pretensions, for their nation not being subdued by the Romans till the Reign of Severus, and remaining but a very short space under their dominion, it is no wonder they knew so little of it, and consequently gave so imperfect an account. They add moreover, though the Deucalidonians, Meatae, Attacotti, are mentioned by Tacitus and other historians, as inhabiting the northern parts of Great Britain, it does not follow that these nations were not Picts or Scots, just as the Ikeni, Trinobantes, Silures, were truly Britons, though distinguished by particular names. Among the adversaries of the Scots in this dispute, the most considerable are Usher, Lloyd, Stillingfleet, authors of great note. In their defence the principal writers are Hector Boethius, Buchanan, Mackenzie, all three very eminent in Scotland.

Like dispute concerning the Picts.

If the Picts were still in being, they would have the like charge to maintain. For the same English authors affirm, the Picts were no other than Britons, who, to avoid the tyranny of the Romans, retired into the northern parts of the island; where, continuing to paint their bodies with woad, the Romans gave them the name of Picts, to distinguish them from those that, after their submission to the Roman power, had left off that custom. This opinion is not groundless, since it is certain many Britons, unwilling to submit to the Roman yoke, retired northward as the conquerors advanced in the island. But as the Romans subdued the seventeen British nations, not all at once but by degrees, it may be asked why they gave the name of Picts to those only that fled beyond the Tine, and not to the other nations before they were conquered, to distinguish them also from such as had submitted. The Scots further reply, that the argument alleged by the English is more specious than solid, being entirely built upon the conformity of the name Picts with the Latin word *Picti*: that many Britons, it is true, retired among the inhabitants of the north; but to prove these to be the same with them that were afterwards called Picts, it must be shown how they came to be a separate body, and a distinct people from the other northern nations, as it is certain the Picts were for several ages, with laws and customs different from those of the Britons and Scots: that seeing nothing like this can be shewn, it is more natural to think these fugitive Britons retiring among the Picts were incorporated with them. This opinion, to which I confess I am inclined, may be farther confirmed, by considering that the Scots, not being conquered till the reign of Severus, and remaining but a very little time under the dominion of the Romans,

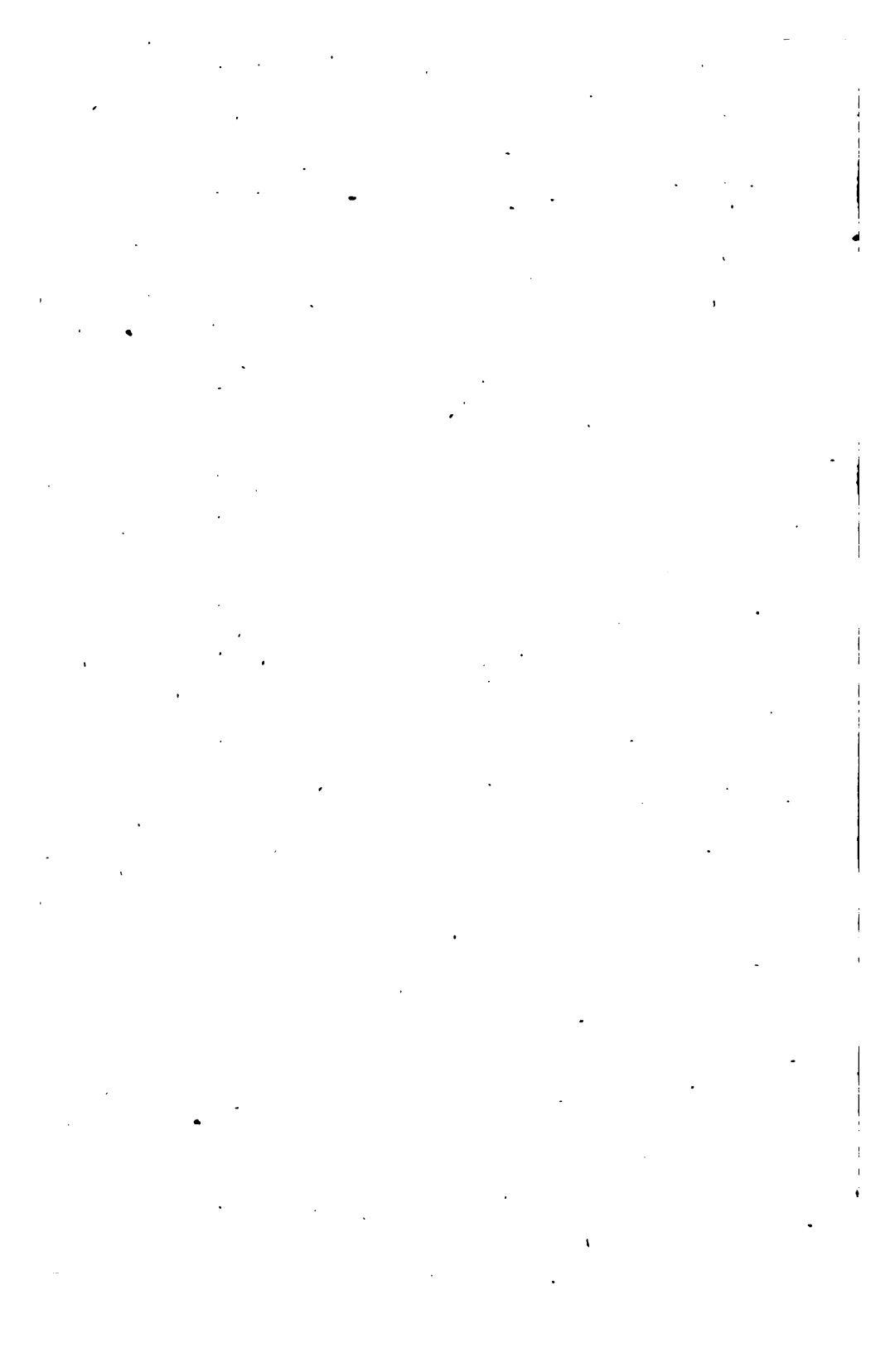
I N T R O D U C T I O N.

xxi

Romans, called their neighbours Pehiti. Now if this name be the same with that of the Picts from the Latin word *Picti*, how can it be conceived that the northern people, whether Scots or others, should give their neighbours a Roman name? but if it be a different name, it must then be owned the Picts were not Britons, nor received their name from the custom of painting their bodies. Buchanan, who takes the name of the Picts to be Roman, confesses however his ignorance of the name they gave themselves. But on the other hand, he pretends they came from certain Gaulish colonies settled in Thrace, where they painted their bodies as well as in Britain. The Picts, continues he, spoke the same language as the Britons and Scots, since we do not find in history that these three nations had occasion for interpreters to trade together. I own this does not seem to me to be a satisfactory reason, it being very possible these nations might speak different languages, and yet historians make no mention of interpreters^b. Buchanan however concludes from hence they were originally Celtæ. Verstegan, an English author, says the name of the Picts comes from a word in their own language, signifying Warrior. I do not think it necessary to examine any farther the origin of a nation that has now been entirely extinct without the least remains, almost nine hundred years.

This is all I could find worth notice concerning the Picts and Scots, who are to make so considerable a figure in the following history. It is now time to return to the Britons, and shew in what manner they were subdued by the Romans.

^b Bede says, in his time God was Scotorum, Pictorum, et Latinorum, served in five several languages in Britain, namely, Anglorum, Britonum, lib. 1. cap. 1. Huntingd. p. 299.



THE
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND.

BOOK I.

*From the first invasion of BRITAIN by the ROMANS under JULIUS CÆSAR, to the calling in of the SAXONS.
Containing the space of about five hundred years.*

THE Romans were become masters of almost all Europe, of the best part of Africa, and of the richest countries of Asia, before they undertook the conquest of Great Britain. While so many kingdoms were by these conquerors continually added to their empire, Great Britain preserved her liberty: but it was owing rather to her situation than strength. She was considered as a separate world by herself, to which the inhabitants of the continent seemed to have no pretensions, or at least knew nothing there capable of exciting their desires. Besides, the wars with the Gauls kept the Romans so long employed, that they had not leisure or opportunity to think of the Britons. Julius Cæsar was the first that formed the project of that conquest, during his government of Gaul, where he caused the Roman arms to triumph. His frequent victories over the Gauls had

Cæsar forms
the design
to conquer
Britain.
Sueton.
Mela.

extremely increased his fame, and procured great advantages to the commonwealth. But he was not himself satisfied with the reputation he had lately acquired in Gaul. His thirst of glory, and desire of enlarging the bounds of the empire, inspired him with the design to extend his conquests, and bring the Britons under the dominion of the Romans. Some accuse him of being influenced by a more ignoble motive, and of aiming in this enterprize at the enriching himself with the spoils he hoped to find in the island^a. But this imputation cannot be said to be well grounded. However this be, Great Britain, though little known in those days, had charms sufficient to raise the ambition of that renowned warrior. His pretence for invading the Britons, was their assisting the enemies of the commonwealth: a pretence frequently used by the Romans to carry their conquests into the most remote countries. Upon this ground he made two expeditions into the island, the particulars whereof are thus related in his Commentaries,

Account of
his first ex-
pedition into
Britain.
Ant. Chr.
55.
Cæsar Com.
lib. iv.

Cæsar, though he had spent part of the summer in making an irruption into Germany, resolved to employ the rest in the execution of his design upon Britain. He was very sensible, however, the season was too far advanced to expect to make any great progress. Nevertheless, he considered it would be no small advantage if he could take a view of the island, almost wholly unknown to all but the merchants that traded on the coasts. And these merchants themselves were so little acquainted with what Cæsar wanted to know, that, sending for some of them, he could learn neither the extent of the island, nor whether it was well peopled or not: much less could they give him any information concerning the ports and havens, and whether there were any fit to receive ships of burthen. This uncertainty made him resolve to send Volusenus to view the coasts as far as was possible without danger, whilst his troops were marching to the place of embarkation^b.

The Britons
send ambaf-
sadors.

The Britons, receiving intelligence by the merchants of Cæsar's design, endeavour to divert him from his purpose, by sending ambassadors with offers of submission and hostages. Cæsar gives the ambassadors a very civil reception; but, ex-

^a Britanniam petisse (pe margaritarum, quarem amplitudinem conferentem, interdum sua manu exegisse pondus. Sueton. in J. Cæs. c. 47. Rapin.

^b Sue onius says nothing of C. Volusenus being sent to make discoveries, but rather intimates that Cæsar under-

took to do this in person: "Neque in Britanniam transvenit, nisi ante per se portus et navigationem et accessum ad insulam explorasset." Vit. Jul. Cæs. cap. 58. But according to Cæsar's own account Suetonius was mistaken.

horting them to persist in their resolution, dismisses them without answer, or at least without telling them positively what he intended to do. With them however he sends Comius (whom he had a few days before made king of the Atrebatæ^c) with instructions to persuade the Britons to make an alliance with the Romans, and acquaint them with his design to come over into their island. They were by no means pleased with the news; for they expected, what they had done would have induced the Roman general to alter his resolution. So whether Comius spoke to them too haughtily, or they had a mind to let the Romans see they did not fear them, they committed the ambassador to prison, loading him with irons.

Mean while Volusenus having coasted along the southern parts of the island without landing, returns and gives an account of the discoveries he had made. Whereupon, every thing being ready for the expedition, Cæsar embarked two legions on board eighty transports, leaving orders for the horse to follow with all speed in eighteen more, that had not yet been able to join the fleet, and were expected every moment: but his orders were not timely enough executed. At his arrival on the coasts of Britain, he sees the hills and cliffs that ran out into the sea, covered with troops that could easily with their darts prevent his landing^d. Upon which he determines to look out for some other place, where he may land his army with less danger. However he lies by till three in the afternoon^e, expecting some ships that were not yet come up. Upon their joining the fleet, he makes a signal for the principal officers, and giving them his last instructions concerning their landing, makes sail and comes to an anchor about two leagues farther, near a plain and open shore^f. The Britons perceiving his intent, send their chariots and horse that way, whilst the rest of their army advance to support them. The main difficulty in landing proceeded from the largeness of the vessels which hindered them from coming near enough to the shore; so that the Roman soldiers saw

B. C. 55.
Cæsar embarks with two legions.

He lands with great difficulty.

^c Inhabitants of the country about Arras.

^d This agrees so exactly with the Cliffs of Dover towards the South-foreland, that all men of judgment believe this to be the place.

^e Rapin, by mistake, says Four. See Cæsar's Comment.

^f Such is the shore at the mouth of the river that goes up to Richborough, called in Latin Rhotupæ, Rutupæ, or

Portus Rutupensis. Dr. Gale calls it Ritupæ, which suits best with the modern name.

----- Rutupinaque littora fervent,
Unda Caledonios fallit turbata Britannos,

Lucan. lib. vi.

Richborough, or Portus Ritupensis, is placed in the second Itinerary of Antonine's Itinerary at twelve miles distance from Durovernum or Canterbury. Twelve Roman miles are about nine computed miles themselves

THE HISTORY

themselves under a necessity of leaping into the sea, armed as they were, in order to attack their enemies, who stood ready to receive them on dry ground. Cæsar perceiving his soldiers did not exert their usual bravery, on this occasion, orders some galleys to get as near the shore as possible, and attack the enemy in flank. This precaution had the desired effect; for the slings, engines, and arrows were so well employed from these galleys, that the courage of the Britons began to abate. But the Romans still demurred upon throwing themselves into the water, and it may be would hardly have done it all, had not the standard-bearer of the tenth legion shown them the way, by leaping in first with his colours in his hand, crying out aloud, "Follow me, fellow-soldiers, unless you will betray the Roman Eagle into the hands of the enemy: for my part, I am resolved to discharge my duty to Cæsar and the commonwealth." Upon these words, he leaps into the sea, and advances with his Eagle towards the Barbarians. Emulation and shame causing the soldiers to forget the danger, they courageously follow him, and begin the fight. But their resolution could not compel the Britons to give ground: nay, it was to be feared that the Romans, constrained thus to fight in the water without keeping their ranks, would in the end have been repulsed, had not Cæsar caused some armed boats to ply about with recruits, which made the enemy fall back a little. The Romans improving this advantage, advance with all possible expedition, and getting firm footing, press the Britons so vigorously, that at length they put them to rout. They durst not however pursue them, because the horse were not yet come: which, Cæsar says, was the only thing that hindered the victory from being complete.

The Britons
are routed.

The time of Cæsar's landing in Britain is thus known. His first expedition was, as he says himself, in the consulate of Pompey and Crassus, that is, according to Dr. Halley, in the year of Rome 699. But Augustus died in the year 767, that is sixty-eight years after Cæsar's descent. Upon news of Augustus's death, there was a mutiny in the Pannonian army, which was quieted by Drusus, by help of an eclipse of the moon. Now from this eclipse it is certain that Augustus died in the 14th year of Christ, consequently Cæsar's first descent, which was sixty-eight years before, must be in the 55th year current before the Christian æra. And as the year, so may the very

day and hour when he landed, very probably, be fixed. For Cæsar having mentioned the fourth day after his landing, says, "the night after it was full moon." Now the summer being far spent, this full moon must have been in July or August. But the full moon of July was in the beginning of the month, and of the two full moons that year in August, that on the 1st day was at noon, wherefore it must be the other, a little after midnight of the 30th. Hence it is plain, Cæsar landed four days before, on the 26th of August, about five in the afternoon. See Lowthorp's Abridgm. Philos. Trans. vol. iii. p. 412.

The

The Britons, astonished at the Roman valour, and fearing a more obstinate resistance would but expose them to greater mischiefs, set Comius at liberty, and sent him back to Cæsar, throwing the blame of his ill treatment to the fury of the populace. At the same time ambassadors are dispatched to sue for peace and offer hostages. Cæsar very readily pardons them, on condition they send him a certain number of hostages. Part of them are immediately delivered, with a promise of sending the rest.

They sue for peace.

Cæsar grants their request.

Peace being thus concluded four days after landing, the British troops were dismissed, and some of their chief men came to Cæsar to manage the concerns of their nation. Mean while, the ships that were transporting the Roman horse, putting to sea, met with a violent storm, which forces them back into the ports of Gaul. The same storm falls likewise upon Cæsar's fleet lying in the road, some whereof are dashed in pieces, others lose their anchors, cables, and rigging. And what added to the misfortune, the same night the tide of flood rose so high (as is usual at the full of the moon, a thing then unknown to the Romans) that the galleys, having been drawn ashore, were filled with water. This accident threw the Romans into great consternation, for they had not brought with them wherewithal to repair their shattered vessels, nor any quantity of provisions, Cæsar having all along intended to winter in Gaul.

The Romans sustain a great loss by a storm.

The Britons that were with Cæsar soon perceived his want of provisions, ships, and Cavalry. Besides, it was easy to guess, by the small extent of their camp, that the number of the Romans was not considerable. Having made these observations, they steal away by degrees, and represent to their countrymen, "what a favourable opportunity offered to free themselves from servitude: how the Romans were few in number, without provisions and horse; how they had just lost their ships, and with them all hopes of retiring." Upon this the Britons resolve to use all possible means to cut off the Romans provisions, and amuse them till winter came on. Cæsar guessing their intentions by what had happened to him, took all imaginable care to lay in as great a stock of provisions as he could, and put them under a strong guard within the camp. Then sending to Gaul for part of what he had occasion for to refit his fleet, he made use of the timber and iron of the broken vessels to repair the rest. The soldiers laboured with so uncommon a diligence (as their safety was at stake) that in a few days the fleet was in condition to sail, twelve ships only having been lost.

The Britons break the treaty.

Cæsar repairs his fleet.

Mean

The seventh
legion at-
tacked by
the Britons,

who obtain
some advan-
tage.

The Britons
attack the
Roman
camp.

They see
for and ob-
tain peace,

Cæsar re-
turns to
Gaul.

Mean while, the seventh legion being sent out to forage, news was brought to Cæsar, that a cloud of dust was seen to rise from that quarter. He suspected immediately what was the matter; and taking with him two cohorts ^b that guarded the camp, ordered the rest of the forces to follow with all expedition. When he came to the place, he found the legion surrounded by the enemy, and over-powered with numbers. As the harvest was brought in every where else, the Britons did not question but the Romans would come and forage there, so lay in a readiness to fall upon them. It was very easy to put soldiers in disorder that had quitted their arms, and were dispersed up and down to gather the corn. They killed some at the first onset; and to prevent the rest from escaping, began to surround them with their chariots. Cæsar came very seasonably to the relief of the legion, and saved them from being all taken or slain. Having brought them off, he stood some time in order of battle in sight of the enemy, but at length retreated to his camp, not deeming it proper to engage, unless compelled to it.

The Britons, flushed with this success, drew together a greater body of troops, with a resolution to attack the Roman camp. Though Cæsar had but thirty ⁱ horse in all, he drew up his men, that the enemy might not think he feared them. They attacked him as he foresaw. But instead of forcing the camp, they were vigorously repulsed and pursued for several miles. The Britons were so disheartened at their loss, that they sent the same day ambassadors to Cæsar to sue for peace. The posture of Cæsar's affairs would not suffer him to improve his victory, because he had no horse to oppose to those of the enemy. This consideration induced him to conclude a treaty with them, whereby they were bound to deliver a greater number of hostages, and send them to Gaul, where he intended to go as soon as possible. Though the passage was not long, the fear of exposing his fleet to another storm, if he stayed till the equinox, made him hasten his departure ^k. The Britons neglecting to send their hostages, he puts

^h It was the custom of the Romans to place whole cohorts before the gates of their camp. Hence our English phrase, Court or Cohort of Guard. A cohort was the tenth part of a legion, about six hundred men. The first or chief cohorts are said to contain sometimes above a thousand men. Brady, p. 8.

ⁱ Brady conjectures, after Hottoman,

that 30 is put by mistake for 300. p. 5.

^k The equinox, which now falls upon the 22d of September, must in Cæsar's time have been on the 25th of that month. (This difference is occasioned by our reckoning the year to be about eleven minutes more than it really is.) So that probably Cæsar left the island about the 20th of September, about

puts his troops into winter-quarters, and forms the design of a more important expedition in the following spring. Mean while, the senate being informed of Cæsar's exploits in Britain, a procession of twenty days is decreed to him, though the advantages he had gained were of little consequence to the commonwealth¹.

Cæsar, according to his custom, went and passed part of the winter in Italy, leaving orders with his officers to repair the old, and build some more new ships. When he had received advice that his orders were executed, he came to Portus Itius^m, where he found six hundred shipsⁿ, and twenty-eight galleys, on board of which he put five legions and two thousand horse. He conducts this numerous fleet to a place on the British coast, marked by him the summer before, and lands his forces without opposition. For the Britons, as he was told afterwards, at the sight of so mighty an armament, thought fit to retire into the country, behind some hills. Cæsar, according to the Roman custom, fortifies his camp, and leaving a guard, sets out in the night in quest of the enemy. Having marched about twelve miles, he sees them posted on the other side of a river^o, to oppose his passage. As resolute

B. C. 54-
Cæsar's second expedition.
Com. lib. v.

He lands without opposition.

about twenty-five days after his landing, and, as he says, a little before the equinox.

¹ Cæsar had no great cause to boast of this his first expedition, since, according to Bede, he lost the greatest part of his ships, with many of his men, and all his horse, lib. i. c. 2. Orosius says, the ships that were to bring the horse were cast away in the storm, Tyr. p. 30, 35. About three hundred soldiers that were in two of the transports not being able to reach the same port with the rest, were upon their landing set upon by the Morini, but rescued by a party of horse sent to their relief. This passage of Cæsar gives some light into the number of men in a legion. These two ships are expressly called *Onerariæ*, or Ships of Burthen. Now if these two held three hundred, the whole eighty designed for the transportation of the foot of two legions, would carry twelve thousand, and consequently there were about six thousand foot in a legion. And to compute the number of horse belonging to a legion, we may consider that a transport, sufficient for a hundred and fifty foot, will carry between forty and fifty horse; consequently, the eighteen

transports designed for the horse, had about eight hundred on board, and so four hundred will belong to each legion. The foot then in a legion seems generally to have been about fifteen times as many as the horse.

^m Boulogne, says Tyrrel and Brady; about Calais, says Horsley. Rowlands; in his *Mona Antiqua*, p. 24. derives it from *Porth-eitha*, i. e. the Utmost, or Furthest Passage, observing that Cæsar only latinized the ancient Gaulish or British names, leaving us to seek their etymons, not in the Roman but in the British language. Horsley observes, that Cæsar calls the passage the shortest and easiest, being about thirty miles. Now by an accurate survey the distance at Calais from land to land is twenty-six English miles, or twenty-eight and a half Roman, which shews how near Cæsar came to the truth.

ⁿ Rapin by mistake says six-score.

^o This river could not be the Thames, that being too distant, but the Stour. So that the battle very probably was fought on the banks of the Stour, to the north of the town, towards Sturry or Fordwich. The strong place to which the Britons retreated after their defeat, must have, been

The Britons
are worsted.

resolute as they seemed at first, they could not withstand the furious charge of the Roman horse, but were forced at length to quit their post. They retired a little farther into a wood, the avenues whereof were blocked up with large trees laid across one another, and which seemed to be fortified in some former war. Though it appeared very difficult to force these intrenchments, the seventh legion however performed that service, and obliged the Britons to betake themselves to flight. But night coming on, and the country unknown, Cæsar forbids all pursuit.

The Roman
ships are
shattered by
a storm.

Next day, he divides his army into three bodies, which march at some distance from each other in pursuit of the enemy. During the march, he received the melancholy news that his fleet was almost entirely destroyed by a violent storm, most of the ships being dashed in pieces or driven ashore. As this accident might be attended with ill consequences, he resolved to hasten back to the sea-side. Here he finds forty of his ships destroyed, and the rest so damaged that they were hardly repairable. However, necessity compelling him to go about it without loss of time, he sets all the carpenters in the fleet and army to work, sending for others at the same time from Gaul. To prevent the like misfortune again, as soon as the ships are refitted, he employs his soldiers night and day, to draw them by strength of arms into the midst of the camp. This work, notwithstanding the difficulty of it, was finished in ten days^p. Mean while, he writes to Labienus, his lieutenant in Gaul, to build more ships, and send them over when ready. Then leaving a sufficient force to guard the camp, he resumes the design interrupted by the misfortune befallen his fleet.

Cæsar re-
pairs the
fleet,

and draws
the ships
within the
camp.

Cassibelanus
general of
the British
forces, at-
tacks the
Romans.

He had not marched far, before he was informed that the enemies forces were much increased, under the conduct of Cassibelanus king of the Trinobantes, whose kingdom lay beyond the Thames, about eighty miles from the sea^q. This

been Durovernum, or Canterbury, (twelve miles from the place of Cæsar's landing) which was taken (and possibly kept till Cæsar's return) by the seventh legion. This might afterwards be converted by the Romans into a station, as they treated several other towns of the Britons, as Camelodunum, Verulamium, Isurium, and others, the capital towns of several states. Horsley, p. 14.

^p Upon the shore about Deal, Sandon, and Wolmer, are a long range of steep of earth, where Camden thinks

this ship-camp was, which, he says, by the people thereabouts was called Rome's Work.

^q Rapin by mistake says twenty. Cæsar's words are, "a mari circiter millia passuum octoginta." The borders of Cassibelanus's territories extended to the Thames in Surry, over against Oatlands, which lies eighty miles from the east shore of Kent, where Cæsar landed. The Trinobantes inhabited Essex with part of Hertfordshire, Verulam being the chief town of their kingdom.

prince

prince had hitherto waged continual wars with his neighbours; but upon the Romans approach, they had concluded a peace with him, and chosen him commander in chief. Whilst the Roman army was on the march, they found themselves attacked on a sudden by the British horse and chariots. But this attack, though vigorous, was repulsed with great loss on their side. Nevertheless, they were not disheartened. Some days after, whilst the Romans were employed about their intrenchments, a body of their troops, that lay concealed in the neighbouring woods, fell furiously upon those that guarded the camp, and put them into great disorder. Cæsar seeing this, immediately sends two cohorts to their assistance, who surprized at the British manner of fighting, are routed at the first charge. Quintus Laberius Durus, a tribune, was slain in the action. As this battle was fought in sight of the camp, Cæsar saw plainly the great disadvantage the Romans, encumbered with their heavy armour, lay under, against swift and light armed enemies that engaged in small parties only, with a body of reserve in their rear, from whence they were continually recruited. The Roman horse were no less embarrassed than the foot. As the Britons frequently counterfeited a retreat, the horsemen detached to pursue them, were immediately cut in pieces; so that it was equally dangerous to pursue the enemy or to retire. The confused manner of Cæsar's relating this affair, is a clear evidence that the Romans were worsted, though he does not say it in so many words. Besides, the reasons he alledges to excuse his ill success are very weak; or if they are of any weight, whence is it that he did not meet with the same difficulties in so many other actions, wherein he pretends the Britons were routed horse and foot?

He is repulsed.

Another skirmish, where the Britons have the advantage.

On the morrow, the Britons posted themselves on some hills within sight of the Roman camp. As they appeared to be but few in number, it was thought they had no design to engage a second time. Mean while, Cæsar sending out all the horse to forage, with three legions to guard them, the Britons fall with great fury upon the foragers, who were defended by their guard. The resistance made by the legions giving Cæsar time to advance with the rest of the army, a great battle ensued, wherein the Britons were entirely defeated.

Another conflict, wherein the Britons are defeated.

After this victory, Cæsar marches towards the Thames, with intent to penetrate into Cassibelanus's dominions. When he comes to the river, at a very difficult ford, he sees the enemy drawn up on the opposite side. Besides their great numbers, they had fortified that part of the river with sharp stakes,

Cæsar passes the Thames in sight of the enemy.

stakes^r, driven so deep that some of them did not appear above the water, as deserters said afterwards. Notwithstanding these obstacles, Cæsar resolves to attack them, and orders the horse to ride in, and the foot to follow, the soldiers being scarce able to hold their hands above water to carry their arms. The attack was made with such resolution, that the Britons at length were forced to quit their post and leave the Romans a free passage^s. Cassibelanus finding he could not hinder Cæsar's passing the Thames, dismisses his army, reserving only four thousand chariots, with which he harrasses the Romans, and endeavours to cut them short of provisions, by carrying off all the corn and cattle that lie in their rout. The Romans were great sufferers in this march; for they did not dare to make the least excursions in search of provisions, for fear of fallies from the woods and by-places.

The Trinobantes submit to Cæsar,

Mean while, the Trinobantes, upon Cæsar's approaching their country, send deputies to him to sue for peace, praying him withal to take into his protection Mandubratius their king, who fled into Gaul upon Cassibelanus's murdering his father Immanuentius, and depriving him of his dominions. Cæsar promises to send back Mandubratius, if they will supply him with provisions, and deliver forty hostages, to which they immediately agree. Several other states following the example of the Trinobantes, Cæsar found himself in condition to attack the capital of Cassibelanus, where the country people were retired with their flocks and herds^t. What the Britons called a city, was only a wood fenced with a ditch to defend them against the incursions of their enemies. Though this intrenchment seemed very strong, Cæsar ordered it to be stormed so briskly at two different places, that the Britons, not being able to stand the assault, fled out at one of their avenues, but not without great numbers slain and taken, and leaving behind them abundance of cattle.

who takes Cassibelanus's chief city.

^r The stakes^r are just above Walton in Surry, and the meadow facing them is called Coway. They are even now to be seen at low-water; and one of them was pulled out of the Thames, a few years ago, but with great difficulty; they are of oak, and though they have lain so long in the water, are as hard as Brazil, and as black as jet. At Shepperton they have several knife-handles made of them. See Camden, p. 155. Bede, lib. i. cap. 2. Tyrrel, p. 34.

^s Cæsar does not mention a stratagem he is said to make use of upon this occasion. He caused an elephant well

fenced with iron, with a wooden tower on his back, full of men, to be forced into the river; the sight of which monstrous creature, that looked like a walking battery, did not a little contribute to frighten the Britons from the opposite shore. Polyænus Strateg. lib. viii.

^t This is supposed to be Verulamium, or the present St. Albans. It is certain London was not so considerable in Cæsar's time as Verulamium, this last appearing to have been more antient, and was a Municipium or colony, when London was not.

Whilst

Whilst Cæsar was advancing into the enemies country, the Kentishmen inhabiting on the south coast over-against Gaul, drew their forces together, with design to cut off the Romans that were left to guard their ships. As soon as they were ready, they marched under the conduct of four kings, namely, Cingetorix, Carvilius, Taximagulus, and Segonax, and furiously attacked the Roman camp; but after a long and obstinate fight were repulsed, and king Cingetorix taken prisoner.

Four Kentish kings attack the Roman camp.

They are repulsed, and one taken prisoner.

After so frequent defeats, Cassibelanus, considering that most of his kingdom was now in subjection to the Romans, and several neighbouring states had made, or were ready to make their submission, treats with them likewise, by the mediation of Comius. He easily obtains a peace, Cæsar's resolution to return to Gaul not permitting him to pursue his conquests in Britain. Besides, he considered that the weather beginning to grow bad, would help Cassibelanus to defend himself the rest of the campaign, as well as the whole ensuing winter. By the conditions of the treaty, the Britons are annually to pay the Romans a certain tribute; Cassibelanus is to deliver such a number of hostages, and leave Mandubratius in quiet possession of his dominions. Though Cæsar had scarce ships enough to transport his army, he chose rather to stow his men on board what vessels he had, than run the hazard of being surprized by the autumnal equinox. He embarked them therefore in the best manner he could, and receiving the hostages, puts to sea, and safely arrives in Gaul.

Cassibelanus begs peace,

and obtains it.

Tribute imposed upon the Britons.

This is the account given by that great general of his two expeditions into Britain. And here we may observe, that though out of an affected modesty, he refrains from all commendations of himself, yet by the bare recital of his actions, he gives himself the highest praises. For to make a descent with two legions only, in an enemy's country, in sight of an army formidable for number, bravery, and way of fighting; to force enemies intrenched on the side of a river, and what is more wonderful, to pass the Thames at a ford guarded by a numerous army, stuck full of sharp stakes, and withal so deep as to take the soldiers up to their chins; these, I say,

Remarks on Cæsar's account of his two expeditions.

Geoffrey of Monmouth says, Mandubratius was not restored to his kingdom, but leaving Britain, betook himself again to Cæsar, and attended him to Rome. Cassibelanus reigned ten years after Cæsar's departure.

It is conjectured that Cæsar's second expedition was in May, and that he returned to Gaul about the middle of September. For in a letter to Cicero, from Britain, dated September 1, Cæsar says, "He was come to the sea-side in order to embark."

cond expedition was in May, and that he returned to Gaul about the middle of September. For in a letter to Cicero, from Britain, dated September 1, Cæsar says, "He was come to the sea-side in order to embark."

THE HISTORY

are actions that sufficiently speak their own praise, and need no amplification. And if Cæsar in penning his own history, is charged with turning every thing to his advantage, this imputation seems to be no where more justly cast upon him than in the present case. Indeed one cannot read the particulars of his two British expeditions, without being sensible that something is wanting, and what is passed over in silence was not to his honour. I forbear to insist upon the great difficulty of knowing where the ford he mentions could be, since in the very place where he is thought to pass the Thames, there is no less than six foot water. But what I have been saying will appear still more evident, if we consider Cæsar's design in attacking the Britons, and the issue thereof. He sails from Gaul with a resolution to conquer Great Britain, and reduce the whole island to a Roman province. This is what Dion Cassius positively asserts. He every where gets the better of the Britons. He passes the Thames in spite of all obstacles. Cassibelanus, vanquished and routed, disbands his forces, not believing himself able to stand against him. Cæsar becomes master of his capital, and the Britons submit and sue for peace. With all these advantages he is contented to impose an easy tribute on Cassibelanus, and without fortifying any one place, or leaving any troops in the island, drops his first design, satisfied with restoring Mandubratius, as if the war had been undertaken solely for his sake. Does not this shew that he was forced to be satisfied with so inconsiderable an advantage? Lucan's testimony is a further confirmation of the matter, who taxes him plainly with turning his back to the Britons². Though Lucan was no friend to him, he would not however have ventured to upbraid him with running away, without some ground. Dion Cassius says, that in a battle the Britons utterly routed the Roman infantry, but were afterwards put in disorder by the cavalry¹. Horace and Tibullus intimate in several places of their works, that in their days the Britons were not considered as a conquered nation². All which evidently shews that the same acquired by Cæsar in these two

² *Tenita quæstis ostendit terga Britannis.*

Lucan.

¹ He says elsewhere, speaking of the Britons when pursued by Plautius, "waiting to no purpose, - would, like Julius Cæsar, retire without effect." They fled into marshes and woods, "ing any thing."

² in hopes the Romans, tired with

² *Intectus aut Britannus ut descenderet*

Sacra catenatus viâ.

Hor. Ep. d. viii. 7. *Rapin.*

Te manet invictus Romano Marte Britannus.

Tibul. lib. iv.

expeditions came far short of the idea he would give of it in his Commentaries. But however this be, most certainly the commonwealth reaped no great benefit by them; which doubtless was the reason of Tacitus saying, "Cæsar rather ^{Vit. Agricola} showed the Romans the way to Britain, than put them in possession of it."

After Cæsar's death, who had rendered himself sovereign of that commonwealth whereof he was born a subject, the empire was so torn with civil wars that it was not possible for the Romans to think of Britain. So the tribute was not paid, nor perhaps demanded for twenty years. But when, after the defeat and death of Mark Antony, Augustus was firmly settled in the possession of the empire, he undertakes to compel the Britons to stand to their agreement with his predecessor, and to that end advances as far as Gaul twice, in order for Britain^a, but is prevented the first time by a revolt in Pannonia, and the second by the submission of the Britons, who sent ambassadors to sue for peace, which he very readily grants. Britain, considered then as a wild uncultivated country, did not seem to him worth the pains of conquering. Besides, he was determined not to enlarge the bounds of the empire, wisely considering that a state, like a ship, cannot be managed when too vast and unweildy: yet as the Britons neglected to perform their promise, he resolves in good earnest to go and subdue them: but hearing of his design, they find means to appease him. Tenuantius, successor of Cassibelanus, sends the same emperor rich presents, which were laid up in the capitol. Cunobelinus his successor, following his example, keeps fair with the Romans: nay, he orders money to be coined, some pieces of which are still to be seen in the cabinets of the curious, with the five first letters of his name, C. U. N. O. B. or C. A. M. the three first of Camelodunum, his capital city, on one side, and on the reverse a man sitting and coining money, with these letters, T. A. S. C. I. A. by which antiquaries understand that this money was designed for the payment of the tribute^b.

^{Augustus}
State of Bri-
tain under
him.

^{Dion Cassius}
lib. xlix. et
liii.

^{Camden in}
Middlesex.

^a Serves iturum Cæsaem in ultimos orbis Britannos. Hor. lib. iii. 35. Rap.

^b The payments of the Britons were usually made in pieces of brass and iron rings, and probably this coin stamped by Cunobelin was for tribute only, which the Romans exacted in gold and silver, as may appear by the word Tascia, which in British (says David Powel) signifies a Tribute Penny, perhaps from the Latin Taxatio. For the Britons do not use the letter X. Brad. p. 11. Tyr. p. 37. Camden, p. 109.

TIBERIUS
neglects Bri-
tain.
Tacit. Ann.
lib. xi.

TIBERIUS, successor of Augustus, neglected Britain as a country of little consequence, it being unknown to him. Satisfied with the respect shown him by the Britons in sending back some of Germanicus's soldiers that were shipwrecked on their coast, he left them to enjoy their liberty.

40.
CALIGULA
his ridicu-
lous expedi-
tion against
the Britons.
Sueton.
Dion Cass.
49.

CALIGULA, his successor, would not doubtless have turned his eyes towards Britain, if he had not by a Briton himself been drawn into the project of conquering the island. Ad-minius, son of Cunobelinus, incurring his father's displeasure, and flying to Rome for protection, finds means to persuade the emperor that nothing was more easy than this conquest. Caligula, whose folly is well known, imagines, upon what the young prince tells him, that the sight of him is sufficient to subdue the Britons. Full of this notion, he advances in person to the coast of Belgic Gaul, where he had ordered his army to march. But being told, as he was embarking his men, that the Britons stood ready to receive him on the other side of the water, his warlike ardour cooled, and he desisted from an enterprize which began to appear too hazardous. However, as he was led by his caprice to the most extravagant actions, he went on board a galley, ordering the people to row with all speed towards Britain, as if he intended to have alone the glory of conquering the island. But presently after, he is seen to return back as fast as he went off. As soon as he lands, he harangues his troops, as if he were going to employ them in some important expedition. Having ended his speech, a charge is sounded just as if the enemy were in view. Upon which the whole army, pursuant to an order given to the principal officers, fall to gathering of cockle shells in their helmets. The emperor pleased with the alacrity of his soldiers on this occasion, liberally rewards them, and sends letters to Rome of his success, wishing the senate to decree him a triumph. But being informed the senate made some difficulty to comply with his order, he resolves to put all the senators to death. He would doubtless have executed his barbarous purpose, had he not been deprived of the power with his life, by a conspiracy soon after formed against him.

After Julius Cæsar's second invasion, to which some very improperly give the name of conquest, the Britons preserved their liberty above ninety years, during the reigns of the four first emperors; their subjection to the Romans not commencing till the time of Claudius. The occasion of that emperor's undertaking the conquest of Britain, and the cause of the Britons losing their liberty, was this:

Cunobelinus

Cunobelinus leaves two sons, Togodumnus and Caractacus, 42. who both succeeded him: but whether they reigned jointly CLAUDIUS or separately, or whether one was superior to the other, is He forms the design of conquering Britain. unknown. In their reign it happens that one Bericus^c, being forced to depart the kingdom for endeavouring to raise a sedition, flies for refuge to Claudius the emperor at Rome. Dio. lib. lx. Sueton. in Claudio. His extreme desire of being revenged of the two kings his sovereigns inspiring him with a design to betray his country to the Romans, he frequently talks to the emperor of the conquest of Britain as of a thing very easy to be accomplished. By his description of the island and posture of the British affairs, he intimates to him that he would meet with little or no opposition. The emperor giving credit to what he says, resolves to acquire fame by an enterprize seemingly difficult, but, according to the British lord's account, very practicable. Having taking this resolution, he gives the ambassadors of the two British kings a very ill reception, who are sent to demand the fugitive Bericus, refusing to deliver up one whom he intends to make his chief instrument in the execution of his project. Shortly after, he himself sends to the Britons, and demands the tribute due to the empire; but finds them not at all ready to give him satisfaction. Besides that this tribute was never regularly paid, the haughty treatment they had just met with in the persons of their ambassadors, by no means disposed them to pay him any great deference. They refuse therefore, and very justly, as they think, to pay the tribute, and moreover prohibit all commerce with the Romans. As Claudius wanted only a pretence for the war, he was not sorry they afforded him so plausible a one. Shortly after he orders Plautius to begin the expedition, whilst he is preparing to follow when there should be occasion. 43. Plautius is sent thither with an army. Plautius accordingly draws an army together in Gaul, and advances to the sea-side. But when the soldiers, came to embark, they refused to obey him, declaring, "They will not make war out of the compass of the world." A mutiny in the army. The emperor hearing of this mutiny, sends Narcissus his freedman to appease it. Narcissus, though a great favourite with his master, when he would have harangued the troops, could not prevail with them, to hear him: the moment he opened his mouth, the soldiers cried out, "Io Saturnalia!" alluding to the custom, during that feast, of the slaves taking the place and habit of their masters. However, the mutiny went no farther: It is appeased. The soldiers suddenly altering their resolution, of their own accord

^c This Bericus was perhaps the son, mentioned by Suetonius, or one of same with Adminius. son of Cunobelinus the fugitives that accompanied him:

obey the orders of their general, who immediately puts them on board, whilst they are in the mind. He sails from three ports, in order to land at three different places: but this precaution was needless. The Britons, informed of the mutiny in the Roman army, and not expecting so sudden an alteration, neglect to prepare to oppose their landing; so the Roman general lands his forces without any resistance. He was very desirous to come to a battle at his arrival; but the Britons were resolved to avoid it, and keep themselves in separate parties, behind their morasses, or on their hills. Their aim was to make the Romans lose time, in expectation that Plautius, after the example of Julius Cæsar, would go and winter in Gaul. This resolution gave the Roman general a great deal of trouble, being forced to hunt after enemies dispersed in several places, whom he could, as he flattered him-

Plautius defeats the two British princes one after another.

self, easily vanquish at once, were it but in his power to bring them to a general battle. In spite of these difficulties, he finds means to attack Caractacus separately, and entirely routing him, goes in quest of Togodumnus, and obtains the like victory over him. The Britons, pursuant to their first design, retire beyond a river, where they encamp in a careless manner, imagining the Romans could not pass without a bridge. But Plautius had, in his army, some German soldiers that were used to swim the strongest currents. These

He passes a river in sight of the enemy

soldiers, though few in number, swimming the river in their arms, so astonish the Britons that they quit their post, and retire at a greater distance^d. The Roman general improving this advantage, sends over a considerable body of troops under the command of Vespasian, and his brother Sabinus. These two brave leaders advancing towards the enemy, engage them and put them to flight. The Britons however

The Britons attack the Romans and put them in disorder, but are defeated at last.

are not discouraged. Next day they attacked a Roman detachment commanded by Sidius Gæta, so vigorously that the Romans were immediately put in disorder; their commander himself was engaged in such a manner amongst the enemies, that he was thought to be dead or taken. But the scale was soon turned against the Britons: Gæta happily escaping out of their hands, heads his troops again, and charges the Britons, now sure of victory, so briskly, that after an obstinate fight, he compels them at last to take to flight. This affair was so well managed, and Gæta acquired so great reputation on this occasion, that the honour of a triumph was granted him by

^d This river is supposed to be the borders of the Silures. Horsley, Severn, and consequently this battle was fought on the west side, upon p. 30.

the senate, though he had never been consul. The Vanquished Britons retire towards the mouth of the Thames, and being perfectly acquainted with the fordable parts of the river, crossed over with ease, whilst the Romans following them at a distance, fall into the bogs and morasses, from whence they very hardly disentangle themselves. At last, the Germans lighting upon a ford, and the rest of the army passing over a bridge a little higher up, the Britons are surrounded on all sides, and great slaughter made of them ^f.

They retire beyond the Thames.

Plautius passes the Thames. Dion Cass. lib. lx.

Plautius thought it now time to send to the emperor to come and reap the honour of putting an end to the war. Claudius having every thing ready, sets out immediately, and embarking at Ostium, arrives in a few days at Marseilles. Then pursuing his journey by land, he re-imbarks at Bologne ^g; to go and head his army on the other side of the Thames. Whilst the emperor was on his way, Plautius had it in his power to attack the Britons, who, deceived by his seeming backwardness, resumed their courage, fancying it proceeded from his fear. But Plautius took care not to rob his master of the honour of a victory he thought himself sure of. As soon as Claudius arrives, he heads his troops, approaches the Britons, and forcing them to come to a battle, entirely routs them. After this victory, he advances to Camelodunum ^h.

44. He sends to the emperor to come into Britain.

Claudius arrives, and defeats the Britons.

* Notwithstanding the authority of Dion Cassius, it is very difficult to conceive that the Thames should be fordable near its mouth, or a bridge stand a little higher up. He must have confounded some river that runs into the Thames with the Thames itself. (This is Rapin's observation.) But the passage in Dion Cassius is capable of another sense. His words are, *Ἀναχωρησάντων δ' ἐκείθεν τῶν Βριτανῶν ἐπὶ τὴν Ταμίσην πάλαιον καθ' ὃ ἐς τὴν ἀσπίδα ἐκβάλλει, πλημμυροῦσιν τε αὐτῷ λιμνάζει καὶ ῥαδίως αὐτοὶ διαβάλλον.* ἔτι καὶ τὰ εἰρηφά τὰ τε ὑπερὰ τῷ χωρίῳ αἰδύων, ὁ *ῥαμάλαι*, etc. Which may be thus rendered, "The Britons retreated to the river Thames, where it falls into the sea, and that [the river] overflowing, stagnate, or forms a lake, which having passed, as knowing these places that were firm at bottom and fordable, the Romans," etc. The words being thus understood, it is manifest, that it was the land-water or lake, over which the Britons passed and the Germans swam. And probably there might be a bridge cross this water, further up from the

shore, where some of the Romans might also pass. There is a passage in Herodian relating to Severus, which seems to add much light to this passage of Dion. *Μάλα δὲ γέφυρας*, etc. lib. iii. cap. 47. that is, "Severus took care in the first place to lay bridges through the fenny grounds, that the soldiers might pass them with safety, and might stand upon a solid bottom when they fought. For many places of Britain being overflowed by the sea, upon the recess of the tide become fenny, which the barbarians are accustomed to swim over or wade through." To this may be added, that the mouth of the Thames in Dion's time was as well known to the Romans as the mouth of the Tiber. Horsley takes these fens to have been on the south side of the river.

^f Gessoriacum. Dr. Halley takes Gessoriacum to be Gravelin or Dunkirk. Claudius, in all probability, landed at Portus Ritupensis, called afterwards Portus Britanniarum.

^g According to some Malden, according to others Colchester in Essex. Dr. Gale will have it to be Malden.

THE HISTORY

where he meets with little resistance, and pushing his conquests, subdues some of the neighbouring states. Upon these successes he is by the army saluted Imperator several times, contrary to the Roman custom, which allowed no general to be honoured with that glorious title above once in the same war.

Claudius's moderation to the Britons; who worship him as a God.

If by this expedition, which was finished in fifteen days, Claudius acquired great fame, his moderation was no less honourable and advantageous to him. The vanquished Britons, touched with a sense of his generosity in leaving them the possession of their goods, which he might have taken from them, carried their gratitude so far as to erect a temple to him, and pay him divine honours. After this successful expedition, the emperor committing the government of Britain to Plautius, sets out for Rome, where he safely arrives after a six month's absence only. At his return the senate decreed him the honour of a triumph, and the surname of Britannicus in memory of his subduing the Britons. The public rejoicings on this occasion held several days, and the poets displayed in lofty strains the greatness and importance of his victories. And yet, Suetonius says, he became master of part of Britain without battle or bloodshed^a. But it is more probable, as Dion Cassius affirms, that it cost him a bloody battle.

He returns to Rome.

Sueton. in Claudio, cap. 17.

45. Plautius continues the war. Sueton. in Vespasian, cap. 4.

Plautius carried on the conquests begun by the emperor, being bravely seconded by Vespasian, and his son Titus, who served under him. Titus, then a tribune only, signalized himself on all occasions. He had even the good fortune to save his father's life in a battle. Vespasian, who had a large command, was often detached by the general on expeditions of moment, which gained him great reputation. He fought thirty battles with the Britons, subdued two powerful nations, and conquered the Isle of Wight. As all this was done under Plautius, the commander in chief, he acquired great reputation in this war. At length, being recalled, he goes and receives

Tacit Agric.

^a Mr. Wright of Stretton in Cheshire, has lately published in his Travels, an inscription which confirms this account of Suetonius. He took a copy of it himself from the palace of Barberini at Rome. It is as follows;

TI. CLAUDIO. CÆS.
AVGVSTO.
PONTIFICI. MAX. TR. P. IX.
COS. V. IMP. XVI, P. P.
SENATVS. POPVL. Q. R. QVOD
REGES. BRITANNIÆ. ABSQ.
VLA. IACTVRA. DOMVERIT.
GENTESQVE. BARBARAS.
PRIMVS. INDICIO. SVBEGIT.

at Rome the reward of his services, the senate having decreed him the honour of an ovation, or inferior triumph. He was met by the emperor without the gates, who gave him the right-hand as they walked, in token of his great esteem for him¹.

Ostorius Scapula was sent into Britain in the room of Plautius. He arrives in the beginning of winter, and finds the Britons making continual inroads into the Roman conquests. They never imagine the new governor would march his army at such a season, in an unknown country. But he does not suffer them long to continue their ravages. Drawing his troops together, he forthwith marches against them with all expedition, and defeating the first that stand their ground, so disperses the rest in the end, that he has no more to fear from their incursions. However, not to be exposed to continual alarms, he resolves to confine them between the Avon and Severn, by means of forts built between the two rivers. Before he puts this resolution in practice, he makes Camelodundum a military colony. Much about the same time London was also made a [trading] colony, and that part of Britain lying between the Thames and the sea, was reduced into the form of a province, and called Britannia Prima.

50.

Ostorius Scapula governor of Britain. Tacit. Ann. lib. xii. et Vit. Agric.

Camelodundum made a colony, and likewise London. Stillington. Part of Britain made a province. The Britons unite against Ostorius.

The Iceni², not yet weakened by the foregoing wars, having from the beginning been in alliance with the Romans, were the first that opposed Ostorius's design. Some neighbouring nations followed their example, and joining their forces under one general, they encamped upon advantageous ground, throwing up in haste a breast-work of flints to prevent the attempts of the horse. Though Ostorius was then without any but the auxiliary forces³, he attacked them however,

¹ From the following words of Tacitus, the wife of Plautius is supposed to be a Christian, and the first in Britain. "Pomponia Græcina insignis femina, Plautio, qui ovans se de Britannia retulit nupta, ac superstitionis externa rea, mariti judicio permissa." Annal. lib. xviii. cap. 32.

² This Pomponia Græcina, wife of Plautius, and Claudi Rufina, a British lady are supposed to be of "the saints that were in Cæsar's household," mentioned by St. Paul. Claudia is celebrated by Martial for her admirable beauty and learning, in the following epigram?

From painted Britons how was Claudia born?
The fair Barbarian how do arts adorn!
When Roman charms a Grecian soul commend,
Athens and Rome may for the same contend.

³ The inhabitants of Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire, and Huntingdonshire. Rowland observes, that Cyn, or Kyn, signifies in British, First or Foremost. Hence Kynta, or Kent, so

called from being] the first in situation from the continent, and Uch-Kyn (Icenorum regio) i. e. next to Kyn or Kent.

⁴ Every legion had so many auxiliaries,

They are
defeated.

Caractacus
general of
the Britons.

however, ordering the horse to dismount and support those that were to charge first. The resistance of the Britons was more obstinate than expected: nevertheless their intrenchments were forced at last with great slaughter on their side. After this victory, Ostorius turns his arms against the Cangî^m, who, keeping in small parties, are quickly dispersed. The Roman army was not far from the sea that parts Ireland from Great Britain, when the general is informed that the Brigantesⁿ are in arms. This news obliging him to defer the execution of his first design, he marches with all speed against the Brigantes, being willing to secure the old, before he proceeds to new conquests. The insurrection is appeased by the death of the chief revolters. But the Silures^o, the bravest and most powerful of all the Britons, could not be tamed either by clemency or severity. Their forces were so considerable that the legions were obliged to march against them. They were headed by their king Caractacus, famous for his great exploits, and universally esteemed by his countrymen, being accounted the best general Britain had ever produced. This prince, whom the nations in alliance with the Silures had made commander in chief, was retired into the country of the Ordovices^p, where assembling all his forces, he resolves to expect the Romans. To that end he chooses an advantageous post of very difficult access, and draws up his army on the side of a steep hill, with a little river^q at the bottom, which though fordable in many places, was of great service to him. Moreover, his camp being surrounded with a sort of rampart of flints and stones, he seemed, thus posted, to be out of all danger^r. These difficulties are not sufficient to check the Romans, who appear before their enemies with their wonted bravery, and resolve to exert their utmost in expectation of ending, by a single battle, a war that kept them as it were in another world. The Britons on their part pre-

aries, the number of which is supposed, as to the foot, to be the same with the Legion, but double as to the horse. Horsley, p. 87. The auxiliaries were foreigners, whereas the legions were Romans.

^m Generally supposed to be inhabitants of the western parts of Wales, but Horsley places them about Derbyshire, near the Brigantes, p. 35.

ⁿ Inhabitants of Yorkshire, Lancashire, Durham, Westmorland, Cumberland.

^o Inhabitants of Hertfordshire, Rad-

norshire, Brecknockshire, Monmouthshire, Glamorganshire.

^p Inhabitants of Montgomeryshire, Merionethshire, Caernarvonshire, Flintshire, Denbighshire.

^q Horsley takes this river to be the Severn rather than the Dee.

^r In the edge of Shropshire where the rivers Clunie and Tern meet, is a hill to which there is no access but at one place, called Caer-Caradoc, so named from Caractacus, where yet we to be seen the relics of these stone ramparts. Horsley, p. 31.

pare

pare for battle with all possible ardor, not questioning but they should free themselves that day from the Roman yoke. Their leaders ride up and down, exhorting them to do their duty, by all the motives that could inflame their courage, and excite them to brave actions. Caractacus tells them, "This is the day that will give them liberty or perpetual slavery; and bids them call to mind the glory of their ancestors, who drove Cæsar out of Britain, and freed their country from the dominion of the Romans." The soldiers with loud acclamations declare they are ready to shed the last drop of their blood in defence of their liberty. The resolution that appeared in the looks of the Britons startled the Roman general at first. But finding his army extremely eager to engage, he makes the signal of battle, having first observed in what place the river might best be forded. The Romans pass it without much difficulty; but before they can approach the enemy's camp, they are exposed to a shower of darts, by which many are killed and wounded. In spite of these difficulties they make several breaches in the rampart, which being nothing but loose stones, is easily thrown down. As soon as they could use their swords, it was not possible for the Britons to stand against the warlike and veteran troops, who quickly put them to flight. Besides the loss sustained by the Britons in the action, their defeat was the more considerable by the taking of the wife, daughters, and brothers of Caractacus. This victory was followed, in a few days, with an unexpected happiness to Ostorius: Caractacus flying for protection to Cartismandua queen of the Brigantes, was by her delivered up to the Romans, for fear doubtless of drawing a victorious army into her country, should she think of protecting the vanquished prince. He had now commanded the confederate army of the Britons nine years; and his fame had reached as far as Rome, where all were surprized at his so long resisting the Roman power. When the emperor had notice of the victory, and taking of Caractacus, he ordered the captives to be sent to Rome, that he might behold in chains a prince that had been talked of as a very formidable enemy. On a day appointed, the people being all present, and the emperor seated on his throne, there came first Caractacus's vassals and retinue, with the caparisons and other spoils of war; then his wife, daughters, and brothers; and lastly Caractacus himself, walking with a settled countenance, without holding down his head, or appearing too much dejected at his misfortune. When he came near the emperor, he made the following speech, if it be true that Tacitus did not make it for him:

"If

His Speech
to Claudius.

“ If my moderation had been as great as my birth or fortune, Rome had seen me this day her ally and not captive, and perhaps she would not have disdained to rank in the number of her friends a prince royally descended, and who commanded many nations. My present condition is as dishonourable to me, as it is glorious to you. I had arms, horses, riches, and grandeur. Is it strange I should part with them unwillingly? Does it follow, because you have a mind to rule over all, that therefore every one must tamely submit? Had I sooner been betrayed to you, neither your glory nor my misfortunes had been rendered so famous, and my punishment would have been buried in eternal oblivion: but now if you preserve my life, I shall be a standing monument of your clemency to future ages.”

The emperor, moved with these words, generously pardons the captives, and orders their chains to be taken off. The first use they make of their liberty is to go and fall at the empress's feet, who, in all appearance, interceded for them. The senate being assembled to consider of a due reward for Ostorius, his victory was spoken of in terms very much to his advantage. It was declared to equal Scipio's over Syphax, and Paulus Æmilius's over Perseus; and therefore it was resolved that the same honours should be decreed him.

52.
The Britons
resume their
courage.

Mean while Ostorius's reputation began to sink, either because he grew remiss after acquiring so great fame, or because the Britons had exerted themselves more vigorously to repair the disgrace of their late defeat. They successfully attacked the troops that were left to build forts in the country of the Silures, and, had not timely relief come from the neighbouring garisons, would have cut them in pieces. The commander and eight captains, with a good number of soldiers, were slain. Another time they defeated the Roman foragers, and put the horse that guarded them in disorder. In this action they improved their advantage in such manner, that Ostorius was obliged to advance with the legions, after having tried in vain to restore the battle with supplies of the light-armed troops. The coming of the legions revived the courage of the Romans, and forced the Britons to retreat, though with little loss. After that there were several conflicts with various success, according to the circumstances of time and place.

The Silures
are intractable.

The Silures, of all the British nations, were the most obstinate, being exasperated at the emperor's saying, Britain would have no peace, till, like the Sicambri, they were transported into some foreign country. They surprized two cohorts, that by the avarice of the officers, and greedy desire of pillage, were

were advanced too far into the enemy's quarters. By distributing the spoil and prisoners, they endeavour to draw in the rest of the nations to revolt. *Ostorius dies about this time* Ostorius dies with vexation, for not being able to put an end to the war. The Britons rejoice at his death, and the more for their ascribing it to his grief that he could not stop the progress of their victories.

As it was dangerous, in the present posture of affairs, for the emperor to leave the army long without a general, *Aulus Didius succeeds him.* 53. *Aulus Didius succeeds him.* Didius is immediately sent over, who finds matters in a worse condition than ever, a legion commanded by *Manlius Valens* having been defeated. The loss however was not so great as reported. Nevertheless Didius himself magnified it very much, that he might gain the more honour in restoring affairs, or lessen the disgrace, if the war should continue any time. His arrival was a check to the Silures, who, exalted with their late success, were making inroads into the frontiers of the Roman province.

Mean while *Venutius*, king of the Brigantes, successor of *Caractacus* in the command of the army, is persuaded by the instigations of *Cartimandua* his queen, (the same that betrayed *Caractacus*) to enter into an alliance with the Romans. As long as this prince lived in a good understanding with his queen, he suffered the Romans peaceably to enjoy their conquests, satisfied with preserving his own dominions, without troubling himself about the concerns of other nations. A quarrel arising between him and his queen, and ending in a domestick war^a caused him to take other measures^b. Tho' hitherto he had no aversion to the Romans, he is now forced to declare himself against them, they having impolitically espoused the cause of his queen. This partiality of theirs so enrages him, that he uses all his interest with his countrymen to stir them up to a revolt. The war is kindled afresh with greater fury than ever, tho' in the absence of *Didius*, who, being very old, managed affairs by his lieutenants. *The war kindles afresh.*

Veranius, who succeeded him in the reign of *Nero*, died before he had done any thing remarkable. It is true, his head was full of vast projects, and the same he had acquired in other posts, gave occasion to think him capable of executing the greatest undertakings. But his will, stuffed with flattering praises of the emperor, and full of vain boasts, that in case he had lived but two years longer he would have subdued all Bri- 57. *Veranius succeeds Didius and dies.* *Tacit. Hist. lib. iii.* *Tacit. Vit. Agricol.*

^a She rejected him, and marries his esquire *Velllocatus*, making him king, *Tacit. lib. iii.*

tain, made him forfeit the good opinion people had conceived of him.

58.
Suetonius
Paulinus is
sent into
Britain.
Tacit. Ann.
lib. xiv.

He conquers
Mona.

Suetonius Paulinus was appointed to fill his place. Great matters were expected from this general, whose merit was compared with Corbulo's, who had lately conquered Armenia. As he himself looked with emulation on the glory acquired by that great man, he burned with desire to confirm, by fresh exploits, the good opinion the world had entertained of his experience and bravery. The moment he comes to his government, he forms the project of conquering the isle of Mona^t, now called Anglesey. To that end, he passes the foot over in flat-bottomed boats, the sea being very shallow in that place, the horse following, some swimming, others fording^u. The islanders are drawn up on the other side, with the women running up and down, dressed like furies, their hair hanging loose, firebrands in their hands, and surrounded with the druids, who, with hands lifted up to heaven, pour out dreadful curses and imprecations. The horror of this sight so astonishes the Romans, that they stand stock still, exposed to the enemies darts. But at length, the shame of being frightened by a company of frantick women and priests, and the exhortation of their general, bringing them to their senses and courage, they fall upon the enemy sword in hand, and become masters of the island. The first thing Paulinus did was to order all the consecrated groves to be cut down, where the islanders sacrificed their captives, and consulted their gods, by inspecting the entrails of men.

60.
A general
insurrection
in Britain.
Tacitus.
Dion Cass.
The causes
of it.

But whilst Paulinus is employed in this expedition, an unexpected turn obliges him to leave Mona in an abrupt manner, to go and settle affairs of much greater moment.

Prasutagus, king of the Iceni, dying left by will the emperor and his daughters co-heirs to his great treasures, in expectation to procure by that means Nero's protection for his family and people. But this precaution had a quite contrary effect. Prasutagus is no sooner laid in his grave, but the emperor's officers seize upon all his effects in their master's name. Boadicea^v, his widow, a woman of great courage and a high spirit, opposing these unjust proceedings, meets with fresh

^t So called from Mon, signifying in old British, the furthestmost or end, in respect to it's situation from the continent of Gaul. Rowl. p. 21.

^u The Romans are supposed to have passed from Lhan yair to Gair in Cernarvonshire to Lhan Idan in Anglesey, which is still the shallowest part of the

Fretum, and there are remarkable works yet visible near Lhan Idan. See Camden, p. 675, 676.

^v This name is variously written; Xiphiline Dion's epitomizer, has it Bonduca; Tacitus calls her Voadica, and Boudicea; Camden and others, Beodicia, but most usually Boadicea.

cause of discontent in the contempt shewn to her remonstrances. As she is expressing, by her complaints, her resentment of the injury done to her daughters, the brutishness of the officers is such, that they order her to be publicly whipped. And then, not satisfied with so outrageous an affront, they cause her daughters to be ravished by the soldiers.

The Britons looked upon this strange barbarity with such indignation, that the whole island was possessed with a spirit of revolt, which quickly breaks out into action. The Iceni lead the way, and are soon followed by their neighbours the Trinobantes. Venucius and his party join with them, and, in short, all the nations in subjection to the Romans rise in arms with one consent, the city of London only excepted. The Roman historians themselves own, that the injustice and violence of the emperor's officers gave the Britons but too just cause to revolt. They were thrust out of their possessions without any form of law, by the veterans that were sent to settle in the island. Caius Decianus, Nero's procurator, without any regard to the ordinance of Claudius, that left the vanquished in possession of their goods, confiscated their estates to the emperor's use. The petitions presented to him on that occasion were all rejected; and without alledging any other reason but his will, which he made a law, he minded nothing but his own and his master's profit. Seneca himself, with all his noble sentiments of moderation and disinterestedness which shine in his writings, but were never seen in his practice, is said to contribute very much to the insurrection, by rigorously exacting on a sudden the money he had lent some of the Britons upon usury*. This treatment bred in the minds of the people so great an aversion to a foreign yoke, that they were all unanimously determined to shake it off. Venutius, mortal enemy of the Romans, cherishes the rebellion to the utmost of his power. The very adherents of the queen, laying aside their domestick quarrels, and renouncing the friendship of the Romans, join with the rest of their countrymen for the recovery of their liberty.

Boadicea, animated with an ardent desire of revenge, heads the revolters, and earnestly exhorts them to take advantage of the Roman general's absence to free themselves from slavery, by putting their oppressors, the foreigners, all to the sword. The Britons immediately embrace the proposal, and fall in a sudden and furious manner upon the Romans dispersed in their

* Seneca is said by Dion Cassius to have in Britain, about this time, to the value of three hundred thousand pounds, as Camden computes it. Xiphil. in Ner. Stilling. Orig. Brit. p. 9.

Cruelties ex-
ercised upon
the Romans

colonies, which were more carefully embellished than fortified, massacring all without distinction of age or sex. Unheard-of cruelties are acted upon this occasion, and strange punishments invented to glut the fury of the enraged people. Wives are hung up with their infants at their breasts, to make them suffer in some measure a double death. Virgins have their breasts cut off and crambed in their mouths, to make them seem in the agonies of death to eat their own flesh. The Veterans at Camelodunum retiring into a temple for sanctuary, are sacrilegiously burned alive, rather than suffered to starve to death. In a word, the fury of the Britons is carried to that height, that not a single Roman escapes. Eighty thousand are computed to perish in this massacre.

Let us reflect here a little on the politicks of those conquerors of the world, so great masters in the art of government. Upon their subduing a country, they immediately sent their numerous colonies, who, by degrees, mixing and intermarrying with the natives, secured to them their conquests. Of this Britain is a remarkable instance, where, though the island had been conquered but eighteen years before by Claudius, above eighty thousand Romans were already settled, besides Paulinus's army, and, doubtless, some garisons in the fortified places, which the fury of the Britons could not penetrate.

Paulinus
leaves Mona

Paulinus receiving advice of this revolution, suddenly quits the isle of Mona to march against the revolted Britons, who have now an army of a hundred thousand men, under the conduct of Boadicea, whose noble stature and heroic courage makes them hope she may have likewise all the qualities of a general. This princess, fired with the affronts she had received, ardently desires to engage with Paulinus, whose army is only ten thousand strong, in expectation of compleating her revenge, by the destruction of so inconsiderable remains of the enemy. Mean while, Paulinus expecting no succours from any place, is in great straits. The ninth legion, commanded by Petilius Cerealis, was just then entirely defeated. Pœnius Posthumus, with a considerable detachment of the second, refused, contrary to the law of arms, to obey his general's orders to come and join him. Thus Paulinus is under a necessity either of marching against his enemies with his little army, or of expecting them in some town. He chuses the latter, and

Y Rapin follows Dion Cassius. Tacitus says only seventy thousand; his words are,—ad septuaginta millia civium et sociorum. Verulamium was a municipium; so that civium may refer chiefly to this place, and Sociorum to London, which was only a trading colony.

shuts

thrusts himself up in London, but quickly alters his resolution. Foreseeing his endeavours to save that colony will endanger the whole province, he marches out; notwithstanding the cries and intreaties of the inhabitants, not to abandon them to the fury of the rebels. However, with his handful of troops, he seemed little able to stand against an army of an hundred thousand men. But great men very often, by their courage and experience, find means to extricate themselves out of the greatest difficulties. Paulinus plainly sees, that in such an extremity he must either conquer or die, the relief he might expect being too far off, and the danger at hand. Therefore, instead of retiring from the Britons, now marching towards him, he resolves to meet them. This resolution inspires his troops with such courage, that they readily follow him; so powerful is an army's good opinion of their general. Paulinus summons all his experience to balance by his conduct the advantage of the enemy's numbers. He pitched upon a narrow piece of ground for the field of battle, with a forest behind, that secured him from ambuscades in the rear, and a large plain before, where the Britons were encamped. He draws up the legions close together in the center, the light armed are placed round them, and the horse make the two wings. The enemies swarm about the plain in battalions and squadrons, exulting at their numbers^a, and secure of victory. Their wives and children are brought into the field in waggon^s, which line their intrenchments, to be witnesses of their actions and partners in the spoil.

Boadicea, with her daughters by her side in the chariot, rides up and down, addressing herself to the several nations in the following manner, "That it was not the first time the Britons had been victorious under the conduct of their queens. That, for her part, she came not there, as one descended from royal progenitors, to fight for empire or riches; but as one of the common people, to avenge the loss of their liberty, the wrongs done to her own person, and the violation of her daughter's chastity. That the Romans lust was grown to that height, that neither old nor young escaped its pollutions; but the gods had already begun to punish them according to their deserts; for one legion that durst hazard a battle was cut in pieces, and the rest skulked in their camp^b, or fled for their lives; so that instead of being able to stand the attack of a victorious army,

^a The army consisted of 230,000, according to Dion Cassius. conduct, who seems to have refused to draw his legion out of their station or camp.

^b Alluding to Pœnius Posthumus's camp. Horley, p. 29.

“ the very shouts of so many thousands would put them to flight. That if the Britons would but consider the number of their forces, and the motives of the war, they would resolve to vanquish or die. That it was much better to fall honourably in defence of their liberty, than to be exposed again to the outrages of the Romans. This was her resolution ; but as for the men, they might, if they pleased, live and be slaves.” She is said at the end of her speech to let loose a hare, she concealed in her bosom, as a good omen of victory.

Paulinus harangues his army.

Whilst Boadicea is endeavouring to animate the Britons, Paulinus is not idle at the prospect of so great danger. Though he is assured of the bravery of his troops, he exhorts them to despise the clamour and threats of the barbarians. He represents to them, that “ among the enemy there were more women than soldiers ; and that the greatest part of them, having neither arms nor courage, would immediately take to their heels, when they came to feel the force of their victorious arms. That in the most numerous armies, the decision of the battle depended upon a few, and that their glory would be so much the greater as it was the less divided. That they should take care only to keep their ranks close, and fight sword in hand, after they had thrown their darts. And lastly, that they should not lose time about the spoil, which would be the certain reward of their victory.”

A bloody battle.

These words are followed with such loud acclamations, and the resolution of the soldiers appears so great, that the general, not doubting of success, orders a charge to be sounded. The Romans dart their javelins, without quitting the advantage of their post. But their quivers being emptied, they advance sword in hand, seconded by the auxiliaries, who fight with equal bravery, in an opinion that there was no safety but in victory. Whilst the fight was carried on with darts at a distance, the Britons were in hopes the Romans, daunted at the number of their enemies, would take to flight. But when they see the legions advancing sword in hand, with short and thick steps, and no signs of fear in their looks, they fall into disorder, which continually increases, there being no leaders or officers capable of repairing it^b. The Romans seeing them thus shaken, fall upon them with great fury, and put the whole army into the utmost confusion, who now think only of saving themselves by flight. At the same time the Roman horse in the wings breaking through the British cavalry, a terrible rout

^b These last words are not in Tacitus.

ensues of the frightened troops. 'Tis even with difficulty they run away, by reason of the great number of carriages, full of unserviceable multitudes, which first retiring, become an obstacle to the flight of the army. The Roman soldiers spare neither age nor sex, but sacrifice to their revenge the women and children, and even the very horses. This victory equalled their most famous ones, if it be true, as Tacitus affirms, that eighty thousand Britons were slain, with the loss only of four hundred Romans, and as many wounded. Boadicea escaped falling into the hands of the conquerors; but was touched with so deep a sense of her shame and loss, that she ended her days with poison. On the other side, Pœnius Posthumus, who refused to obey his general, either to avoid the punishment due to his offence, or for grief at losing his share of the glory of the victory, stabbed himself.

How advantageous to the Romans the consequences of so great a victory were, may be easily conceived. The Britons, in the utmost consternation, without general or army, before their enemies, without offering the least resistance. Their misery is farther increased by a famine, brought upon themselves by neglecting to sow their lands. All their hopes are, that the inconsiderable number of their enemies must oblige them to keep together, and thereby afford time to form another army. But these hopes vanish upon the Romans receiving a strong reinforcement from Germany. No doubt, as matters then stood, Paulinus's army would have been sufficient to complete the conquest of Britain, if dissensions arising among the Romans had not prevented them from improving their advantages.

Julius Classicianus, who succeeded Decianus in the office of procurator, disagreeing with Paulinus, studied to cross him in all his designs. Probably the general would not suffer him to continue the oppressions that occasioned the late revolt. However this be, Classicianus conceives so violent a hatred for him, that he declares publicly, and even writes to the emperor's ministers at Rome, that there is no prospect of ending the war, as long as the management is left to Paulinus. In all his reports to the emperor's ministers, he imputes the good success to fortune, and the bad to the governor's ill conduct, intimating, that if another general were sent, it would be very easy to appease the troubles, without disoblighing the province. At last Nero, hearing of this dissension, orders his freedman Polycletus to go and learn the cause. The respect shown him by Paulinus was surprizing to the Britons, who could not conceive that such a general, and a victorious army, should be

accountable to a freedman. This respect however was not paid in vain. Polycletus in his report to the emperor, justifies Paulinus, and so manages that he keeps his command. But in the end, Classicianus beginning afresh, prevails by his friends and secret practices, to have Paulinus relieved by Petronius Turpilianus, who being a person of no ambition, acted nothing memorable, hiding his love of ease and sloth under the specious name of the love of peace.

62. Paulinus is relieved by Turpilianus,

65. who is succeeded by Trebellius, Tacit. Vit. Agricol.

67.

68.

69.

Vespasian is made governor.

69.

He is succeeded by Petilius Cerealis,

who is succeeded by Julius Frontinus.

75.

78.

Julius Agricola is made governor of Britain.

Tacit. Vit. Agricol.

To him succeeds Trebellius Maximus, as indolent as himself, and famous for nothing during his government but his quarrel with Cælius commander of the twentieth legion. This quarrel is carried so high, that great part of the army deserting their general, he is forced at length to fly to Vitellius, who commanded the Roman army in Germany.

In the mean time Nero dying, the Britons enjoy some respite, during the short reigns of Galba and Otho, there being neither governor nor general. The Roman army was commanded only by tribunes, among whom Cælius bore the chief sway. Vitellius being come to the empire, sends Vicius Bolanus into Britain, to take upon him the command of the army. The new governor, little skilled in the art of war, leaves the Britons in quiet, and contents himself with gaining the affections of the soldiers, without having the authority of a general. He continues in the province till Vespasian, who succeeds Vitellius in the imperial throne, being informed of the wants of Britain, sends thither Petilius Cerealis. Petilius, during his government, attacks and defeats in several battles the Brigantes, the most numerous and considerable of all the British nations. Julius Frontinus succeeds him, and acquires no less glory than his predecessor. He subdues the warlike Silures, whose country seemed, by its situation, to screen them from all attacks.

Toward the end of Vespasian's reign, Julius Agricola is sent into Britain to succeed Frontinus. Here we begin to have fuller accounts of the British wars; for which we are wholly indebted to Tacitus, who has taken care to write the life of

* Their capital was Isurium, call'd by Antonine Ilu-Brigantum, now Al-borough in Yorkshire, which appears to have been a very large station. It must be observed, that encampments upon a march were by the Romans call'd Castra. Winter or Summer quarters Castra Hiberna. aut Æstiva. The word Statia is used by Cæsar, Tacitus, &c. for the duty of soldiers upon guard, or for the men employed in this duty.

But afterwards Statia was applied to a Fort or Place where the soldiers lodg'd, and like Vegetius's Castella, were often built like towns in the borders of the empire, where they were constant fences against the enemy. The stations here in England were strong fortifications, of no great extent, adjoining to which were usually other buildings, forming a sort of town, to which the station was in the nature of a citadel.

his father-in-law Agricola, in order to give that lustre to his actions they justly deserved, and which perhaps they would have wanted, had it not been for that illustrious historian^d.

Some time before Agricola was appointed governor of Britain, the Ordovices had surprized and cut in pieces a body of Roman horse, quartered in their frontiers. This accident gave occasion to apprehend the like again, and caused the Romans to expect with great impatience the arrival of a new governor. The news that Agricola was to command them, revived their courage. They did not question but under a general of so established a reputation, they should quickly put an end to the war. However, he could not come till about the middle of summer. Tho' he finds no magazine for the army, dispersed in several places for their better subsistence, he draws them together without delay. He immediately attacks the Ordovices, and notwithstanding the difficulty of the undertaking by reason of the incommodious places he is forced to go thro' in quest of them, makes them pay dear for the advantage they had lately gained. All the world was surprized to see him fighting the enemies of the empire upon his first entrance, a time usually spent by other governors in feasting and diversions, or in receiving the compliments of the province. But there was still greater reason to admire his diligence, when he was seen, in his first campaign, to attack the isle of Mona, which the Romans had been forced to abandon, tho' he wanted flat-bottom'd vessels for the expedition. He ordered a choice body of auxiliaries, who were acquainted with the shallows, to swim over, which they perform'd so dextrously, (being trained up by the custom of their native country to manage in swimming themselves, their horses and arms) that the inhabitants, astonished at the sight, and never suspecting any such thing, surrendered the isle to the Romans without obliging them to draw a sword.

War was not the only affair that employed the new governor. Whilst his arms are triumphant, he carefully enquires about every thing relating to the government of the province, and the properest means to keep the people in obedience. This enquiry shews him that the Britons are not to be tam'd by arms alone, but that lenity is no less necessary than force. And therefore he spends the whole winter after his first campaign, in diligently regulating several abuses crept in by the avarice or negligence of former governors. He takes care to

78.

Agricola's
first cam-
paign.

^d Tacitus's Life of Agricola is justly esteemed a master-piece by the best judges. The strength and vivacity of the expression, the beauty and variety of thought are almost inimitable. Housley, p. 38.

prevent all kind of exactions ; to cause justice to be administered punctually and impartially ; in a word, to remove every occasion of discontent from the Britons in subjection to the empire. This proceeding gained their affection to such a degree, that he had no cause to fear a revolt whilst he should be employed in making new conquests. Vespasian dying about this time, his son Titus succeeds him, and knowing Agricola's great merit, continues him in his government.

79.
Agricola's
second cam-
paign.

In the spring the general takes the field again, and marches towards the north, where he makes some conquests. He observed the Romans commonly lost in the winter what they gained in the summer, because they durst not venture to quarter in the conquered countries, which were too much exposed. To prevent this inconvenience, he resolved to build forts in proper places, where garrisons might be kept in the winter, always ready, to repulse the enemy. As he was a great master in the art of fortification, these forts were built and situated in such manner, that the Romans were never under a necessity to quit them, nor the enemies ever able to take them.

He induces
the Britons
to come into
the customs
of the Ro-
mans.

During the following winter, Agricola's chief business was to soften the rough manners of the Britons, and insinuate into them a desire to imitate the customs of the Romans. His pains are not bestowed in vain. Soon after, Britain is adorned with stately temples, noble porticos, and many fine structures both public and private, of a very different taste from what had been hitherto seen. The British nobles even pride themselves in speaking the Latin tongue, to which a little before they were utterly averse. They dress likewise after the Roman manner, and in short, as Tacitus observes, are brought to esteem, as politeness and good breeding, what was only a badge of their slavery.

80. In this third campaign, Agricola advances as far as the river Tweed, fortifying his conquests with castles and fortresses in several places.

81. The fourth summer was spent in subduing the nations inhabiting between the Tweed and the two friths of Glota and Bodotria, now called of Dunbritton and Edinburgh. Those two arms of the east and west seas shoot so far into the land,

• This passage of Tacitus, (says Horsley) is almost incredible, though we extend it no farther than to the time of Tacitus writing his history. There is perhaps a good deal of compliment in it to Agricola, the historian's father-in-law and favourite hero. It seems not to be well consistent with another pas-

sage, " perdomita Britannia & statim amissa." Hist. lib. i. cap. 2. The forts built this year by Agricola are supposed to be on the borders, especially on the western side of the island, along which Agricola marched. Horsley, p. 40.

that

that they are parted only by an isthmus of between thirty and forty miles. Upon this isthmus Agricola raises forts and plants garrisons for the security of the Roman province, which he had extended thus far. By this means the nations yet unconquered, were pent up as it were in a separate island.

What Agricola had done should, one would think, have satisfied his ambition: but he was labouring also for the glory of the Roman name, which, as Tacitus expresses it, knew no bounds. During his fifth campaign, Agricola leads his army beyond the friths, where he discovers countries and nations, whose very names were unknown to the Romans. Some of them he conquers, and leaves garrisons in the western parts opposite to Ireland. His design was to attempt the conquest of that island, that it might be a check upon Britain, being perfectly informed of the state of the country by a lord banished from thence. Tacitus says, he heard his father-in-law say, that with one legion and a few auxiliaries, he could easily become master of that island, the conquest whereof would be of great service to keep the Britons in awe. 82.

In this sixth campaign, the Roman general passes Bodotria, ordering his fleet to row along the coasts, and discover the creeks and harbours in those northern parts. This was the first Roman fleet that appeared on those seas, the sight whereof inspired the enemy with terror, but the Romans with courage, who having ventured upon those unknown countries with some dread, were extremely animated by the communication they had with their fleet, which always kept near the shore. 83.

But while Agricola was advancing towards the north, a report was spread that the northern nations had drawn together a formidable army, and attacked the forts built on their frontiers. The news of this armament being confirmed a few days after by deserters, the principal officers of the army advised the general to relinquish his conquests beyond the friths, and avoid the shame of being compelled to it by force. But he rejected this advice, as injurious to his master's honour and interest. Whilst he was deliberating upon this affair, he had notice that the enemies were coming upon him with an army of numberless multitudes, according to common report. Apprehensive of being surrounded, he divided his army into three bodies, hearing the enemy had done the same. This precaution had like to have cost him dear. For the enemies having intelligence of it, altered their resolution, and with united forces set upon the ninth legion in the night, as they lie encamp'd at a good distance from the rest of the army. They surpriz'd the

The ninth legion is attacked in their camp.

Agricola
marches to
their aid.

advanc'd guard, and attacking the camp with great fury, had like to become masters of it. Agricola, upon notice of their march, made all possible haste to the relief of the legion. But for fear of being too late, he ordered the horse to go before and maintain the fight, till the rest of the army came up. He appear'd at day break in sight of the enemies, who seeing him advance, would have retreated, but not having time, were forc'd to continue the fight. The battle was fierce and obstinate. The Romans, that were almost defeated in their camp, vigorously endeavour to repair their disgrace, at the sight of their companions who were coming to their assistance. And these, seeing the ninth legion in danger, rush furiously upon the enemy to relieve them. Both fought with such courage and bravery, that the enemy began at last to give ground. The fens favour'd their retreat, otherwise the war had been terminated by that single battle^c.

The islanders
are de-
feated.

They assem-
ble again.

This defeat, though considerable, dishearten'd not the islanders. They imputed their misfortune to chance and other circumstances, rather than to the valour of the Romans, and resolv'd to try the fortune of war once more. Having convey'd their women and children into the towns, they came together from all parts, and form'd a more numerous army than the first, with a resolution stoutly to defend their liberty.

A cohort of
the Roman
army de-
serts.

But whilst the Romans are preparing in the winter to withstand the efforts of their enemies, and even to attack them, a cohort of Ushippians, levied in Germany, form a design to return home, and execute it with that secrecy and expedition, that it could not be prevented. A captain and some Roman soldiers, placed among them to discipline them, were killed, lest they should oppose the design. Which done, these Germans seize upon two small vessels, kill one of the pilots, and compel the other to conduct them, threatening to serve him as they had done his companion: after which they set sail before their intentions could be known. They had laid their measures so ill, that they were quickly in want of provisions, and reduc'd to the necessity of eating some of their comrades. Those that remain'd alive, ignorant of the art of navigation, were driven ashore on the coast of Friseland and made slaves^d.

and perish
miserably.

^c This battle was fought, according to Gordon, in the county of Fife; for there is a Roman camp in Sir John Malcolm's ground at Lochore, two miles from Lochleven, and a large moor near it, and formerly a wood. Also near this place is a small village called Blair, which in the old language signifies a place of battle. Horsley, p. 44.

^d Tacitus says, three. Vit. Agr.

^a Tacitus says, after a strange adventure sailing round Britain, they were taken first by the Suevi, then by the Frisii. And being bought and sold, some of them at last in traffick were brought to the coast where the Romans were, who told the adventure, and were afterwards famous for it. Tac. vit. Agr.

Upon

Upon opening the next campaign, Agricola orders his fleet to row along the coast, to keep several places in awe. At the same time he marches at the head of his troops, taking for guides some natives of known fidelity, that were acquainted with the ways. When he comes near the Grampian mountain, he sees the enemies drawn up to the number of thirty thousand, besides volunteers, who flock'd together to be at a battle, of which liberty or slavery was to be the issue. Upon the armies approaching each other, Galgacus, commander of the islanders, represents to them, "That being at the extremity of the isle, they have no refuge left if vanquish'd, and therefore nothing but victory can deliver them from perpetual bondage." On the other side, Agricola exhorts his soldiers "to do their duty, by the consideration of their past victories. Particularly he sets before their eyes their sad condition, if after being defeated, they are forc'd to seek for shelter among the Britons, who for fifty years together have felt the force of their victorious arms." Whilst the general is yet speaking, the soldiers by their looks discover their eagerness to fight, and their hopes of victory. The army was drawn up in such manner, that the auxiliary foot were to bear the first shock, in order to prevent as much as possible the effusion of Roman blood. The legions were plac'd in the rear, to support the auxiliaries in case of repulse. Galgacus had rang'd his men on the side of a hill, that his whole army might be visible at once to the Romans, and strike them with the greater terror. The horse were drawn up on the plain at the bottom of the hill, and the chariots ran between the two armies. Agricola, apprehensive of being surrounded by these multitudes, widened his front, though he thereby weakened it, rejecting the advice given him of ordering the legions to advance. Then alighting from his horse, full of courage and hopes, he went and headed the legions. They fought some time with darts, the islanders being unwilling to quit the advantage of their post. Besides, their little targets, and unwieldy pointless swords, were not so proper for close fighting. But Agricola found means to compel them to it, by detaching two cohorts of Batavians, and as many of Tungrians, who fell upon them sword in hand. The islanders, unused to that way of fighting, could not long withstand the charge of these warlike troops, who pressing them with the points of their bucklers, soon broke their foremost battalions, and began even to ascend the hill. Those that followed them, animated by their example, fought with the same bravery; and without giving the enemies time to rally, overthrew all that withstood them.

Mean

84.

Agricola's
seventh
campaignGalgacus the
British general
prepares
for battle.Agricola's
speech to his
army.Description
of the battle.

The Romans gain the victory.

Mean while, the British horse began also to give ground, and their chariots were forc'd to drive up the hill to assist the foot that were in extreme disorder. Though the chariots at first somewhat daunted the Romans, yet did they but little execution by reason of the unevenness of the ground. The hill being pretty steep, the charioters had no command of the horses, and ran without distinction over friends and foes, according as they came in their way. The foot that were posted on the top of the hill, and had not yet engaged, seeing the Romans hotly pursuing their victory, now made a motion to surround them, because of the smallness of their number. But Agricola perceiving it, detach'd four squadrons of horse, who not only withstood the charge of the foot, but entirely routed them; and then falling upon the enemies in flank that were still on the plain, made great slaughter of them. This action compleated the victory. Galgacus finding it impossible to renew the fight, retreated with the remains of his army. He lost ten thousand men in the action; but on the side of the Romans there fell but three hundred and forty: among whom was Aulus Atticus, captain of a cohort, who by the heat of youth, and the unruliness of his horse, was carried into the midst of the enemies. The conquerors pass the following night with joy and gladness, and the vanquish'd with lamentations and sorrow, taking advantage of the darkness to escape the pursuit of the Romans. Far from any thoughts of rallying, their flight was so hasty, that when day appeared it was in vain to pursue them¹. Agricola seeing they were intirely dispers'd, the summer almost spent, and unsafe to send his army to waste the enemy's country, marched back into the territories of the Horestians², from whom he received hostages. He march'd slowly, to strike terror into the Britons, and in expectation of his fleet, which having alarm'd all the northern coast, return'd about the end of the summer, and anchor'd in the port of Trutulum³.

Domitian recalls Agricola.

Domitian, now emperor upon the death of his brother Titus, receives the news of this victory with a seeming satisfaction.

¹ Mr. Gordon supposes this battle to be fought in Strathern, half a mile from the Kirk of Comeric, there being a remarkable encampment in that place.

² Mountaineers or Highlanders. Camden places them in Esk-dale. But his annotator thinks they should be placed between South-Esk and North-Esk in Angus. See Camden, p. 345.

³ Some read it Rhamenfis, most probably it should be Ritupensis for Ru-

tupensis or Ritupensis. So that when Agricola's fleet, (that lay in the Tay during the battle) arrived here, having gone north about by the O.ades, 'tis plain they had sail'd quite round the island, because they had sail'd before from Portus Ritupensis to Tay. For Tacitus says, "Trutulensem Portum tenuit, unde proximo latere Britanni ex lecto omni redierat." Vit. Agric. cap. 38.

faction, though inwardly he repines at the reputation Agricola gained by it. Envy not suffering him not to continue him in his post where his fame might still have an additional lustre, he recalls him on pretence of promoting him to the government of Syria. But after causing the senate to decree him a statue crowned with laurel, he sends him out of the world with a dose of poison. In this manner he rewarded the service that great ^{and poisons} man had done the empire. ^{him.} This unworthy emperor could not bear the fame of a general whose noble actions reproach'd him with the imaginary triumph decreed him as conqueror of the Germans, in which he had caused slaves to be disguised, like captives.

Agricola gave the finishing blow to the liberty of Britain. ^{Britain is re-} By his valour and prudent conduct, all that part of the island ^{duc'd to a} lying south of the two friths, was reduced to a Roman pro- ^{Roman pro-} vince. As for the northern parts, they were left to the inhabitants as a wild uncultivated country, not worth the conquering or keeping. Only strong garrisons were placed in the fortresses built on this side the friths.

Tho' the loss of their liberty seemed to be an irreparable ^{The Britons} damage to the Britons, it was in some measure repaired by ^{begin to be} the great alteration for the better in their customs and man- ^{civilized.} ners, after their being subject to the empire. In a short time they were seen to lay aside their rude and savage ways, and assume the politeness of the conquerors. Arts and sciences, little regarded by the Britons before this revolution, flourished among them as much as in any other part of the Roman dominions. In a word, from mere savages the Britons were become polite and civilized, an advantage the most northern parts of the island have not yet attained. After this reformation, they made but faint struggles for the recovery of their liberty, being pleased, for the most part, with their servitude. It must however be noted, that a great many chose to lose their possessions, and retire into the north, among the Picts and Scots, rather than live in subjection to the Roman yoke. These were the men, that, joining with those that afforded them refuge, made continual war with the Romans, in maintenance of that precious liberty their unhappy country had lost. They spared not even their countrymen, whom they looked upon with horror for being pleased with their slavery.

These were the men, that, with the Picts and Scots, obliged emperors themselves to come over in person and oppose the efforts of their invincible courage.

As for the subjects of the empire, they endured all the ^{Policy of the} hardships that are the usual lot of the vanquished. ^{Romans} Exorbitant ^{with regard} taxes

to conquered countries. taxes were laid upon them on numberless pretences. Their estates were taken from them and given to the veterans, that were continually coming to settle in the island. The flower of their youth were made soldiers, and dispersed in the other provinces of the empire. Such was the Roman policy. They sent away whole bodies levied in a conquered country, into other remote regions. For instance, the Britons into Pannonia, the Batavians into Illyria, the Germans into Britain, to keep them at a distance from their own country. By thus draining the conquered nations of their main strength, they disabled them from revolting, and at the same time made use of them to acquire new conquests.

85. After Agricola's departure from Briton, we have but a slender account of what passed in the island till the reign of Adrian. We only know that Sallustius Lucullus was sent thither by Domitian, to whose suspicions or jealousy he quickly fell a sacrifice. It is to be presumed, the subjects of the empire were quiet, and the inhabitants of the north suffered to enjoy their liberty in peace. The Roman historians mention also; in the reigns of Nerva and Trajan, some commotions in the island, that were quickly appeased; but the particulars are unknown. It may likewise be observed in this interval, the Romans, after their conquests, suffered kings to be in Britain; for they gloried in having such for their subjects. Juvenal speaks of king Arviragus, who reigned in some part of the island under Domitian^m.

Lucullus governor of Britain.

Arviragus king of the Britons.

Sat. iv.
ver. 125.

^m Under Plautius and Ostorius, in the reign of Claudius, some places (says Tacitus) were given to king Cogidunus, who continued faithful to the Romans. Over what people he was king does not appear, Camden thinks the Regni; Dr. Gale, the Segontiaci. However, there was lately found at Chichester a very curious inscription relating to this

Cogidunus. This stone was found in a cellar under the corner house of St. Martin's Lane; it is about two foot nine inches broad, and very near three foot long. It is now fixed in the wall of the house where it was found. The inscription, somewhat defaced, is as follows:

• EPTVNO. ET. MINERVÆ
• TEMPLVM.
• O. SALVTE. DOMVS. DIVINÆ.
• AVCTORITATE. TIB. CLAVD.
• GIDVBN. R. LEGA. AVG. IN. BRIT.
• GIVM. FABROR. ET. QVI. IN. EO,
• D. S. D. DONANTE. AREAM.
• ENTE. PV DENTINI. FIL.

Thus to be read, according to Roger Gale, esq.

“ Neptuno et Minervæ templum pro salute domus divinæ ex auctoritate Tiberii Claudii Cogidubni regis legati Augusti in Britannia collegium fabricarum et qui in eo a sacris sunt de

“ suo dedicaverunt donante aream Pudentini filio.”

The stone in digging up was broken in four parts, of which one is not taken up, lying under the foundation of the next house. See Philosoph. Transact, N. 379.

In the first year of Adrian^a, the northern people, a mixture, as supposed, of Picts, Scots, and Britons, but confounded by the Roman historians under the name of Caledonians, made an irruption into the Roman province. Their first exploit was to demolish some of Agricola's fortresses between the two friths. Adrian being informed of these commotions, appoints Julius Severus governor of Britain; but before he has time to perform any thing, he is suddenly recalled, and employed elsewhere^b. Mean time, the Caledonians continuing to infest the Roman territories, the emperor resolves to go over in person, and subdue these fierce and troublesome people. As soon as they hear of his arrival, they relinquish the country they were possessed of, and retire to the north. Adrian however advances as far as York, where he meets some of Agricola's old soldiers, that had been with him in the northern parts. The description these give him of the country he intended to conquer, diverts him from pursuing his expedition. Besides that the bogs and mountains he was to pass, would have engaged him in a war more laborious than honourable, he easily perceived, that should his undertaking be crowned with success, it would procure no great advantages to the empire. Wherefore he comes to a resolution to leave to the Caledonians all the country between the two friths and the Tine, in hopes by thus enlarging their bounds to keep them quiet. But at the same time to secure the Roman province from their incursions, he causes a rampart of earth to be thrown up, covered with turf, from the mouth of the Tine to Solway frith. This rampart was eighty miles in length, and ran quite cross the country from east to west, by which he secured the southern parts, leaving the Caledonians all the lands between the new rampart and the isthmus that parts the two friths^c. Having thus settled matters in the island, he returns to Rome, and is honoured with the title of Restorer of Britain, as appears by some medals.

117.

Julius Severus made governor. Spartian in Hadriano.

120.

Adrian goes over in person.

He parts the Roman provinces from the northern countries by a rampart.

^a Here is a gap of above thirty years, from the year 85 to 117, during which it is supposed the Romans lost much of their conquests here.

^b Pius Licinius succeeds Severus in the government of Britain, in the year 120. Severus was recalled to go against the Jews. Dion. lib. lxxix.

^c Adrian's Wall, or Vallum, was entirely of earth. The whole work consisted of the following parts: 1. The north agger; 2. The ditch; 3. The

principal vallum; 4. The south agger. The ditch at Harrow-hill, where the original breadth and depth is very apparent, measures near nine foot deep and eleven over. The height and thickness of the vallum and aggers cannot be exactly known. The distance of the north agger from the ditch is about twenty-four foot, and that of the south agger was originally thirty, though lessened at present by the spreading of the earth.

Enmity between the northern and southern Britons.

The grow more civilized.

The northern people destroy Adrian's rampart.

Capitolin in Antonin.

138. Lollius Urbicus raises another rampart.

140.

After these last irruptions of the northern people, there was all along a mortal enmity betwixt them and the southern Britons. These last finding themselves entirely separated by inclination and interest from the rest of the inhabitants of the island, were the more forward to embrace the customs and manners of the Romans. Afterwards, by means of the arts and sciences, they came by degrees capable of being instructed in the Christian religion, which till then was scarce known in the island.

How strong soever Adrian's rampart might be, it was not sufficient to prevent the inroads of the northern people. Indeed, they behaved peaceably as long as there were Roman troops enough on their borders to defend the rampart. But the moment these were removed, as it sometimes happened, being wanted elsewhere, they began their usual ravages. Nay, in the reign of Antoninus Pius^q, not satisfied with their booty, they destroyed the rampart in several places. Antoninus being informed of it, and fearing their boldness, if not curbed, would carry them to greater undertakings, orders Lollius Urbicus to go and quell them. The new governor (having first subdued the Brigantes, who endeavoured to shake off the Roman yoke) in order to put a stop to the northern irruptions, raises another rampart on the neck of land between the two friths, where Agricola had formerly built his fortresses. Thus the inhabitants of the north were confined within narrower bounds than before. By means of this rampart and a camp at a little distance, where troops were kept ready to march on occasion, he compelled the Caledonians to remain peaceably in their country. Though Antoninus was never in Britain himself, this expedition, as done by his orders, and under his auspices, gained him the title of Britannicus.

Marcus

^q Here is another gap of eighteen years, from 120 to 138.

^r From Antoninus's building his wall in 140 to 165, we meet with no occurrences, nor from thence to 183. Antoninus's wall, like Severus's, had a series of forts or stations, which are supposed (some at least) to be prior to the wall, and the same that were built by Agricola. This wall reaches from the frith of Forth to the frith of Clyde, as appears by inscriptions. It begins at Caer-riden, and runs through Munrills, Falkirk, Camelon, Rough-castle, Dick's Houfe, Castle-cary-fort, Westerwood-fort, Crow-hill, Barnill-fort, Auchindavy, Kirkintilloch, Calder, Bemutie, New Kirk-patrick, Castle-

hill-fort, Duntocher, Old Kirk-patrick, ending at Dungaels near Dunbarton, where stood the old city of Alcluth, afterwards Dunbritton, i. e. the Town of the Britons. Horsley (who had it surveyed) takes the wall to have been near forty Roman miles, that is (allowing fourteen Roman to thirteen English) a little above thirty-seven of our miles. By the inscriptions showing the part that was raised by the cohorts of the Legio secunda, etc. the number of paces amount to thirty-nine thousand seven hundred and twenty six, that is thirty-nine Roman miles, and seven hundred and twenty-six paces. It was built of turf, upon a foundation of stone, four yards thick. To this work belongs

Marcus Aurelius, his successor, gave the government of Britain to Calphurnius Agricola. This governor checks the insolence of the Caledonians, and strengthens the emperor's dominion over such of the Britons as seem to bear their yoke with the most reluctance. It was in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, that Lucius, a British king, embraced the Christian religion, which had been long before planted in the island; but, for want of due cultivation, had taken no deep root. I shall speak more largely of this king in the state of the British church.

During the reign of Commodus, successor of Marcus Aurelius, there were great commotions in Britain. The northern men taking up arms, cut in pieces the Roman army, commanded by an unexperienced general, and make great ravages in the province. All Britain was in danger of being lost, if the emperor had not speedily sent Ulpian Marcellus, a general of great reputation. The new governor defeats the rebels in several encounters, and by his conduct puts an end, in a very short space, to this dangerous war, that had made his master extremely uneasy. During his stay in the island, he observed that the want of discipline in the Roman army, was the sole foundation of the boldness of the northern people, and the chief cause of the advantages gained by them over the former governors. He undertakes therefore to bring it to its ancient strictness, which he happily accomplishes. But his services are repaid with ingratitude. The emperor, not content with depriving him of his government, was upon the point of putting him to death. This unworthy prince, like Domitian, could not behold distinguished merit without suspicion and envy.

Marcellus no sooner leaves Britain, but the army mutiny upon Perennis, the emperor's favourite, breaking or calling home all the old officers, and putting his creatures in their place. This mutiny is carried so far, that the army send a

belongs a great ditch, larger than that of Severus, on the south side of which was the main agger, vallum or rampart, and south of the vallum a large military way well paved, and is in several places very magnificent and beautiful. How this work came to be called Grimes's Dike, or Graham's Dike, does not appear. It is said that Graham, in the Highland tongue, signifies Black; then Graham's Dike will be the same as the Black Dike. There is a military way near Silchester in Hampshire, now called Grime's Dike. The 's annexed to Graham, is, doubtless, owing to the

opinion of its being the name of a man. The common story is, that one of this name broke through the wall, and so gave his own name to it. Within sight of the wall stands an ancient building, called Arthur's Oven, in the shape of the Pantheon at Rome, twenty-two feet high, and nineteen and a half in diameter. Horsley takes it to have been a funeral monument. It stands in the north side of the wall. See a large description of these things in book i. chap. 10. of Horsley's Britain, Rom.

and send a detachment to Rome.

body of fifteen hundred men to demand justice of the emperor against Perennis. This body marching to Rome, without any obstacle, are met by the emperor without the city; who demands of the leaders the cause of their discontent. "They were come (they said) to offer him their assistance against Perennis; acquainting him withal how that dangerous minister had by degrees cashiered the bravest officers, and filled the army with his creatures; a clear evidence of his ill designs." Commodus having been jealous of him for some time, delivers him up to the soldiers, who execute him upon the spot.

Commodus delivers up Perennis.

188.
Pertinax made governor. Capitoline in Pertinax. Mutiny in the army.

Mean while, it was necessary to send into Britain some person of authority, to suppress the mutinous temper of the army. Pertinax, afterwards emperor, being pitched upon for this service, resolves to proceed according to the rigour of military discipline: whereupon the ninth legion raise a mutiny, which is not appeased without bloodshed; the general himself is wounded, and saves his life only by being left for dead among the slain. However, in spite of all obstacles he gains his point, and brings the army at last to submit. But as he was not beloved by the soldiers, he desired to be dismissed from his office, and Clodius Albinus was sent in his room.

190.
Clodius Albinus is made governor. Capitoline.

Albinus being recalled, upon a suspicion conceived of him by Commodus, Junius Severus was ordered to go and relieve him.

192.
Succeeded by Junius Severus.

Pertinax being come to the empire, after the death of Commodus, makes the same Clodius Albinus, lately recalled, governor of Britain. He was continued in that post by Julian, successor of Pertinax. Albinus gains the affection of the soldiers by his liberalities, to such a degree, that, after Julian's death, they proclaim him emperor. At the same time Septimius Severus in Pannonia, and Pescennius Niger in Syria, receive the same honour from their respective armies. Severus being nearest Rome, hastens thither to receive from the senate the confirmation of the dignity conferred on him by the soldiers. But notwithstanding the senate's decree, the other two emperors persisting in their claims, put Severus to a stand. His rivals were at the two extremities of the empire;

Herodian. lib. ii. cap. 48

and consequently, while he marched against one, there was danger of the other's making too great a progress. He judges it necessary therefore to use dissimulation with Albinus, making him believe he is willing to share the empire with him. This offer being accepted, Severus draws all his forces together, and goes and fights Pescennius, who at length is vanquished and slain in battle; after which Severus considers how to get

Pescennius is slain.

rid of Albinus likewise. He tries first to assassinate him by villains hired and sent into Britain for that purpose. But this way failing, he resolves to employ force; and causing Albinus to be declared enemy of the state, marches against him. Albinus was now with his army in Gaul, intending to meet him and decide the quarrel by a battle: and accordingly it was decided near Lyons, where the two emperors fought with equal bravery, though not with equal fortune; Albinus is defeated and slain, and by his death Severus remains sole possessor of the empire. Shortly after he divided Britain into two governments: the first, containing the southern parts, was given to Heraclitus, and Virius Lupus had the second, consisting of the northern provinces bordering upon the Caledonians, by whom he was so infested, that he was forced at last to purchase a peace with money.

196.
Battle of Lyons between Severus and Albinus.
Herodian, lib. iii.
Severus divides Britain into two governments.
Dion. lib. lxxv.

After this treaty Britain remains in quiet till the fifteenth year of Severus, when the Caledonians renew their incursions into the Roman province. The Roman soldiers having enjoyed several years peace, were grown so effeminate and negligent, that they seemed never to have had the least tincture of military discipline. It was this that emboldened the Caledonians, and made them think they should not neglect so fair an opportunity to attack their neighbours, who till then had appeared so formidable to them. They make such progress, that the emperor, though sixty years of age, and afflicted with the gout, resolves to go in person and chastise their insolence. His intent was, once for all, to put an end to the continual commotions in Britain, by the entire conquest of the north. To that purpose he draws together a numerous army, and sets out for Britain, accompanied by his sons Caracalla and Geta. The Caledonians, when they hear of his arrival, send ambassadors to demand peace upon honourable terms. But he refuses to hearken to them, unless they will submit to his mercy: which they not consenting to, he marches towards their country with his eldest son Caracalla, leaving Geta at London to take care of the southern parts.

205.
Herodian, lib. iii. cap. 46. etc.

207.
Severus goes over into Britain.

It was with infinite toil that he penetrated to the utmost bounds the north, cutting down woods, draining bogs, or filling them with bays. By this hard duty, and the continual ambuscades of the enemy, he lost fifty thousand men. However, notwithstanding all difficulties in his way, he ac-

He penetrates to the utmost parts of the north.
Dio. lib. lxxvi.
Xiphilin.

* Horsley imagines from this great be reckoned among these works, tho' loss of men, that Severus's wall must by much the greatest of them, p. 61.

We relin-
quishes his
conquests,
208, 209
and builds
wall on
Adrian's
rampart.
Spartian in
S. v. 13.
Ede, lib
cap. 5.
Camden.

complethes his design, and subdues these fierce and hitherto unconquered people. But as soon as he had executed his project, he perceived how fruitless it was, since he could not possibly keep the country in subjection without a great army always on the spot. This consideration made him sensible it was better to relinquish these conquests than keep them : and therefore confining himself to Adrian's former project, he only divides the island into two parts by a wall^a, in the place where Adrian threw up his rampart. This wall, of which there are still some remains, called by the ancient Britons *Murfever*, or *Severus's Wall*^a, must not be, as it is by some, confounded with the rampart raised by *Lollius Urbicus*, between the two friths. The emperor having nothing more to do in the north, returns to York, leaving the finishing of the wall and command of the army to his son *Caracalla*. This expedition got him, or caused him to assume, the title of *Britannicus Maximus*. *Caracalla*, no longer restrained by the emperor his father's presence, suffers the soldiers to commit all manner of licentiousness. So that the *Caledonians*, unused to the yoke, take up arms with one accord. *Severus* hearing of this revolt, but not knowing

^a *Severus's wall* was of free-stone, as is certain from what is yet visible. In some places, where the foundation was not good, they seemed to have made use of oaken piles. The inner part of this wall is filled with pretty large, and mostly broad and thin stones, always set edgewise, somewhat obliquely. Upon these the running mortar or cement was poured, and by this contrivance the whole wall was bound as firm as a rock. These stones are supposed to have been brought from *Helbeck-Scar* on the *Gelt* and *Leunge-Crag*, as appears from an inscription on the rock that hangs over the *Gelt*. The wall generally measures about eight foot thick, and twelve high. Upon the wall were placed castles, or *chesters*, sixty foot square, about six furlongs and a half from each other; and turrets four yards square, about three hundred yards from each other. There seems to have been four turrets between every two castles. The centinels placed in the turrets being within call, the communication quite along the wall might be kept up, without having recourse to the fiction of pipes laid under-ground to convey the sound; though this seems

to be credited by *Echard* and others. The wall is traced from *Coufin's House* through *Newcastle*, *Berwell-hill*, *Rutchester*, *Halton-chesters*, *Warwick-chesters*, *Carrawburgh*, *Houlesteids*, *Great-chesters*, *Thirlwel-castle*, *Burdowold*, *Cambeck-fort*, *Watch-cross*, *Stanwick's*, *Brugh*, *Drumburgh*, to *Boulness*, sixty-eight miles three furlongs. And therefore it is a wonder that such great men as *Usher*, *Burton*, *Buchanan*, *Dr. Smith*, and others, should say the wall reached only to the *Est*, when the contrary, upon view, is plain to a demonstration. It was not built exactly upon *Adrian's wall*, there being a good distance sometimes between them. It is observable that the legionary soldiers were employed in building this wall, as they generally were in works of this nature. This is evident from the centurial inscriptions on the stones of the wall, shewing what part was built by each centuria. A good hint how soldiers may be usefully employed in peaceable times.

^a The English call it the *Picts Wall*, because it parted the *Picts* from the *Britons*. *Rapin*.

the

the cause, orders the rebels to be all massacred *, which made them fear he intended an utter extirpation of them. He dies shortly after at York; and the two princes his sons, succeeding him, conclude a peace with the Caledonians, and return to Rome. Severus dies at York.

As nothing very memorable passed in Britain during the reigns of Severus's immediate successors, I must fill up this void, with an enquiry, who were these northern people or Caledonians? so often mentioned. But this is a subject fitter for a dissertation than a history. It suffices to inform the reader, that some maintain these Caledonians to be Picts and Scots, with a mixture of southern Britons. Others affirm, the Scots settled not in the island 'till the beginning of the sixth century, and that the Caledonians in Severus's time were no other than Britons, that had all along inhabited those parts, or fled thither after the Roman invasion. But though as to the history, the name of these people be not very material, I shall add here, that, for my part, I think the reasons alledged in proof of the Picts and Scots not being yet settled in the island to be insufficient, though it may be, their settlement is of a later date than pretended by the Scottish historians *.

What

* Repeating these lines of Homer,

Μῆτις ὀφεισσομένη, &c.

None our arms shall spare,
None shall escape the fury of the war;
Children unborn shall die. II. ii.

† That is, Cilyddion, Borderers in the British tongue, whom bishop Lloyd supposes to be first called Picts, about the year of our Lord 300. Though at the same time they that lived next the Romans frontiers were still called Caledones or Borderers. Ammianus, who writ eighty years after, says there were two nations of the Picts which were called Dicalcdones and Vecturiones, perhaps Decilyddion and Chwith-wion, that is, in British, the Southern Caledones, or Borderers, and the Northern Men, (Deu and Chwith, Right and Left, being anciently used for South and North) the same, no doubt, that were afterwards called the South and North Picts, separated (as Bede says) by a ledge of high and steep mountains or Grantaibain-hills; amongst which hills the country is called Braid-albin, i. e. High-albion, and the highest of them is called Drum-albin, i. e. Ridge of Albion. This perhaps is the only

remains of that most ancient name of this island. See Amm. Marc. lib. xxvii. p. 346. Usser. prim. p. 80, and 586. Bede, Hist. lib. iii. c. 4. Paneg. ad Const. p. 235. Eumen. Paneg. ad Const. p. 258.

‡ Lloyd seems to have set this matter in a clear light in his proofs of the following particulars. 1. That the inhabitants of Ireland or the Scots were never in Britain before the year 300. 2. About that time they began their incursions, but settled not here 'till after the decay of the Roman empire, when the Saxons conquered the best part of Britain, calling it England. 3. Then part of the Scots or Irish seated themselves among the Picts, and about the year 500 erected the kingdom of Argyle, and held it a long time peaceably. 4. About the year 850, they conquered all that was north of Graham's dike. 5. After the year 900 they got the rest of the country, and it came to be called Scotland. This seems to be the most probable account of this much contested affair, which the reader may see at large in Lloyd's historical account, &c. p. 5, 46. It may not be amiss to lay before the reader one argument

Several em-
perors at
once, some
of which in
Britain.

259.
Camden in
Essex.

Vospiscus in
Bonoso and
Probo.

276
Probus gives
the Britons
leave to plant
vines, and
sends over
great num-
bers of Van-
dals and Bur-
gundians.

Zosim. lib. i.

285.
Carausius
assumes the
title of em-
peror.

What is known of the affairs of Britain from the death of Severus to the reign of Dioclesian, is inconsiderable, and amounts to no more than this. There is ground to suppose that some of the thirty tyrants^b who were in possession of the empire for some time, were acknowledged, if not personally present, in Britain. This appears the more probable, as the coins of Lollian, Victorinus, Posthumus, and others of these pretended emperors, are commonly found in England. Bonosus, who attempted to usurp the empire under Tacitus and Aurelian, was born in Britain. 'Tis known moreover, that a governor sent hither by Probus assumed the imperial purple, and was shortly after killed by Victorinus, who had recommended him to the emperor. Two other particulars of the reign of Probus, with respect to Britain, ought to be recorded. This emperor was the first that permitted the Britons^c to plant vines as well as the Gauls or Spaniards. But, in all appearance, no great benefit was reaped by this permission. The emperor Probus also, after subduing the Vandals and Burgundians, sent over great numbers of them into Britain^d. These new colonies are generally thought to have been settled on Gogmagog hill near Cambridge, where there remains to this day a fortification, imagined to be the work of these foreigners. It is however more probably ascribed to the Danes, who were long masters of Cambridge.

In the beginning of Dioclesian's reign, Carausius had the command of a fleet, with orders to scour the seas of the pyrratical Franks and Saxons, that perpetually infested the Belgick,

ment alledged by Buchanan in favour of the antiquity of the Scots in Britain. In Paneg. Maximiano, A. p. 258. The orator comparing Constantius's victory over Carausius, with that formerly gained by Cæsar over the Britons, says, "Ad hoc, natio etiam tunc rudis & Soli Britannii, Pictis modo & Hibernis assueta hostibus adhuc seminudis, facile Romanis armis signisque cesserunt." Hence Buchanan infers the Scots were in Britain in Cæsar's time, by supposing Soli Britannii to be the genitive case. For then the sense will be this: "Moreover the nation (conquered by Cæsar) being yet rude, and used to no other enemies but Picts and Irish of the British soil," &c. that is, says he, Scots settled in Britain. But the English writers seemingly more justly render the words thus: "The nation being yet rude, and only Britons, used to no

"other enemies but Picts and Irish, easily yielded to the Roman arms and ensigus." Hence the Irish here spoken of are not said to dwell in British soil, as Buchanan would have it.

^a That is, from 211 to 286. But notwithstanding the silence of the Roman historians, we learn from inscriptions the names of three proprietors under Gordian III. viz. Mæcilius Fuscus, Cneius Lucilianus, (both mentioned in two inscriptions found at Lancaister in the county of Durham) and Nonnius Philippus, (in one found at Old Carlisle, dated 242.)

^b The thirty tyrants rose up in the reign of Gallienus, about the year 260.

Eutropius has it, "Vincas Gallos & Pannonios (instead of Britannos) habere permittit." lib. ix. c. 17.

^d Who are said to be of great use to the Romans in quelling insurrections. Milt. Hist. Eng. p. 102.

Armo-

Armœrican, and Britiſh coaſts. Carauſius finds means to en-^{Aur. Viſt. ix.} rich himſelf immenſely, by plundering the pyrates, or going ^{Eutrop. lii. ix. c. 17.} ſhares with them in their ſpoils. After which, he begins by degrees to receive the emperor's commands with leſs reſpect and ſubmiſſion. Maximian was then emperor of the weſt, Diocleſian of the eaſt. Carauſius's haughtineſs breeding in Maximian ſuſpicions that were but too well grounded, he reſolves to have him aſſaſſinated. Upon notice hereof, Carauſius immediately aſſumes the imperial purple, purſuant to the ſcheme he had laid. As his riches had acquired him a great intereſt in the army, his authority was readily acknowledged in the iſland. Maximian, ſurprized at his boldneſs, advances as far as Gaul, with deſign to chaſtiſe him. But finding him too well eſtabliſhed, he alters his reſolution, and thinks it more proper to aſſociate him into the empire, and leaves him Britain for his ſhare. There are ſilver coins ſtill found in England of theſe two emperors, having on the reverſe two hands joined together with theſe words, CONCORDIA AVGG^{290.}.

This forced agreement not removing Maximian's deſire to be rid of his aſſociate, he commits the execution of his deſign to Conſtantius Chlorus, lately made Cæſar, giving him an army aſſwerable to the greatneſs of the undertaking. As Carauſius was retired into Britain, Conſtantius thought it neceſſary in the firſt place to become maſter of Boulogne, that town being as it were the door into Britain from Gaul. Whiſt he is employed in the ſiege, Carauſius is ſlain by Alec^{He ſends Conſtantius againſt him.}tus, who he by Alec-<sup>Carauſius ſlain by Alec-
tutus, who he by Alec-
piodotus, who is alſo
killed.</sup>piodotus, who is alſo killed. Eutropius, lib. ix. 300. assumes the title of emperor. Whereupon Conſtantius raiſes the ſiege of Boulogne, and paſſes into Britain, in order to drive the uſurper from thence, before he has time to fortify himſelf. Shortly after, Alec^{300.}tus is killed by Aſclepiodotus, who aſſuming likewiſe the imperial dignity, loſes his life afterwards in a battle.

Whiſt theſe petty tyrants are contending for the poſſeſſion of Britain, Diocleſian and Maximian, both on a day, reſign the empire, one in the eaſt, the other in the weſt. Galerius and Conſtantius ſucceeding them, the laſt, as emperor of the weſt, had Britain in his diſpoſition. Some commotions in the iſlands obliging him to go thither in perſon, he dies at York in the beginning of an expedition againſt the northern people, now diſtinguiſhed by the names of Deucaledonians and Veſturi-^{307.}ons. Conſtantius, before he expired, had the ſatisfaction to

* They have on the reverſe PRO-VIDENTIA AVGGG, or PAX AVGGG, ſhewing there were three emperors at this time. See Batt. Antiq. Rytup. p. 65.

† Nennius ſays, that in his time the tomb of Conſtantius was ſhewn "juxta urbem quæ vocatur Caer-constant." i. e. York, or as others, Caer-marthen, c. xxi. p. 103.

His son Constantine succeeds him. Ush de Antiq. Brit. Still. orig. Brit.

State of the empire under Constantine. Pancirolli Notitia Imperii Occident. Brady, vol. i. p. 41---48.

see his son Constantine, and appoint him his successor. Some think Constantine was born in Britain of Helena, daughter of Coel king of Colchester*. But this at best is only conjecture. However, this prince, at first only emperor of the west, vanquished his rivals, and became in the end master of both empires.

The Britons, as long as Constantine ruled, lived in profound tranquillity. His reign was remarkable for three circumstances in which Britain was concerned. The first is, the liberty granted by this emperor throughout all the Roman empire, of professing the christian religion, which Britain enjoyed as well as the rest of the provinces. The second is, the general regulation made by this prince, for the better government of his dominions. He divided the whole empire into four large præfectures, namely, Italy, Gaul, the East, and Illyria, in which were contained fourteen great dioceses or provinces. Britain, one of the fourteen, was subject to the præfect of Gaul, and governed by a vicarious or deputy under him^b. Before Constantine, Britain was divided into two provinces only. But that emperor was pleased to divide it into three. The first was called Britannia Prima¹, containing all the country south of the Thames, the capital London. The second, named Britannia Secunda, contained all the country west of the Severn to the Irish sea, now called Wales, the capital Ica or Caerleon. All the rest lying northward of the Thames, and eastward of the Severn, made up the third province, distinguished by the name of Maxima Cæsariensis, the capital York. This last was afterwards subdivided into two parts; the southern part retained the old

* Usher, Camden, and Stillingfleet, have endeavoured to render this opinion probable, and pretend that Constantius was forced to put away Helena, mother of Constantine, and marry a daughter of Maximian, Rapin.

^b Till Constantine's time the governor of Britain was called the emperor's prætor or lieutenant. But afterwards (as appears in the Notitia of the empire) the island was governed by a vicar or deputy, under the præfectus prætorio of Gaul. See Zosim. Hist. lib. ii. p. 68. The ensigns of his government were, 1. A draught of the five provinces of Britain expressed in several buildings, with their names on the triangular form of the island, as if they comprehended the whole island. 2. The book of their instructions co-

vered with green, and the commission in a gilt cover, with several letters inscribed on the book. The letters were, F. L. I. N. T. A. L. L. C. O. M. O. R. D. P. R. i. e. "Frons libri jussu nostro transcripti a laterculis continentis mandata ordinaria principis." There were two books called the Laterculum Majus, and the Laterculum Minus. The first contained the names, instructions, &c. of the higher officers, as the second did those of the inferior officers. See Panciroli in Not. Imperii.

¹ Called Prima, because first conquered; as Wales was called Secunda, because next subdued. It was always the custom of the Romans to divide their conquests into certain portions or provinces, and give them new names.

name

name of Maxima Cæsariensis, and the other more northward was called Flavia Cæsariensis. But whether this subdivision was made by Constantine is uncertain. In these three provinces were twenty-eight large cities, which in time became so many bishops seats. The lieutenant of the præfect of Gaul had four magistrates under him, two consulars, and two with the title of presidents. These magistrates, with several inferior officers, managed all civil and criminal matters.

As for the military government, there were in the empire two generalissimo's ; one for the east, and the other for the west. Each of these in the several provinces in his jurisdiction, had others under him. In Great Britain there were three general officers to command the militia ; namely, the count of Britain¹, the duke of Britain², and the count of the Saxon coasts³. The business of the first was to keep peace in the inland parts of the island, and probably of the western coasts. The second's province was to defend the north from the irruptions of the Picts and Scots. The third was to guard the eastern and southern coasts from the frequent inroads of the Saxon pyrates. Each of these generals had a certain number of troops under his command, and the three together could form a body of twenty thousand foot and about two thousand horse⁴.

Besides the civil and military officers, there were others for more private concerns ; for instance, the count of the emperor's largesses, that is, the receiver general or high treasurer⁵, had in Britain three officers, a register⁶, a treasurer⁷, and a procurator⁸. And the count or auditor of the private revenues of the emperor, had also one to look after the affairs belonging to his office. From an inscription found not long since, 'tis thought there was also a procurator of the gladiators⁹. These were the principal Roman officers in Britain, who, with numberless others, sought these employments only to enrich themselves at the expence of the province.

I have mentioned two of the three things in Constantine's ^{Zosim. lib. ii} reign that Britain was concern'd in. The third is the removal

* Magistri Peditum

¹ Comes Britanniarum.

² Dux Britanniarum.

³ Comes Littoris Saxonici.

⁴ According to Pancirollus, the duke had under his command fourteen thousand foot, and nine hundred horse ; the count of Britain three thousand foot, and six hundred horse ; the count of the Saxon coast two thousand two hundred foot, and two hundred horse,

which made in all nineteen thousand two hundred foot, and seventeen hundred horse, the whole Roman force in this island.

⁵ Comes Sacrarum Largitionum.

⁶ Rationalis Summarum Provinciarum.

⁷ Præpositus Thesaurorum Augustorum in Britannia.

⁸ Procurator Gynæcii.

⁹ Procurator Ludorum Gladiatorum.

of the imperial seat from Rome to Constantinople. After this removal the emperor was frequently obliged to drain his western provinces of their forces^a, which in the end proved extremely detrimental to them, as it gave the northern nations opportunity to ravage their borders by continual irruptions. Britain, though screened from these invasions by the sea that surrounded her, felt the effects of them however, being often forced to supply troops for the defence of other provinces. In the mean time the Britons were so exposed to the ravages of the Picts and Scots, that they were forced at last to call in a foreign nation to their aid, which in time became master of the island.

337.
Affairs of
Britain from
Constantine
to Valentinian.

353.
The extortion
of Paulus.
Amm. Mar.

355.

After the death of Constantine, the Roman empire was divided between his three sons; but in a little time Constantius, one of the three brothers, being possessed of the whole sent into Britain a notary, one Paulus^a, who committed numberless extortions. Complaints were brought to the emperor, but he was not prevailed with to recall this minister, though he publicly abused his authority. Martinus, then governor of the province, was long witness of these abuses, without daring to oppose them, Paulus having an independent commission. At length, seeing no end of his unjust proceedings, he could not forbear advising him to use his power with more moderation, declaring withal he would quit his government, rather than employ his authority any longer in countenancing such oppressions. Paulus, proud of his master's favour, insolently told him, that they who found fault with his conduct deserved to be put in irons, since the daring thus to oppose the execution of the emperor's orders could not but proceed from a spirit of rebellion. The governor, enraged at these words, draws his sword, and strikes at him; but missing his blow, plunges it into his own breast, and kills himself.

After Martinus's death, the Britons were exposed more than ever to the oppressions of Paulus. This merciless man condemned to death, banishment, or imprisonment, all that made the least resistance to his will, and the emperor never concerned himself to restrain him^a.

360.
Julian governs the west.

About the end of Constantine's reign, the government of the west was conferred on Julian, now created Cæsar, who

^a Constantine, in his war with Maxentius, carried at once over the Alps into Italy an army of Germans, Celts, and Britons, consisting of ninety thousand foot and eight thousand horse. Brady, p. 33.

^a To enquire what officers and soldiers were engaged in the rebellion of Maxentius. Amm. Marcell.

^a Paulus was afterwards burnt alive. Am. Marcell. lib. xiv. c. 6.

resided at Paris. Shortly after his arrival there, news came that the Picts and Scots had made incursions into the province of Britain, and that it was necessary to send a speedy assistance. Whereupon Lupicinus receives orders to repair thither with all expedition; but is recalled before he reaches London. Probably the northern people had appeased Julian by their submission.

From that time to the reign of Valentinian I. nothing remarkable happened in Britain. But under that emperor the island was in a wretched condition, by the joint attacks of the Picts, Scots, Attacots, Franks, and Saxons. All these nations, by accident or a common league, invaded the Roman province at once, and made great ravages. Nectaridus, count or guardian of the coasts, was defeated and slain by these new enemies, and soon after duke Buchobaudes had the same fate. Severus and Jovinus were successively sent into Britain, to put a stop to their ravages, but to no purpose. At last, the emperor Valentinian pitches upon Theodosius the elder, to call to distinguish him from his son, the first emperor of that name; to go and command in the island. Theodosius behaves like a man of courage and experience. At his arrival, he divides his army into three bodies, the better to oppose those of the enemies that were dispersed in the island. Fortune favouring his diligence and valour, he routs them in several encounters, and at last drives them out of the Roman province, recovering all their booty, with a small part of which he rewards his troops, restoring the rest to the owners. The barbarians being repulsed, Theodosius returns in triumph to London, and perceiving the city to have lost much of her ancient splendor, omits nothing to restore her to her former condition. London is not the sole object of his care. He applies himself also to repair the other ruined cities and castles, and to put them in condition to hinder another time the invasions of the northern people. He was not satisfied even with this precaution. As the enemies were retired beyond the two straits, he thought it necessary, for the safety of Britain, to keep all the country they had abandoned. To that end, he built fortresses on the neck of land between the two seas, to keep them at a greater distance. By this means the Roman territories were enlarged with a great tract of land, of which Theodosius made a fifth province, calling it Valentia, in honour of Valen-

7 Probably the wild and mountainous Britons. Camd. Brady, Tyr. Stilling. The Franks are not mentioned by Marcellinus, who says, "At-

"tacoti bellicosa hominum natio, & Scoti per diversa vagantes, multa populabantur." lib. xxvii. c. 8.

finian. This country was part of the kingdom of the Picts, which was thereby considerably diminished. Theodosius, having thus settled matters in Britain, returned to Rome, leaving the island under the command of the governors of each of the five provinces *.

Maximus,
governor of
Britain, de-
signs to re-
duce the
whole island
Zosim. Gild
Buchan.

He joins
with the
Picts against
the Scots,

who fly into
Ireland.

378.
Gratian af-
sociates
Theodosius
in the em-
pire.
Zosim. lib.
5v.

Maximus
forms the
project of
becoming
emperor.

Valentinian I. had for his successors his son Valentinian II. and Gratian. Shortly after, Maximus was sent into Britain, upon the Picts beginning to stir. At his arrival he forms a design to reduce the whole island under the dominion of the Romans. But the union of the two northern nations being a grand obstacle to the execution of his project, he resolves to divide them, if possible, and then attack them one after the other. In order to this, designing to make use of the Picts to destroy the Scots, first, he feigns to be extremely provoked with the Scots, and charges them with being the sole cause of all the troubles in Britain. Then he publicly engages the Picts to join their forces with his, upon a promise of giving them all the lands that should be taken from the Scots. This artifice has all the success he expected. The Picts not perceiving the latent poison, swallow the bait, and readily join with the Romans for the sake of the promised advantage. Presently after, the Scots being attacked by these two united powers, are forced to abandon their country and fly into Ireland, and the adjacent isles. Maximus, according to his promise, suffers his allies to take possession of the lands deserted by the Scots. But whilst he is considering of means to subdue them in their turn, affairs of greater importance, relating to himself, oblige him to form new projects.

Whilst this general was employed in enlarging the bounds of the empire, Gratian, joint emperor of the West with Valentinian his brother, associates Theodosius the Younger, son of Theodosius the Elder, who had commanded in Britain. This choice, though universally applauded, displeases Maximus, who thinks himself more worthy of the purple than the person invested with it. He takes the preference given by Gratian to Theodosius as a heinous affront, and therefore cannot bear the thought of serving so ungrateful a master, and a young prince so much in his opinion beneath him in merit. The vexation to see himself thus slighted, throws him into a resolution to assume the imperial dignity, and so put himself

* The poet Claudian. in his panegy- of this Theodosius, has the following
rick on Theodosius the emperor, son lines generally taken notice of:

Ille Caledoniis posuit qui castra pruinis,
Qui medio Libyæ sub casside pestulit æstus,
Terribilis Mauro, debellatorque Britanni.

upon an equality with the person Gratian had given him for sovereign. After forming this project he alters his measures: instead of making war upon the Picts, according to his former resolution, he thinks only how to gain their friendship. His intent was to leave Britain in quiet, and attached to his interest, whilst he was elsewhere employed against the three emperors, from whom he designed to wrest the empire. But an unexpected war arising in Britain, prevented him from discovering his purpose so soon as he intended. The Scots, ^{The Scots, re-enter their country.} strengthened with the assistance of the Irish, make an irruption into the north, and endeavour to recover the dominions from whence they were chased. Maximus therefore is forced to employ against them the forces prepared for the execution of his other projects. He defeats them several times, and at length drives them back into Ireland, where he makes a show of following them, to deprive them of that refuge, and punish the Irish. But the Irish dreading to see a Roman army in their island, send to him to make his own terms, which he did in a ^{Maximus grants a peace to the Irish.} much more favourable manner than they expected, with intent to stifle all seeds of division and discontent, that might any way frustrate his principal design.

After these troubles are appeased, Maximus assumes the imperial purple, and quits Britain to go and fight Gratian. He leads all the Roman forces into Gaul, with a considerable body of such Britons as are fit to bear arms. Thus Britain was ^{He assumes the title of emperor.} on a sudden destitute of soldiers, and consequently so weak, that she could not defend herself in case of attack. The Roman ^{Ovidas, a. 10 Bede, lib. I. cap. 9.} historians inform us, that Maximus causing Gratian to be assassinated as he was flying into Italy, and dethroning Valentinian II. was himself vanquished and beheaded by Theodosius. ^{388. Is beheaded by Theodosius.} This victory procured the restoration of Valentinian, who was soon after murdered by Arbogastes, and Eugenius placed on the throne. Theodosius was therefore forced to fight the new usurper, who met with the same fate as Maximus. ^{392. Affairs of the empire.} Eugenius being dead, Arbogastes despairing to escape due punishment, lays violent hands on himself. Thus Theodosius remains sole master of the empire, and keeps possession as long as he lives. The fame of his victories, and the mildness of his government, keep his subjects in obedience, and his neighbours in awe. The Picts in particular lived peaceably in their country without molesting the Britons.

After the death of Theodosius, the empire was divided between his two sons; Arcadius was emperor of the East, and

* Horsley says he saw a curious medal of his at Newcastle, though he could never learn where it was found, p. 74.

Honorius
emperor of
the West.
Zosim lib. iv

Victorinus
sent into
Britain,

He treats the
Picts ill,

who recall
the Scots.
Gordon,
lib. iii.
cap. i.
Bochanan.

403.
Fergus con-
ducts the
Scots into
Scotland.
Scot. Chr.
lib. iii, cap. i

Monotius of the West, As Honorius was very young, the famous Stilico, by the emperor his father's order, was regent during his minority. His first care was to send a governor into Britain with a legion, to curb the insolence of the Picts who, after Theodosius's death, began to make inroads into the Roman province. He made choice of Victorinus, a person of a fierce and arrogant temper, who not satisfied with cooping up the Picts in their country, treated them as subjects of the empire. He pretended to stretch his authority so far as to forbid them to crown another king in the room of Hengist, whom death had just taken out of the world. This proceeding convinced the Picts, Victorinus had a design to attack them, and laid them under apprehensions, that after having helped to drive out the Scots, they should be forced to follow them; now that they could no longer depend upon the assistance of their neighbours, as formerly. They considered, by the retreat of the Scots, they were deprived of an aid, which in time to come might be to them very necessary. The little regard the Roman governor had for them making them apprehensive he had formed some design against their liberty, they thought of means to avoid their ruin, by repairing the error they had committed. In this state of fear and uncertainty, they resolved to recall the Scots: to which end they send an honourable embassy to Fergus, a prince of the blood-royal of Scotland, who was retired into Denmark; and invite him with his countrymen to come and take possession again of the country they were forced to abandon. As a farther inducement they promise him the command of their army in the war with the Romans, which to them seemed unavoidable. Fergus accepts these offers, and acquaints the fugitive Scots that he is ready to lead them back into their country. There could never be a more favourable juncture: the Roman empire was not only rent with intestine troubles by the discord which reigned among the governors, but powerfully attacked by barbarous nations that ravaged the borders. These disorders had obliged Stilico to recall Victorinus with his legion, and employ him in other parts; where the occasion was more urgent. At this very juncture the Scots re-enter the island under the conduct of Fergus, whom they unanimously chuse for their king.

As soon as Fergus II. is seated in the throne, he meditates revenge upon the Romans, which to him appears the more easy to effect, as they are extremely weakened by the depar-

* The Scotch writers are here following many fables. Rapin. See note, p. 67.

ture of Victorinus. Pursuant to this resolution, he ^{Being made} assembles the forces of both nations, of which he was invested with the ^{king he wars} command; and after taking the fortresses built by Theodo- ^{against the}sius the Elder, between the two friths, advances to Severus's wall. The small number of troops left by the Romans in the island not being able to defend a wall of so great length, the Picts and Scots enter the Roman province with little or no difficulty, and lay waste the country.

After Britain had submitted to the Roman yoke, a great ^{The Britons} number of foreign families removed thither, sprung for the ^{a mixed} most part from the veteran soldiers settled there. These fa- ^{people.}milies had so mixed with the natives, that they now made but one people, governed by officers sent from Rome: I shall therefore call this mixed people hence forward by the name of Britons, because the Romans and other foreigners, as well as the natives, had the same interest to defend Britain, now become their common country. The Britons then finding them- ^{408.}selves thus harrassed by their neighbours, and despairing of as- ^{They chuse}sistance from Rome, resolved to elect an emperor, whose in- ^{an emperor.}terest it should be to protect them. Their choice falls upon one Marcus, an officer of great credit among them; but the ^{Marcus and} new sovereign not having the good fortune to please all the ^{Gratian} world, is quickly slain or dethroned, and another, called Gra- ^{electd and}tian, chosen in his room. This last being a man of a cruel ^{slain.}and bloody disposition, meets the same fate, four months after ^{Ann. 407.}his election. ^{Zosim lib. vi} ^{Bede, lib. i.}

As these two first emperors did not answer expectation, ^{cap. 11.}Constantine, a common soldier, was next raised to the impe- ^{Bede lib. vii.}rial dignity merely for the sake of his name, which was ^{cap. 40.}thought to be fortunate. The new emperor being a man of ^{Constantine}courage, and of a genius far above his former condition, ^{is electd}beats back the northern people into their country, and then ^{Zosim.}concludes a peace with them. This success inspiring him ^{Oros.}with a higher conceit of his merit and fortune, he is not con- ^{He forms a}tent to reign in Britain only, but forms a design to become ^{design to be-}master of the whole empire. To this end he draws ^{come master}together the remains of those that can bear arms, as well Ro- ^{of the whole}mans as islanders, and forming an army, passes into Gaul. ^{empire.}His intention was to improve the present favourable juncture. ^{409.}Honorius was then attacked by Alaric king of the Goths, who ^{Goes with}a few years after became master of Rome. Whilst Constan- ^{an army in-}tine is making preparations, he sends ambassadors to Honor- ^{to Gaul.}ius, to acquaint him with his being chosen emperor by Bri- ^{Oros.}tain, and to excuse his accepting the imperial dignity with-
out his knowledge. Honorius, now pressed by Alaric, is forced

Honorius to admit of Constantine's excuses, and own him for his associate in the empire. The emperor's condescension is not capable of satisfying the ambitious Constantine, whose designs and hopes are vastly enlarged. At his arrival in Gaul, he associates his son Constantine, taken out of the monastery at Winchester; and leaving him an army to maintain his authority in these provinces, marches towards the Alps in order to pass into Italy and dethrone Honorius. Constantine had for general of his troops one Gerontius, who by his prudent conduct, not only made his master respected in Gaul, but also put him in possession of Spain. The young emperor was so exalted with this unexpected success, that for fear the honour, which he thought wholly belonged to himself, should be ascribed to Gerontius, he removed him from his post. So ungrateful a return goes not long unpunished. Gerontius, exasperated at the affront, finds means to assemble the army, and causing Maximus, a friend of his, to be proclaimed emperor, gains the majority to his side. Then he goes and besieges Constantine in Vienne, where he was retired. That town not being then in condition to stand a long siege, Constantine in a silly willfully rushes upon his death, for fear of falling into the hands of his enemy.

Constantine associates his son Constantine, taken out of the monastery at Winchester; and leaving him an army to maintain his authority in these provinces, marches towards the Alps in order to pass into Italy and dethrone Honorius. Constantine had for general of his troops one Gerontius, who by his prudent conduct, not only made his master respected in Gaul, but also put him in possession of Spain. The young emperor was so exalted with this unexpected success, that for fear the honour, which he thought wholly belonged to himself, should be ascribed to Gerontius, he removed him from his post. So ungrateful a return goes not long unpunished. Gerontius, exasperated at the affront, finds means to assemble the army, and causing Maximus, a friend of his, to be proclaimed emperor, gains the majority to his side. Then he goes and besieges Constantine in Vienne, where he was retired. That town not being then in condition to stand a long siege, Constantine in a silly willfully rushes upon his death, for fear of falling into the hands of his enemy.

Gerontius turns against Constantine, Maximus, a friend of his, to be proclaimed emperor, gains the majority to his side. Then he goes and besieges Constantine in Vienne, where he was retired. That town not being then in condition to stand a long siege, Constantine in a silly willfully rushes upon his death, for fear of falling into the hands of his enemy.

Gerontius turns against Constantine, Maximus, a friend of his, to be proclaimed emperor, gains the majority to his side. Then he goes and besieges Constantine in Vienne, where he was retired. That town not being then in condition to stand a long siege, Constantine in a silly willfully rushes upon his death, for fear of falling into the hands of his enemy.

Constantine seeing the face of affairs altered by the revolt of Gerontius and the death of his son, lays aside his design of going into Italy, and retires to Arles, where he is besieged by Gerontius. But while Gerontius is pleased with the hopes of having him soon in his own power, he is forced on a sudden to raise the siege, and march against a more formidable enemy. Count Constantine, to whom Honorius had given the command of his armies, upon the peace lately concluded between the emperor and the king of the Goths^b, was advancing with all speed to curb the insolence of the tyrants of Gaul. Upon his approach, Gerontius is suddenly deserted by his army, and forced to fly into Spain, where he is slain by his own people. Constantine had no better fortune than Gerontius: he was taken at Arles, with his son Julian and his brother Sebastianian. Though before the surrender of the town he had taken priest's orders, he was nevertheless sent to the emperor and beheaded.

Count Constantine leads an army into Gaul. Upon his approach, Gerontius is suddenly deserted by his army, and forced to fly into Spain, where he is slain by his own people. Constantine had no better fortune than Gerontius: he was taken at Arles, with his son Julian and his brother Sebastianian. Though before the surrender of the town he had taken priest's orders, he was nevertheless sent to the emperor and beheaded.

Gerontius retires into Spain, and is killed. Constantine was taken at Arles, with his son Julian and his brother Sebastianian. Though before the surrender of the town he had taken priest's orders, he was nevertheless sent to the emperor and beheaded.

410. The Britons thus left to themselves after the departure of the Roman soldiers, and the flower of their youth, are quickly reduced to great extremities. The Picts and Scots continue their ravages without opposition, by reason of the weakness of their enemies. This wretched state held some years,

^b In the year 404, or 405. Rapin.

and the Romans were not able to help it. They were too ^{Zosim.} much taken up with their own affairs, to think of Britain. ^{Niceph. Oros. Gildas, n. 11} The Goths had renewed the war under the conduct of Alaric, and having taken and sacked the city of Rome, were now in possession of Gaul*. On the other side, the Suevi, Vandals*, Cotti, and Alani*, had over-run Spain. In vain therefore do ^{They im-} the Britons implore the emperor's assistance: he is neither ^{pire aid of the Romans in vain.} able nor willing to give them any; Britain, so carefully pre- served by his predecessors, beginning now to be a burden. Wherefore, to free himself at once from their importunities, ^{Honorius renounces his sove-} he voluntarily resigns the sovereignty of the island, and dis- ^{reignty of} charges the inhabitants of their allegiance to the empire. This solemn renunciation was made in the year 410, a little after Britain. Alaric's taking of Rome.

The liberty the Britons had thus recovered, served only ^{Miseries of the Britons.} to render them more miserable. Whereas before they might ^{Gildas, n. 13, 14, 15.} claim the protection of the emperor, they were now destitute ^{Ætius sends them a le-} of all hopes of assistance. However, the affairs of the Ro- ^{gion.} mans happening afterwards to be somewhat restored under ^{Stillingsd.} Valentinian III. by the victories of the famous Ætius over ^{Orig. Brit.} the Wisigoths and Burgundians, this general, out of pity to the wretched condition of the Britons, sends them a legion, commanded by Gallio of Ravenna, or, as some say, by Maxi- mian. This aid arriving unexpectedly, beat back with ease the northern nations, and forced them to retire into their country. But the emperor having occasion for the legion, ^{which is from} they were recalled, just as the enemies were preparing to re- recalled. new their devastations.

Before his departure the Roman commander told the Bri- ^{Advice of the Roman commander to the Britons.} tons plainly, they were to expect no farther assistance from ^{Bede, lib. 1. cap. 21.} the emperor, who was wholly employed elsewhere against the northern nations of Europe, whose ravages extended to all parts of the empire. After this declaration he advises them to inure themselves to arms, that they may be able to withstand the continual attacks of their enemies; and considering their

* In 404, or 405, Honorius made a treaty with Alaric, who retired into Illyria, from whence he returned, in 409, or 410, and then it was he took Rome. Rapin.

a Northern people from Scythia, about the lake Mæotis and river Tana- is, of Gothic original, and called Van- dals from the word Wandelen, To wan- der or rove; because they often changed their places of abode. At last they fixed near the coasts of the Baltic

Sea towards Germany, which from them was called Vandalia. The Suevi were of the same original, so named from the word Schweben, of the same import with Wandelen: they possessed that part of Germany beyond the Danube, now called Suabia. Brady, p. 37.

a The Alani were seated not far from the head of the river Tanais, or Don. Ibid.

They repair
Severus's
wall.

The Ro-
mans quit
Britain.
Usher.

Gildas, n. 15
Bede, lib. i.
cap. 12

weakness, exhorts them to repair the wall of Severus to serve them for a barrier; offering them the assistance of his soldiers, and his own direction in the work. What could the Britons do in this their extremity? they had no other method to take, but that proposed to them by the Roman captain, and therefore fell to work upon their wall with all possible diligence, which as soon as they had finished, the Romans took their last farewell of Britain, never to return more. The end of the Roman dominion over Britain is to be fixed to the time of this legion leaving the island, in the year 426 to 427^f.

The Picts and Scots, who lived in strict union after the coronation of Fergus, began their hostilities against the Britons with more confidence than ever, when they heard of the departure of the Roman forces. The wall of Severus, lately repaired, is attacked afresh, and abandoned at last, being defended only by Britons little used to war.

After which, the northern people made large breaches in several places, that it might be no obstacle to their future incursions into their enemies country. About this time Fergus dies as he is returning to Ireland, leaving his young son Eugenius II. a minor, under the regency of Greham his grand father by his mother's side.

The Britons
abandon part
of their
country.

The weakness of the Britons was then so great, that despairing to resist their enemies, they abandoned part of their country, and retired more southward. Whereupon the Picts and Scots, grown more bold by their advantages, form new projects, and think of means to drive the Britons entirely out of the island. To this end they resolve to send for colonies from Ireland and the adjacent isles, to people the lands forsaken by the Britons, as well as those they hope to take from them hereafter. But Greham prevents, by his authority, the execution of this project, fearing the return of the Romans, and the making Scotland the scene of war. It may be, he was not altogether ignorant of the sad condition then of the Roman empire; but knew not how low it was; and therefore,

Greham re-
gent of Scot-
land makes
a peace with
the Britons.

thought fit to oppose the designs of the Scots, and prefer a solid peace, with some real, though not great, advantages, to a war which, as he imagined, might be attended with dangerous consequences. A peace then was offered to the Britons upon honourable terms, and by them gladly accepted. By the treaty the wall of Severus was to be the common boundary of the two nations. But for this advantage the Britons were obliged to pay a considerable sum of money. The Scots thinking

^f Stillingfleet thinks it was in the year 418. Rapin.

this peace not advantageous enough, loudly murmured at it ; but Greham took care to see it observed during his administration.

As soon as Eugenius II. was of age to take the reins of the ^{Eugenius} government into his own hands, he resolved to break a trea- ^{king of} ty, which his subjects had protested against. He knew the ^{Scotland} Romans were not in a condition to assist Britain, and the op- ^{breaks the} portunity appeared too favourable to be neglected. Pursuant to this resolution, he sends ambassadors to the Britons, and haughtily demands all the lands possessed by the Scots before the late treaty. The chief of the Britons, surprized at this unexpected demand, convene a general assembly to consider of an answer to the king of Scotland. The majority of ^{Dissentions} the assembly, provoked at the haughtiness of their neighbours, ^{among the} and knowing they only wanted an excuse to renew the war, were of opinion to reject their demand. " It is easy (say they) to perceive the Scots will not be satisfied hereafter with their present demands. Their aim is only to have an entrance into the country, that they may with less difficulty become masters of the whole ; and it will be an easier task to prevent them from entering, than to drive them out when once they are settled. In short, since a war is unavoidable, it will be very imprudent to grant what they demand, under colour of preserving a peace which cannot last long." Others not so warm, knowing the extreme weakness of the nation, were of another mind. They were for finding some expedient to satisfy the Scots, and avoid, if possible, a war which must prove fatal to the Britons. " They desire the assembly to consider what prodigious number of soldiers were drawn out of the island by the Romans to supply their armies abroad ; how many Maximus carried with him that were settled in Gaul ; and lastly, how the country was drained of all that could bear arms by Constantine. To this they add, the weakness of the nation was but too visible in their late war with the Scots, when their frequent defeats obliged them to abandon the very lands now demanded, the possession of which was entirely owing to the generosity of Greham ; it is therefore better for the Britons to give up freely what they cannot keep, than for the sake of that, to run the risk of losing their All."

Though these reasons were very weighty, they were over- ^{A war is} ruled by the violent party, and Conan, one of the wisest and ^{resolved.} most powerful of the nation, for dwelling too long upon the advantages of peace, was deemed a traitor, and torn in pieces by them. After that, none daring to oppose it, the am-

The Britons
are beaten.

They obtain
peace.

Cause of the
Britons
weakness.

Camden,
p. 87.

Nennius,
cap. 23.

Confusion in
the history of
twelve days.

Gildas, n. 6.
21. 25.
Bede, lib. i.
cap. 13.

bassadors were sent back with an insulting answer. This hasty resolution was followed with a war more destructive to the Britons than their former ones, and which entirely weakened them by the loss of fourteen or fifteen thousand men in one single battle. Reduced to extremity, they have no course left but to sue in a suppliant manner for that peace they so haughtily refused. They obtain it indeed, but upon very hard terms. By the new treaty, they are obliged to give up all the country north of the Humber, of which the Picts and Scots as waging war in common, take possession².

The extreme weakness of the Britons will not be thought strange, if it be considered in the first place, they were not used to war. The Romans, who had long been masters of the island, never suffered them to exercise their arms; it being their custom always to employ foreign troops in their conquests. For this reason the soldiers levied in Britain were sent into other provinces, from whence they never returned. These levies were so numerous, that there were twelve considerable bodies of Britons in the Roman armies dispersed in the several provinces of the empire, and always recruited from Britain. In the next place, Maximus and Constantine led such great armies from thence, as almost drained the island of men fit to bear arms. In fine, if to this be added the late losses sustained by the Britons after the departure of the Romans, it is no wonder they became so easy a prey to their enemies.

From this time to the coming in of the Saxons, the history of Britain is very confused, by reason of the disagreement of the writers, which makes it very difficult to discover the truth, and much more so to fix all the dates. What can be gathered with any certainty is, that the Britons elected several kings, whose actions are unknown; and that these kings were established, and afterwards killed or dethroned, according to the humour and interest of the leading men. Probably too, several kings reigned at the same time in different provinces, and by their discord and wars contributed to the weakening one another. To complete their misfortunes, Britain was afflicted with a cruel famine, which raged also in most parts of the world. This terrible scourge rendered the country quite desolate, people dying with hunger by thousands. In this extreme distress, multitudes of poor wretches, to save their lives, fly into Armorica, where great part of Maximus's army was already settled. Others, rather than starve with

² From Severus's Wall to the Humber, is eighty miles. Rapin.

hunger, threw themselves upon the Picts and Scots. Amidst these desolations, the northern people, their irreconcilable enemies, taking advantage of their misfortunes, break the treaty, and passing the Humber, ravage the country in a merciless manner.

The miserable state of the Britons forces them to apply once more to the Romans for assistance. They send, upon this occasion, a very moving letter to Ætius then in Gaul:^a "We know not (say they) which way to turn us. The Barbarians drive us to the Sea, and the Sea forces us back to the Barbarians; between which we have only the choice of two deaths, either to be swallowed up by the waves, or butchered by the sword," Ætius was then preparing to repulse Attila, who was entered Gaul with an army of eighty thousand men, and therefore not being in condition to grant their request, sent them word that the affairs of the empire would not suffer him to assist them, neither were they to depend upon him^b. So mortifying an answer threw the miserable

The Britons
letter to
Ætius
Gildas, n. 17

^a The Britons calling, in their letter, Ætius consul, hath made some call this fact in question, because his name is not found in the Roman Fasti; but, as Mr. Seldon observes, the name of consul was frequently given to illustrious persons, though they were not actually consuls. Not: on Poly. Olib. p. 84.

^b As this is the last mention of the Romans, it may not be amiss to give a brief account of the legions that came into the island. Julius Cæsar brought with him the first time the seventh, and tenth his favourite legion. In his second descent he brought five legions, but which they were, except the seventh, is unknown. All these returned the same year they came. Under Claudius came four legions, (with the proper auxiliaries; making an army of about fifty thousand men) namely the second, the ninth, the fourteenth; and the twentieth. The second called Legio secunda Augusta, came hither under the command of Vespasian, and continued here to the very last. They were concerned in building the Roman wall in Scotland, as appears from the inscriptions. Their usual quarters were at Caerleon, though they were removed from thence at last, being placed at Rutupæ in the Notitia, where they are called Legio secunda Britan-

nica five Secunda; i. e. Those of the second legion, as the Quintani, Quartadecumani, &c. are those of the fifth and fourteenth in Tacitus. Ptolemy places this legion at Ica Dumnoniorum, or Exeter, which might be mistaken for Ica Sllurum or Caerleon. The ninth was cut in pieces by Boadicea; it was recruited with two thousand soldiers, and eight auxiliary cohorts, but attacked again, as being the weakest, by the Caledonians. After which, being no more heard of, it was either broke or incorporated with the six legion brought over by Hadrian. It is supposed to have been stationed at York; where an inscription was found with these words, Legio nona Victrix. The fourteenth was the only legion, says Tacitus, that together with the Vexillarii of the twentieth, (that is, six hundred select men of a legion) was entirely engaged in the battle with Boadicea's army. This legion was recalled by Nero, ordered back by Vespasian, and sent for again by Vespasian; after which they seemed never to have returned to Britain any more. As they left Britain, before the humour of erecting inscriptions, it is no wonder they are not mentioned in any. The twentieth is thus expressed in the Roman inscription, LEG. XX. V. VI. That is, Legio Vicesima Valens, (or Valeria)

They chuse
a monarch.

Great discord and
confusion
among the
Britons.

Vortigern is
elected. n.

445.

ferable Britons into the utmost consternation, not knowing what measures to take, to free themselves from their unfortunate circumstances. In this distress, it is judged proper by the chief men of the nation to call a general assembly, and consider of some possible remedy for their calamities, which daily increase. They agreed at last to chuse a monarch^k as the only expedient to save them from destruction, in expectation, that when united under one head, their divisions would cease, and their enemies be more strongly resisted. But the discord that reigned among the principal members of the state, prevented the good effects of this expedient. Several great men, having fortified themselves in diverse parts, acted like sovereigns. All these petty tyrants, jealous of one another, far from owning the monarch elect, fought only to destroy him, in order to be chosen in his room. It was therefore impossible for these monarchs to subsist long, since not being agreeable to all, the male-contents joined together for their destruction: thus the Britons, whilst they endeavour to unite themselves under one head, are plunged the deeper into anarchy and confusion.

We know not the names of any of these monarchs 'till Vortigern, count or king of the Dumnonii^l, elected in the year 445. This prince, as he was the most powerful and ambitious, could never brook a superior, and therefore was all along a professed enemy to the preceding monarchs, and contributed to their ruin. Nay, 'tis affirmed by historians, that he assassinated his predecessor to make room for himself. Those

Valeria) Victrix. The stated quarters of this legion was Deva or West-Chester, which probably was therefore honoured with the name of a colony, as in one of Geta's coins with this legend, COLONIA. DIVANA. LEGIO. XX. VICTRIX. This legion was with the second employed in building the Roman forts and walls. It does not appear when they left Britain. Besides these four legions, there came with Hadrian the sixth, usually thus expressed, LEG. VI. V. P. F. that is, Legio Sexta Victrix Pia Fidelis. This legion was a long time in Britain. They are frequently mentioned in the inscriptions on Severus's wall. Their stated quarters were at York. From what has been said it appears, that for twenty-five years (from Claudius's invasion, till the fourteenth was recalled by Nero, and afterwards by Vespasian,

there were four legions in Britain. From the first year of Vespasian to Hadrian's reign, only three; and from Hadrian's time (when the sixth came over) to the lowest empire, there were still but three; the ninth being broken or incorporated with the sixth. The reader may see a large account of these things in Horley, B. I. c. 6.

^k By monarch here is to be understood, one superior to the other heads, or kings, on whom they were in some measure dependent. See Selden and Malmesbury. Rapin.

^l Inhabitants of Devon and Cornwall. Rowland thinks Dunmonium is the true word for Cornwall, and Dunmoniam for Devonshire, or the British Dyfueint. The Cornish write and pronounce (d) as (t). He derives both these words from Mon, signifying the utmost or farthest,

that.

that imagine Constant's son of Constantine killed at the siege of Vienne, to be his immediate predecessor, are certainly mistaken, since there are at least forty years space between the death of Constant and the election of Vortigern^m.

The new monarch was by no means qualified to restore the ^{His cha-}affairs of the Britons. As he attained to the supreme dignity ^{racter.} by artifice and cabal, he wholly bent his thoughts to maintain himself in the throne by the same wicked methods, regardless of the general welfare of his subjects. He was moreover of ^{Malm. lib. i. cap. 2.}a cruel and avaritious temper, addicted to many vices; and so lewd, that he debauched his own daughter, by flattering her with hopes of being a queenⁿ. Mean while there was a ne- ^{He fears as}cessity to think of repulsing the enemies, and Vortigern knew ^{well his own}himself incapable of such an undertaking, though he had ^{subjects as}been chosen for that very purpose. But what troubled and ^{the enemies}perplexed him most, was, his being so little beloved by the ^{of the state.}people, and the continual fear of being dethroned. The ex- ^{Nennius.}amples of the monarchs his predecessors being never out of his mind, he was apprehensive the same course would be taken with him, since he was so little able to answer the good opinion conceived of him when raised to the throne. Living thus in equal dread of the enemies of the state and of his own subjects, he fancied he had devised an expedient to free himself from the danger of the one, and the plots of the other. But as he could not put his design in practice without the ^{He calls a}consent of the Britons, he calls a general assembly, and makes ^{general}a long speech, before he comes to the point. "He describes ^{He propos-}" in a strong and lively manner the extreme misery of the ^{to call the}nation: accuses the Romans of being the sole cause of the ^{Saxons to aid}misfortunes of the Britons, by draining the island of all her ^{the Britons.}youth fit to bear arms, and then leaving her to the insults ^{Gildas, n. 23}of her neighbours. He enlarges upon the great losses ^{Bede, lib. i. cap. 15.}sustained since by the Britons, and the manifest danger of being either driven out of their country, or utterly de-

^m Alford and others place Vortigern's election between 430 and 436. The common opinion is followed here, which appears to be most probable. Rapin.

ⁿ This story of Vortigern's incest seems altogether unlikely. At least, the dialogue between Vortigern and St. Germain, and his being condemned in a great council of clergy and laity, in which St. Germain presided, is certainly false, that Saint being dead a year before the Saxons arrived in Britain. And indeed, when is it that he should

commit this crime? Not before he married Rowena, for Nennius places it afterwards; nor could it well be during the time of his marriage with her, since, as the same author relates, she continued his wife long after, when he was taken prisoner by Hengist, and it is very strange he should fall in love with his own daughter, when he had another wife, whom he is said to love so well, that he was divorced from his first for her sake. See Tyrrel, vol. i. p. 127, 228.

THE HISTORY

"froyed, by reason of their weakness. For his part, he is
 "always ready to hazard his life for the service of the nation ;
 "but considering the few troops in his power, and the little
 "union between the principal members of the state, he has
 "no hopes that his weak endeavours will be able to rescue
 "his subjects from their present calamities. In this melan-
 "cholly state of affairs, he sees but one way to save his
 "country from the destruction she is threatened with, and
 "that is, to call into their assistance a nation, that by their
 "victorious arms were settled in Germany, upon the lands
 "of the Romans. Then tells them, he means the Saxons ;
 "adding, they have indeed done some damage to the Britons
 "by their pyracies, but are now ready to repair it with ad-
 "vantage ; since they can free them from the continual ir-
 "ruptions of the Picts and Scots. This people, being parted
 "from Britain by a small arm of the sea only, can be as
 "speedy with their aid as their pressing occasions require ;
 "they are already grown formidable to the northern nations,
 "and by the arrival of some of their troops the Britons will
 "quickly be in condition to resist their enemies, and perhaps
 "repay them in their own coin." He concludes with repre-
 "senting, "The thing will hardly admit of debate ; the Britons
 "cannot be without a foreign aid, and none but the Saxons
 "are in condition to give them assistance."

His proposal
 i. approved.
 Stillingfleet.
 Orig. Brit.

The fears all were seized with, and the hopes of still enjoy-
 ing their native country, and recovering their lost estates, and
 no doubt the desire of revenge, conspired to a joyful reception
 of Vortigern's proposal. But when they came to consider
 of the terms to be offered the Saxons, great debates arose.
 The monarch, whose secret purpose was to strengthen himself
 as well against his own subjects as foreign enemies, moved,
 the allotting them some province, that their own interest might
 induce them to wage war more heartily and vigorously. But
 as no lands could be assigned them but what belonged to some
 of the assembly, it was no easy matter to agree on this point.

The isle of
 Thanet is to
 be given to
 the Saxons.

At length, after great debates, it was resolved that the Saxons
 should have the isle of Thanet in Kent, as being a proper
 place to land their forces, and convenient for them whenever
 they wanted to return to their own country. It was farther
 agreed, that the Saxon soldiers should be allowed pay, which
 should be settled by agreement on both sides. After this reso-
 lution, ambassadors were appointed to negotiate the affair in
 Germany. Vortigern, pleased with having carried his point
 without incurring suspicion, imagined himself out of the reach
 of all danger. But see how blind and short-sighted is human
 wisdom !

Ambassa-
 dors are ra-
 med to go to
 the Saxons.
 Vortigern's
 policy proves
 fatal to the
 country.

wisdom! This very expedient, by the direction of divine providence, proved his own and the nation's ruin.

But before I proceed to the effects of this pernicious advice, it will be necessary to give a more particular account of these Saxons, who are to be the chief subject of our history. They were so little known before their coming into Britain, and what is said of their original so uncertain, that it is no wonder this subject is but slightly touched upon by the generality of the English historians. Some barely say, the Saxons were called in to the assistance of Britain, without any farther addition concerning them. Others say only, the Saxons were a German people, without mentioning the parts they inhabited. Some again add, they were pyrates from the Cimbrian Chersonesus, that came and settled on the coasts of the German ocean. But as these coasts are of a vast extent, we are not much the wiser for that. In short, the most probable account I can gather from the several authors that have writ of this people, is as follows.

About the time the Romans began to extend their conquests into Germany, the inhabitants of the Cimbrian Chersonesus, now called Jutland, leaving their country, advanced towards the south. They possessed themselves at first of the northern parts of Germany, and doubtless spent some years in settling themselves in those quarters. But as the Romans had not yet penetrated so far, and we have no ancient histories of the northern countries, nor even of the western, but what the Romans have left us, there is little known of the first irruptions made by the northern people into Germany. The Cimbri continually pushing their conquests to the southward, and the Romans advancing to the northward, they at last approached one another. Then it was that the Romans had opportunity to learn in some measure, the state of these hitherto unknown nations.

Their historians however speak very confusedly of them, giving sometimes different names to the same people, and sometimes the same name to different nations. The Cimbri that came from the Cimbrian Chersonesus, were divided into three bands; one taking the name of Suevi, another of Franks, and a third of Saxons. Some will have the Franks to be a branch of the Suevi. However that be, these three nations, continually advancing southwards, came at length to the frontiers of the Roman empire; the Suevi towards Italy, the Franks to the south-west, towards the coast of Belgic-Gaul, and the Saxons to the west, towards the German Ocean. The Suevi especially were so terrible to the ancient Germans, that they

Cæf. lib. iv. looked upon them as a "Match for the Immortal Gods," as
 Stillingfleet. Cæfar ſays in his Commentaries. As for the Franks, they are
 known to have over-run the whole province of Gaul, and
 founded the noble and ancient kingdom of France.

The Saxons poſſeſſed themſelves of thoſe tracts of land lying
 between the Rhine and the Elbe. Their territories bound-
 ed on the weſt by the German Ocean, extended eaſtward to
 the borders of Thuringen. Conſequently they were maſters
 of Saxony, Weſtphalia, and all that part of the Low-Coun-
 tries lying north of the Rhine. The nations ſubdued by theſe
 conquerors were in time called Saxons, in like manner as the
 inhabitants of Gaul were named Francois or French, after
 their ſubjection to the Franks. But however, whether the
 Saxons were not ſo rapid in their conqueſts as the Suevi, or
 the courſe they took made it longer before they approached the
 Romans, 'tis certain they were not ſo ſoon known. The firſt
 Roman hiſtorians that mention them, at leaſt by the name of
 Saxons, are Eutropius and Oroſius, who inform us that Ca-
 raufius (as I have elſewhere taken notice) was ſent to clear
 the ſeas of the pyratyckal Franks and Saxons. From that time
 they became formidable to the Romans, and obliged them to
 keep ſtanding forces to guard both the German and Britiſh
 coaſts, with a general officer ſtilled the Præfect, or Count of
 the Saxon Coaſts. Upon the decline of the Roman empire,
 after the death of Theodoſius, the Saxons taking advantage of
 its weakneſs, made themſelves maſters of the whole country
 along the coaſt of the German Ocean, and even extended their
 conqueſts as far as the iſles of Zealand. Hence the Friſons,
 Batavians, and the neighbouring nations, were hardly known
 by any other name but that of the Saxons.

Stillingfleet.
 Orig. Brit.
 Shering-
 ham de
 Orig. Ang.

Though ſeveral authors have writ of the Saxons, we are
 ſtill in the dark as to their original, or how to diſtinguiſh the
 the nations called by that general name. And therefore the
 beginning of their hiſtory remains very confuſed and intricate,
 it being almoſt impoſſible it ſhould be otherwiſe, conſidering,
 authors for the moſt part have made no diſtinction of times
 or places. One while they are conſidered juſt as they left
 their own country, and then are confounded with the Franks
 and Suevi, under the name of Cimbri. Another while, they
 are viewed at beginning their conqueſts towards the north-weſt
 of the continent, and then they are repreſented as ſeated
 north of the Friſons, Batavians, Marſians, and other nations
 of thoſe parts ſubject to the Romans. Some have placed
 them at once along the coaſt of the German Ocean, and banks
 of the Rhine, and even in the iſles of Zealand, as if they
 had from the very firſt inhabited theſe regions. Others again,

Pendlin.
 Chron. zel.

not

not considering that all their conquests were termed Saxony, and finding Saxons in the eastern parts of Westphalia, have imagined they were a different people from those inhabiting on the Rhine. Just as if speaking of the Franks, I should make different nations of those that conquered Gaul, and those that settled in the Narbonnoise. However this be, it is certain when the Britons sent to desire their assistance, the Saxons were in possession of Westphalia, Saxony, East and West-Frizeland, Holland and Zealand.

I could wish the origin of the Saxons were as well known as their conquests: it would be a pleasure to give here an abstract of their history to the time of their settling in Great-Britain. But the thing is impossible, such obscurity do we meet with in the authors that have studied this subject. Some take up the Saxons at the Tower of Babel, and leading them from country to country, settle them at last in Saxony, so called from them. Others derive them from the Sacæ or Saffones of Asia, mentioned from Pliny. There are who will have them to be originally from Persia, because of the affinity between several Saxon and Persian words*. But they that are willing to spare the pains of so laborious a search, are content to begin their history from the time of their coming forth from the Cimbrian Chersonesus. It is not impossible, perhaps, to reconcile most of the opinions concerning this matter, tho' seemingly very different, if regard be had to the times of their several migrations. But since, in the main, conjectures only are to be had, it is better to proceed at once to what is more certain.

The Saxons had for some time been in possession of the ^{The Angles.} Cimbrian Chersonesus, when driven thence by the Goths, (from whom that Peninsula was called Gothland or Jutland) they came and settled in Germany, in the parts now called Lower-Saxony. Between that country and the Chersonesus, were a people known by the name of Angles, inhabiting about Sleswick in Holstein. Probably the little country of Anglen in those parts was so named from them, or they from the country†. However this be, the Angles joining with the Saxons

* Joseph Scaliger says, that Fader, Muder, Brader, Tutchet, Band, and the like, are still used in the Persian language, in the same sense as Father, Mother, Brother, Daughter, Bond, are with us.

† This country (Camden observes) reaching into the more inland parts of Germany, at so great a distance from

the sea, we must seek some other place where to seat our Angles; and Bede has directed us to look for them between the Saxons and Jutes. "The Angles (says he) come out of that country; which is called Angulus, and is said from that time to lie waste, between the countries of the Jutes and Saxons." Seeing between Jutland

THE HISTORY

Saxons when they came out of the Chersonesus to make conquests in Germany, became in a manner but one nation with them. Though, doubtless from the major part, they were generally called Saxons, yet they had sometimes the compound name of Anglo-Saxons given them. Great numbers of Goths mixed likewise with them, to share in their conquests. These are called Wites⁹ by Bede, and commonly known by the name of Jutes, or (which is the same) Goths. It can hardly be doubted that these three nations were united before their coming into Britain, when we consider the good understanding between them all the while they were employed in establishing themselves in the island, as will be seen in the course of this history. It will be found that they acted always in concert; that their interests were never different, and that the government settled by them is a clear evidence they looked upon themselves as one and the same people.

Etymology
of the name
of the Sax-
ons.

The true etymology of the name Saxon is as difficult to be discovered as their origin. They that derive them from the Sacæ of Asia, are indeed at no great loss in this point. But the most common opinion is, that the word Saxon comes from Seax, which in their language signifies a kind of weapon or sword. They had two sorts, a long one worn by their side, or at their back; and another shorter, serving for a bayonet or dagger. They were both in the shape of a cutlase^r.

Not

Jutland and Holsatia (the antient seat of the Saxons) there is a small province in the kingdom of Denmark, under the city of Flensburg, called at this day Angel, which Lindebergius in his epistles terms Little England, I am pretty well assured, says, Camden, that I have found the ancient seat of our forefathers; and that from this very place

the Angles came into our island. "Old Anglia (says Ethelwerd, an ancient author) is situated between the Saxons and Giots, the capital town whereof is called in Saxen, Sleswick, but by the Danes, Haithby." In the very same place, Ptolemy seems to seat the Saxons. So that the middle-age poet is probably in the right.

—Saxonia protulit Anglos;
Hoc patet in linguâ, niveoque colore—

Their rise to Saxony the Angles owe;
Their language this, and native whiteness show.

⁹ So it is in the old edition of Bede; but in Mr. Whelock's, instead of Vitis there is Jutis. This etymology gave occasion to these verses in Engelbuius;

Quippe brevis gladius apud illos Saxa vocatur,
Unde sibi Saxo nomen traxisse putatur.

The Saxon people did, as most believe,
Their name from Saxa, a short sword, receive.

Camden approves of the conjecture of those learned Germans, who imagine that the Saxons are descended from the Sacæ, the most considerable people in Asia

OF ENGLAND.

91

Not to dwell too long upon conjectures, I shall briefly speak of their manners, government, and religion. It suffices to observe, that, in their customs and manners, they very much resemble the antient Germans, as described by Tacitus. They were naturally brave and warlike both by land and sea, witness their many conquests. But to their enemies they were severe and cruel, especially to their prisoners of war, whom they sacrificed to their gods.

Their dominions were divided into twelve governments or provinces, each of which had a chief or head, accountable to the general assembly of the nation. In time of war they chose a general who commanded their armies, and was invested with almost sovereign power; but at the end of the war, his authority, like that of the Roman dictator, ceased. The center of their empire was at Brunswick.

As for their religion, it was the same with that of the other northern nations, and some part of Germany. The Saxons embrace christianity about the end of the sixth, or beginning of the seventh century. But those that remained in Germany were not converted till the ninth, by the care or rather violence of Carlemain, by whom they were subdued. Their principal gods before their conversion were the Sun, Moon, Tuisko, Woden, Thor, Friga or Fræa, and Seater. To these were consecrated the seven days of the week, as appears by the present names of these days among the Germans, Flemings, and English. Tuisko is said to be the grandson of Japhet, and to have peopled first the north of Europe. Teutch, as the Germans call themselves, is probably derived from Tuisko. The god Thor, from whence comes the word Thunder or Dunder, was the same among the Saxons as Jupiter among the Romans; that is to say, the Thunderer. Woden was the god of war, because under his conduct the first Saxons came forth from their country, and made large

Asia; that they are so called, as if one should say, Sacafones, that is, Sons of the Saxe; and that out of Scythia, or Sarmatia Asiatice, they came by little and little into Europe along with the Getes, the Suevi, and the Daci: this in my judgment (says Camden) deserves credit the best of any other. But his annotator observes, this original of the Saxons from the Saxe of Asia may be thought too far fetched, unless there were some fair historical account how the Saxons came to be propagated by those Saxe; and no such account being given, it may seem to be little more

than a possibility. Nor may that other original from the short swords called Saxe, seem not altogether vain, when it is considered that the Quirites had their name from Quiris, a short spear; and the Scythians from Seyton, to shoot with a bow. Tacitus also speaking of some of the northern Germans, says, "That the common badges they wear, are round shields and short swords;" and the arms of Saxony to this day, as Fontanus observes, are two short swords crossed. See Camd. vol. i, p. 156.

conquests

THE HISTORY

conquests. Their chief families considered him as their founder, and gloried in being descended from him. Probably however there were two of this name, that are often confounded; one more ancient, worshipped as a god, another not so old, from whom sprung the families of the Saxon leaders. There are still in England some footsteps of the name of Woden in several places, as Wansdike, Wansborough, &c. which are contractions of Wodens-dike and Wodens-borough. Fræa, the wife of Woden, was the Venus of the Saxons. She was worshipped in the shape of an hermaphrodite, as being goddess of both sexes. Ermenfwol, the same as Mercury, was another of their gods, with others common to them with all the northern nations. This is the best and clearest account I could find of the Saxons; whom the Britons, by Vortigern's advice, called in to their assistance.

THE

State of the British CHURCH

FROM

The Conversion of the BRITONS to the Calling in
of the SAXONS.

State of the
church.

AFTER christianity was established in the world, the civil and ecclesiastical affairs of kingdoms were so interwoven, that there was no knowing the one, without being acquainted with the other. It is necessary, therefore, to add to our history a general knowledge of the progress of the christian religion in Great Britain. I intend to do this from time to time, by short abstracts, shewing the situation of the affairs of the church in every century, and withal their relation to those of the state. But as I shall not have occasion to speak of the English church before the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons, it will not be improper to represent first the state of the British church under the Romans.

The state of
the British
church.

Before the birth of our Saviour, the Britons, like the rest of the world, the Jews only excepted, were gross idolaters.

I

They

They not only worshipped false gods, but, if their own historians are to be credited, had as many and as extravagant ones as the Egyptians themselves. Andate, the goddess of victory, was one of their principal deities*. They had also gods, to whom they attributed the same powers the Greeks and Romans did to their Apollo and Diana. But seeing the druids, who had the sole management of religious affairs, never committed any of their mysteries to writing, it is no wonder we know nothing more concerning their worship and ceremonies, than what has already been taken notice of in the Introduction.

Though it be difficult to know the precise time, yet all agree the gospel was preached in Great Britain soon after our Saviour's death. But those who place this event in the reign of Tiberius, don't consider the first Gentile, Cornelius, was not converted till the year of our Lord 40, that is, three years after the death of that emperor. Baronius, upon the questionable authority of Simeon Metaphrastes†, which he himself justly rejects on several other occasions, says, St. Peter first preached to the Britons. This opinion is the more improbable, because it is certain St. Peter performed the office of an apostle chiefly in the eastern countries. Others affirm, that Simon Zelotes, one of the twelve apostles, undertook the conversion of the Britons. Nicephorus Callistus‡, Dorotheus in his Synopsis, and the Greek Kalendar¶, say, this apostle was crucified and buried in Britain. At the same time we find in the Roman Martyrology, and in those of Bede, Adon, and Usuard, that St. Simon suffered martyrdom in Persia.

The most current opinion for some time was, that Joseph of Arimathea first preached to the Britons. Though this tradition, supported by the sole testimony of William of Malmshbury, a writer of the XIIth century, stands upon no better foundation than those above-mentioned, it has however been deemed incontestable. Malmshbury, in proof of the antiquity of the church of Glaston or Glastenbury, says, after Freculphus, that, upon the martyrdom of St. Stephen, the apostles were dispersed throughout the whole world. St. Philip (continues the historian) at his coming among the Franks, sent twelve of his disciples, with Joseph of Arimathea as their head, to propagate the gospel in Great Britain, where they

Gildas, n. 28

The conversion of the Britons.

Usher.

Brit. Eccl.

Antiq.

Stillingfleet.

Orig. Brit.

Whether the

Britons were

converted by

Joseph of

Armathea.

Malm. de

Antiq.

Glaston.

Eccles.

* She had a famous temple at Camulodunum. Tyr., p. 24.

† A writer of the Xth century, so called from the writing the lives of the saints. He was a layman.

‡ A Greek historian of the XIVth century. He wrote an ecclesiastical history, of which there is only extant to the year 610.

¶ Or martyrdom.

arrived

arrived in the year of our Lord 61. After some opposition from the inhabitants, a certain king gave them a little spot of ground, surrounded with fens and bushes, to dwell in. Not long after, two other neighbouring kings having allowed them twelve hides of land for their subsistence, the angel Gabriel commanded them, from God, to build a church in a place now called Glaston, but at that time Insuitrin*. This church was finished in the year 63, and, as the historian adds, was dedicated by our Saviour himself, as a mark of distinction, to the virgin Mary. In proof of this relation, in the first place, is produced a manuscript chronicle in the abbey of Glasfenbury, in which it appears that the king's name, who made the first present to Joseph, was Arviragus. To this may be answered, that indeed Juvenal mentions a British king by that name in the reign of Domitian. But this is nothing to the purpose, unless it can be proved that Arviragus lived in the time of Nero, since it is supposed the land the church stood upon was given to Joseph in the year 61. In the next place is alledged St. Patrick's charter, wherein it is said, that Glaston church was founded by twelve disciples of St. James and St. Philip the apostles. But besides several marks of forgery, there is no mention in this charter of Joseph of Arimathea. In the third place is produced a charter of Ina, king of the West-Saxons, who lived in the VIIIth century, which makes the church of Glaston the most antient of all the British churches. But neither in this charter, whose authenticity is still more questionable, is there any mention of Joseph. To strengthen all these proofs, a charter of Henry II. king of England, is produced, wherein king Henry assures us, that upon examination he found it well attested, that the church of Glasfenbury is founded by the disciples of the apostles, and consecrated to the virgin Mary by Jesus Christ himself. But this assertion of king Henry, being grounded only upon the foregoing proofs, is not to be regarded. Moreover it is certain, that the Franks were unknown at the time St. Philip is said to come into their country. Besides, Eusebius and several others affirm, that this apostle went and preached in Phrygia; and suffered martyrdom at Hierapolis. Then for the hyde-

lands given to the disciples of the apostles, the word Hyde alone is a sufficient confutation of that story, since it is a Saxon term; and every one knows the Saxons came not to Britain 'till the year 449. I think it needless to dwell any longer upon this subject. Whoever has a mind to see the reasons more at

See Collier's
Eccles. Hist.

* That is, in the British language, town means the same in English the town of Glasf. Glaston or Glasfenbury.

large against this tradition of Joseph of Arimathea, will find them in Collier's ecclesiastical history.

Though the exact time of the conversion of the Britons be uncertain, it is very probable the gospel was preached in the island not long after the death of Christ. Theodoret assures us, the Britons were converted by the apostles. Eusebius, speaking of the dangers the apostles were exposed to in propagating the gospel in the most remote countries, mentions among the rest the British isles. Now the likeliest time to be assigned for the conversion of the Britons, if it was in the apostles days, is that between the victory of Claudius and the defeat of Boadicea. For at the time of the general revolt, there were in the island above 80,000 Romans, among whom very probably were some christians; the gospel having now got footing in many places, particularly at Rome. Upon this supposition, there is no absurdity in asserting with several modern authors, that St. Paul first preached the gospel in Britain. It is certain this apostle, in the eight years between his first imprisonment at Rome, and his return to Jerusalem, propagated the christian religion in several places, especially in the western countries. He informs us of his design of going to Spain; and it is not unlikely but his desire of converting the Britons might carry him to their island. This opinion may be supported by the testimony of Venutius Fortunatus, in his poem upon the life of St. Martin, where he speaks of the travels of St. Paul. But, after all, these are only conjectures, and of no other use but to make it more credible that the gospel was plained in Britain soon after the death of our Lord.

But supposing this opinion were proved beyond all dispute, it may be presumed the christian faith had taken no deep root in the island; since, according to several authors, Lucius, a British king, sent ambassadors to pope Eleutherius, to desire him to send over some missionaries to instruct him in the christian religion. Now is it likely that Lucius should send so far for what he might have had in his own country, had there been at that time any churches, or even any considerable number of christians in Britain? However this be, Lucius having some knowledge of the christian religion, and desiring to be more fully instructed, sends Elwan and Medwin to Eleutherius the twelfth bishop of Rome, to crave the wanted assistance. Eleutherius very joyfully embraces the opportunity of replanting christianity in Great Britain, where probably it had been

The Britons were converted soon after the death of Christ. Stillfleet. Orig. Brit.

The conversion of king Lucius. Bede, lib. i. c. 4.

Transit & Oceanum, vel quâ facit Insula Portum,
Quasque Britannus habet terras, quasque ultima Thule.

Rapin.

rooted out by the violence of persecutions. He immediately sets about instructing Elwan and Medwin, the two ambassadors; and after baptizing and consecrating them bishops, sends them back to their own country. By their means the gospel flourished again in Britain, where it afterwards spread far and wide. I omit the many things that are said of this Lucius, particularly his building great numbers of churches in London, because it is not likely the Romans would suffer it. Neither shall I say any thing of his travels, wherein he is said to convert several nations, especially the Grifons, in whose country he was martyred, there being no grounds for these things. It is possible, however, some christian named Lucius might preach the gospel to the Grifons, and suffer martyrdom at Coire.

From the conversion of Lucius to the Dioclesian persecution, the ecclesiastical history of Britain is entirely unknown. It is very probable, however, that during that interval of eight years, the christian religion made great progress in the island, as appears from Tertullian, Origen, Bede, and Gildas. But what puts the thing out of all dispute, is, the multitude of British martyrs that suffered during the dreadful persecution under Dioclesian and Maximinian his colleague. Among these martyrs, St. Alban, converted at Verulam^a by a priest whom he had harboured in his house, is reckoned the first. Gildas, n. 8. He was followed by a great many more, as history informs us. How well inclined soever Constantius Chlorus might be to favour the Christians, he could not, whilst governor of Britain, dispense with edicts of the emperors, having then the title of Cæsar only, which gave him no power to oppose their laws. But as soon as he came to the empire, he put a stop to this violent persecution, and gave the Christians some respite. Constantine his son did yet more; for under him the christian religion flourished throughout the Roman empire, particularly in Great Britain, where some pretend he was born.

St. Alban
the first British
martyr.
Gildas, n. 8.
Bede, lib. i.
c. 7.

Progress of
the christian
religion in
Britain.
Spelman.
Conc. vol. i.
Sulp. Sever.
Hist. Ec. lib.
ii.

After this happy change the Christians multiplied exceedingly; and the island abounded with churches. Some affirm there were British bishops at the council of Nice in 325. But though this cannot be sufficiently proved, it is not at all unlikely, since twenty-two years after there were for certain three British bishops at the council of Arles^a; as there were also

^a Called afterwards from him St. Albans. Rapin.

^a The council of Arles was in 314, about twelve years before the council of

Nice. The three bishops are supposed to be those of London, York, and probably Caerleon. They had with them a priest and a deacon.

some

some at the council of Ariminum in 359, but so poor that their charges were borne by their brethren^m. Their signing at this council the Confession of Faith, wherein the term *Con-* The British bishops falsely charged with Arianism. substantial was omitted, gave occasion to some to imagine that Arianism was spread in Britain. But a modern author has made it appear that the faith of the British church was the same in this respect both before and after this council; which had not the effect the heretics promised themselves.

The British church was much more justly accused of Pelagianism. Pelagianism in Britain. Stillfleet. Orig. Brit. Certain it is, several bishops were seduced, not by Pelagius himself, who, though a native of Britain, never returned to propagate his errors, but by Agricola one of his disciples. The orthodox bishops perceiving the infection to spread, sent to desire their brethren in Gaul to assist them in confuting this heresy. The Gaulish prelates, touched with the danger of the British church, met in council, and deputed Germanus bishop of Auxerre, and Lupus bishop of Troye, to go and assist their brethren in Britain. At Verulam, in a conference with the Pelagians, they defended the truth with such strength and evidence, that they turned many from their errors. But after their departure, the heretics gaining ground again, Germanus was desired once more to come over. Though he was now very old, he undertook a second voyage into Britain, in company with Severus bishop of Troye. Germanus despairing to convince the heretics by arguments, because of their obstinacy, caused the edict of Valentinian III. that condemns all heretics to banishment, to be put in execution against them. Before he left Britain, he erected schools, which produced afterwards many bishops famous for their learning and piety.

From this time to the arrival of the Saxons we know but little of the affairs of the British church. No doubt the frequent wars with the Picts and Scots, by destroying their churches, and, what is worse, by introducing a corruption of manners among the clergy as well as laity, were very prejudicial to the Christians. Corruptions of the Britons the cause of their miseries. However, if we may believe Gildas and Bede, it was not so much the wars as the excessive plenty immediately after the famine, that corrupted the manners of the Britons. Gildas, n. 10. Bede, lib. i. cap. 14. The people, say these historians, from a state of extreme want, being on a sudden surrounded with plenty,

^m Du Pin says, the bishops of France and Britain chose rather to bear their own expences than accept of the emperor's allowance, which they thought was beneath them. But it is more likely they accepted of the emperor's

allowance, since they were but poorly endowed under the Roman emperors. And this perhaps may be the reason why we find so few of them at any of those councils that were held beyond the seas.

THE HISTORY, etc.!!

abandoned themselves to all manner of wickedness. The quiet they enjoyed by their peace with the northern nations, was spent only in sinking deeper into excess and debauchery. The clergy out-doing even the laity, became exceeding vicious. Gluttony, drunkenness, avarice, luxury, reigning among the ecclesiastics, they no longer preached to their flocks the precepts of the Gospel, which they themselves so little regarded. To this general corruption, according to these two historians, are to be ascribed the calamities which fell upon the British nation, and which are the subject of the following book.



THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK II.

*From the arrival of the SAXONS to the retreat of the
BRITONS into WALES. Containing about the space
of a hundred and thirty years.*

IN a desperate disease, a desperate remedy is used without scruple, because the benefit only is considered that may be received by it. The Britons, though frequent sufferers, by the incursions of the Saxons, fixed their thoughts solely on the valour of that nation, believing them alone capable of freeing them from their present calamities. Had there been a choice to make, perhaps they would have weighed the inconveniencies as well as conveniencies of calling in the Saxons to their aid: but as they had no other course to take, they never attended to what a just fear might have suggested to them. Besides Vortigern strove to divert them from the considerations that might have induced them to alter their resolution, by carefully displaying the advantages that would be procured by the assistance of the Saxons. By feeding their hopes with his flattering speeches, he prevented them from maturely reflecting

The Britons
unadvisedly
call in the
Saxons to
their aid.

The ambaf- on the consequences of their proceedings. Every man there-
 fadors are fore being wholly intent upon freeing himself from the present
 sent away.]] evils, the ambaffadors were sent away in all hafte, and the
 negociation ftrongly recommended to their care, on the fuc-
 cefs whereof entirely depended, as they imagined, the fafety of
 their country. The dominion of the Saxons reached then to
 the German Ocean, and their conquests had been carried even
 into Zealand. Upon the arrival of the Britifh ambaffadors,
 Witigifil, general of the Saxons, having called an affembly to
 hear what they had to propofe, the head of the ambaffy made
 the following fpeech :

Their
 fpeech to
 the Saxons.

“ Illuftrious and generous Saxons, the Britons, harraffed
 “ and oppreffed by the continual inroads of the Picts and
 “ Scots, their neighbours and enemies, fent us to you to im-
 “ plore your affiftance. The fame of your victories has reach-
 “ ed our ears. We are fenfible your arms are irrefiftible, and
 “ therefore are come to fue for your protection. Britain for
 “ many years made a confiderable part of the Roman empire ;
 “ but our mafters having abandoned us, we know no nation
 “ more powerful than yourfelves, or better able to protect us.
 “ Grant but our request, and in return we offer all that a
 “ rich and fertile country, fuch as ours is, can afford. Put
 “ what price you please on our protection ; we fhall fubmit
 “ to what terms you yourfelves fhall judge reasonable, pro-
 “ vided by your aid we are enabled to drive the enemy out of
 “ our country .”

Nenn.
 Malm. lib. i.
 De Reg.
 Huntingd.
 lib. ii.
 Bede, lib. i.
 cap. 15.

The Britons having thus declared the caufe of their com-
 ing, the Saxon general returned this fhort anfwer : “ Be af-
 “ fured the Saxons will ftand by you in your preffing necef-
 “ fities.” So favourable an anfwer infpiring the ambaffadors
 with hopes of fuccefs in their negociation, they ufed their ut-
 moft endeavours to bring it to a speedy conclufion. At laft
 they had the fatisfaction to obtain an aid of nine thoufand
 men, on certain terms ; the principal whereof was, that the
 Saxons fhould be put in poffeffion of the ifle of Thanet, adja-
 cent to Kent, where they were to land, and their troops paid
 and maintained by the Britons.

The Saxons
 form the.

Britain was not unknown to the Saxons. They had long
 before begun to render themfelves formidable to the eastern

a Wittehind, a Saxon hiftorian, puts the Britons promifed, it not being men-
 thefe words in the mouth of the Britifh tioned by Bede or Ethelward, both Sax-
 ambaffadors, and it cannot be denied ons. Their quarrelling with the Bri-
 that they are very natural, confidering tons afterwards about their pay, as Gil-
 the deplorable condition of the Britons. das exprefly fays, fhews they came over
 Rapin. Wittehind lived in the ninth as mercenary foldiers. See note below
 century. The abfolute fubjection in from Geoffrey of Monmouth, p. 19.

coafts

coasts of the island, where they had even made several descents. If they had not yet attempted any conquests there, it was because those they had undertaken on the continent were thought to be of more importance. It may be too, as they were hitherto ignorant of the weakness of the Britons, they were afraid of engaging in any great enterprize. However this be, the present embassy, at such a juncture, was extremely proper to raise a desire to settle in their country. The Britons were themselves the discoverers of their weakness. On the other hand, the Saxons were now seated along the coasts of the German Ocean, from whence they might always have an eye to what passed in Britain. It is no wonder therefore, if without much deliberation, they promised their assistance to the Britons, since they intended to improve so fair an opportunity of settling in the island. Hengist and Horfa^b, both sons of Witigisl, were appointed to command the troops designed for the aid of the Britons.

project of settling in Britain.
Geoff. Mon.
Malm.

Hengist was about thirty years old. He first bore arms under his father Witigisl; after which, for his improvement in the art of war, he went and served in the Roman armies, where the emperors generally kept some Saxon troops in their pay. This young warrior was endowed with all the necessary qualifications for accomplishing the undertaking committed to his management. His valour and experience, the solidity of his judgment, his address, his easy and engaging behaviour, warranted in some measure his success. All these excellent qualities determined the Saxon general to procure for his son so fair an occasion to display his talents. As for his brother Horfa, nothing particular is said of him.

Hengist and Horfa command the Saxon troops.
Hengist's character.
Versteeg.

The Saxons, notwithstanding their promise, did not think proper to send over at once so considerable a body of forces as nine thousand men, into a country but imperfectly known to them. Wherefore, pretending the rest were not ready by reason of their great distance from the place of embarkation, they caused only a part to be put on board three vessels^c. The very name of these vessels plainly enough demonstrates they could hold but a very inconsiderable number^d. The historians

^b Hengist signifies a Stone-horse, and Horfa a horse. It was usual with the Saxons to give their children the names of animals. Rapin. Hence among us at this day, the names Lamb, Bear, Fox, Buck, etc. The Romans had the same custom, witness Catulus, Aper, etc.

^c Geoffrey of Monmouth says, these three ships, full of armed men, happened to come to Kent by chance, and that the generals Hengist and Horfa being brought before Vortigern, he retained them and their troops in his service, lib. vi. cap. 20.

^d They are called by the historians

Evndius,
Chron. Zel.

historians have not expressly marked the place of this first embarkation. It may very probably be conjectured to have been in Zealand, as that country was then in the possession of the Saxons. Besides it would have been difficult to chuse a more convenient place, or one nearer the isle of Thanet, where these forces were to land.

Vortigern, having his own, much more than the nation's interest at heart, was highly delighted with the success of his embassy. He was not ignorant how his subjects stood affected towards him. And this no less than the desire of repulsing the common enemy had moved him to sue for the assistance of the Saxons, flattering himself that he should easily engage these foreigners to grant him a particular protection. With this view and expectation he goes to the sea-side, and waits their coming, to prepossess them in his favour, by his civility and respect.

449.
The Saxons
arrive in
Britain.
Sax. Ann.
Huntingd.
p. 309.

First battle
between the
Saxons and
northern
people.

Mean while Hengist and Horfa setting sail, arrive at Ebbesfleet in the isle of Thanet. These first Saxon troops are said by most historians to land in the year 449, though by some this event is placed a few years sooner or later. Vortigern receives his new friends with extraordinary caresses, putting them immediately in possession of the isle according to agreement. When they had refreshed themselves a little, he led them against the Picts and Scots that were advanced as far as Stamford in Lincolnshire. In the first battle, the islanders, according to custom, began with throwing their darts, which made but little impression on warlike troops that despised that way of fighting. The Saxons having stood this first charge without the least motion, advanced in good order, and coming to close fight, quickly routed enemies already terrified by their very looks. The northern men frightened at the sight of these foreigners, and forced to engage in a different manner from what they were used to, made but a faint resistance, and soon left their new enemies in possession of the field of battle. Their future attempts had no better success, and in all their encounters with the Saxons, they were continually worsted.

Malm. lib. 1.

Being quite discouraged by these frequent defeats, they abandon their conquests by degrees, and retire into their own country, dreading nothing so much as engaging with the Saxons.

Vortigern
gives Hen-
gist some
lands near
Lincoln.

Vortigern was overjoyed to see his projects succeed thus far so happily. But his main point, the winning the Saxons to

in Lett. Ciulæ: in Danish, kols: in English, Keels. Rapin. It is said in Camden, p. cxvii. that Kjolæ was a general name for their ships.—Cyulæ,

nostra lingua, longis navibus—Gild. p. 7. Malm. p. 8. Bede, lib. i. cap. 15. It must be noted, that ce, ci, in Saxon, is pronounced like ke, ki.

hhs

his particular interest, was yet unexecuted. To that end, he presents the two Saxon brothers with some lands in Lincolnshire, where they gave the enemies the first repulse. But if Vortigern was pursuing his ends, Hengist was no less mindful of his own interest. The moment he perceives the weakness of the Britons, he entertains hopes of procuring a settlement in Britain, and begins to lay his measures accordingly. But he must proceed by degrees, and find means to execute his design, without discovering his intentions. The lands given him by Vortigern, furnish him with an opportunity to cause the Britons to fall into the snare he intends to lay for them. He represents to the king, that the service he was doing the Britons in the north, keeping him at a distance from the isle of Thanet, he had no place to secure the booty taken from the enemies, and therefore had reason to fear that whilst he was employed in the northern wars, he might be deprived of the fruits of his labours. For this cause, he desires leave to build a little fort somewhere on the lands lately given him. Vortigern, who sought all occasions to please him, readily complies with his request. If most of the historians may be credited, he only desired to wall in as much land as an ox-hide could surround, which being granted, he cut the hide into small thongs, and enclosing with them a space large enough for his purpose, hastily ran up a fort, before the Britons had time to oppose it. This circumstance seems to be confirmed by the name of the fort itself, Thong-caster^f, that is, the castle of Thongs. It may indeed be objected, that the name of this castle gave occasion to apply it to the story Justin relates of Dido when going to build Carthage. But on the other hand, Hengist whilst he served in the Roman armies, might, very possibly, be informed of this artifice of Dido's, and practise it in Britain.

The Britons seeing a castle built in the heart of their country, begin to murmur against their king, and suspect him of secretly favouring the Saxons. These murmurs gave Hengist opportunity, who had now dived into Vortigern's private intentions, to make an advantage of that prince's cir-

^e Some say these lands were in Kent. Latin for Lincoln, Geoff. Mon. lib. vi. But Geoffrey of Monmouth affirms, cap. 11. Rapin by mistake quotes they were in Londesia Regione, or Nennius, rather Lindesia in Lindsey. Lindam is

^f *Accepitque solum facti de nomine Thengum
Taumino quantum poterat circundare tergo.*

Epit. of the Hist. of Eng. in Latin verse. Rapin.

^g Castor, (in Saxon Thuang-caster, the same thing) lies about six miles from in Welsh Caer-Egarry, both signifying Grimsby in Lincolnshire.

Hengist offers him assistance.

Neqq. c. 37.

Vortigern accepts it.

Hengist instils a desire in the Saxons to settle in Britain. Malm. lib. i.

Arrival of a fresh body of Saxons with Efcus and Rowena.

450. Malm. lib. i.

cap. i. Vortigern and Hengist behave laughingly to the Britons. Fl. Wigorn.

Hengist lays a snare for Vortigern. Malm. lib.

cumstances. He represents to him, "That the Britons are grown so insolent since their deliverance from their enemies, that they only wait an opportunity to rob him of his crown, and give it to another. That this intimation, coming from good hands, ought to make him sensible that the rebellion of his subjects is no less to be feared, than the invasion of the Picts and Scots; and therefore advises him to secure himself from the approaching storm, by sending for more Saxons, and strengthening himself with their aid against the ill practices of his subjects. The rest of the Saxons, (continues he) designed for the assistance of Britain, are all ready, and only wait your orders." Vortigern gladly embraces this advice, which suits so well with his projects. Instead of raising objections, he himself presses the Saxon general to execute a design which to him seems so advantageous, Hengist having thus obtained Vortigern's consent, desires his sister Witigisl to send over the rest of the forces out of hand. He acquaints him with the fruitfulness of the country, and effeminacy of the inhabitants, assuring him, if the Saxons wisely improved this opportunity, they might hope for a settlement in Britain, no less advantageous and glorious than what they enjoyed in Germany. Witigisl, who had great expectations from his son's expedition, sends the desired supplies without delay. He equips sixteen large vessels to transport the forces, and with them sends Efcus and Rowena, eldest son and niece^h of Hengist. This second body of Saxons arrived in Britain in 450, about a year after the first. As soon as the British monarch and the Saxon general saw themselves thus strengthened, they behaved in a very different manner to the Britons from what they had done before. Vortigern grown more powerful, renders himself more absolute. He treats his subjects with great haughtiness, and thereby more strongly confirms their suspicions of him. He even makes no scruple to assign habitations for the new-comers, without ever advising with his subjects. From that time a strict union is formed between Vortigern and Hengist. They had need of each other for their mutual defence against the Britons who publicly expressed their discontent.

Mean while, Hengist forgot nothing that could promote his designs. Above all, he studies to know the humour and character of Vortigern, and easily perceives Love and Pleasure

^h Ul'terius, it seems, is the only one who affirms she was Hengist's niece. See Spe d. p. 283. But Malmfbury, p. 9. Mait. Westm. p. 156.

Hunting. p. 370. Geoff. Mon. lib. vi. cap. 12. all agree in saying she was Hengist's daughter.

to be his predominant passion. Accordingly he lays a snare, which he thinks, the monarch can hardly escape falling into. Having expressed, on several occasions, his acknowledgments He invites him to Thong-caster. for the many favours received at his hands, he intreats him to honour him with his company at Thong-caster, where he earnestly desires to entertain him, and shew him some marks of his respect and gratitude. Vortigern readily accepts of this invitation, considering it as a fresh means to strengthen the friendship contracted with the heads of the Saxons, and which is so expedient for him. Hengist receives him with all the respect due to a great king, his friend and benefactor. A splendid and exquisite banquet is prepared for him, but nothing pleases the royal guest so much as the young Rowena, the greatest beauty of her time. Hengist her uncle, under colour of doing honour to Vortigern, but in reality that he might, during the feast, feed his eyes with so lovely an object, ordered her to place herself just before the king. The conversation succeeded as Hengist expected. Vortigern keeps his eyes continually fixed on Rowena, who by her looks gives him to understand, she is not insensible of the honour he does her. Hengist perceiving with joy the sudden effect of Rowena's charms on the king, is unwilling to give his growing passion time to cool. He makes a sign to his niece, who immediately going to the sideboard, fills a gold cup with wine, and presents it on her knees to the king, saying in her language, "Liever Kyning, wafs, heil," that is, "Lord King, your health." Vortigern agreeably surpris'd, turns to his interpreter, and asks what she said, and how he must answer her after the Saxon manner. Being informed, he looks very amorously on Rowena, and answers in Saxon, "Drinck Heil," that is, "Do you yourself drink the health." Whereupon, Rowena just putting the cup to her lips, presents it to the king, who taking it, rises up immediately and gives her a salute. Rowena receives it in a very respectful manner, as sensible of the great honour done her, and-making a profound reverence, withdraws, leaving the monarch full of love and desire. This may be called a very fatal moment for Britain, as will be seen hereafter. So true it is, the greatest events spring sometimes from things that appear at first of very little consequence.

From that time Vortigern's thoughts are wholly employed how to secure the possession of Rowena. Though he has a wife, his passion causing him to overlook all obstacles, he demands her in marriage. But Hengist, willing by difficulties to inflame the king's desires, answers, he cannot contrary to.

*Geoff. Mon.
lib. vi. cap.
12.*

*Hengist
starts diffi-
culties.*

Vortigern
finds means
to remove
them all.

He promises
Hengist the
province of
Kent.

Whetupon
the marriage
is concluded,
and Hengist
takes posses-
sion.
Nenn.
Geoff. Mon.
lib. iii. cap.
1.

The Britons
murmur a-
gainst Ver-
tigern.

Hengist
forms new
projects.
G. Mon.
lib. iv.
Malmsb.

to the custom of the Saxons, give his niece to a prince already married, adding Rowena was not entirely in his disposal; and the princes of his nation, and particularly his father, would not perhaps ever consent she should be married to a Christian prince, how honourable soever the alliance might be. But the amorous Vortigern, who burns with excessive desire to enjoy Rowena, finds expedients to overcome all these difficulties. He begins with divorcing his wife, by whom he had several children. Then he promises Rowena the free exercise of her religion, and to stop the mouths of the Saxon princes, whose reproaches Hengist seems to fear, devises an expedient, (or perhaps it is suggested to him) by which, as he imagines he may reconcile love and policy. And this was to invest Hengist and Horsa with the sovereignty of Kent, and give them leave to people it with Saxons. The moment he came to this resolution, all obstacles began to vanish, and the politick Saxon, who had seemed backward only to make the better bargain, thought it time to give his consent. He delivers therefore his niece to the amorous monarch, and takes possession of Kent, magnifying this proof of his respect and gratitude, as if the king were highly obliged to him. Vortigern was so blinded by his passion, that he thought himself a great gainer by the exchange¹. This agreement was made so privately, that Gorongus^k, prince or governor of Kent, was dispossessed before he could take any measures to oppose it. So impatient was Vortigern to conclude this fatal bargain! In vain did the Britons murmur against this marriage, and complain of the king's bounty. Hengist, regardless of their murmurs, strengthened himself as much as possible in his new sovereignty, considering withal of fresh means to aggrandize himself. But before he discovered his intention, he wanted to be out of danger from the Britons, who plainly shewed how they stood affected towards him. Ever since it was known he intended to settle in the island they could no longer rely on him, or rather looked upon him as a professed enemy.

Whilst the Britons were venting their fruitless complaints against their monarch and the Saxons, Hengist was seriously thinking of his concerns. Though he had a good body of troops under his command, that was not sufficient to enable him to execute his vast projects. He thought it proper therefore to conceal them till he was in condition to declare his in-

¹ This story of Rowena is the less authentic, for not being mentioned by Bede or Gildas, and related by Malmsbury as a report only.

^k Camden takes Gorongus to be the name of an office or employment. See by Langhorn, Chron. Reg. Ang. Rapin.

tions. The situation Vortigern was in, made him hope it was not impossible to make that prince subservient to his designs, whilst he should imagine he was labouring only for himself. To that end, he pretended to be more attached than ever to his person and interest, and endeavoured by sundry means to persuade him, he was entirely devoted to his service. His aim was to induce him gradually by these marks of affection, to be wholly guided by his counsels. When he thought he had sufficiently gained his confidence, he represented to him, "That his subjects were displeased with him, and in all appearance waited only for a favourable opportunity to execute the ill designs they had formed: That an opportunity would infallibly offer when the Saxon troops should be employed in the northern wars; and then being destitute of the assistance of his friends he would be in danger of being exposed to the insults of those that hated him! That he thought himself obliged to acquaint him, his subjects held intelligence with Ambrosius Aurelianus, who was at the court of Aldroen king of Armorica, and probably had conspired to set that prince on the Throne." There was some ground for Hengist's thus artfully hinting the danger Vortigern was in from Ambrosius. That prince was of Roman extraction, and according to the general opinion, son of one of the monarchs elected by the Britons after the departure of the Romans¹. As he was very young when his father died, his youth screened him from the jealousy of those that ascended the throne immediately, or shortly after. But it was otherwise when Vortigern came to the crown. A strong party being formed in favour of Ambrosius, the new monarch was so filled with suspicions, that he sought means to destroy the young prince. The danger Ambrosius was exposed to obliging him to quit Britain, he retired to Aldroen his relation, where he was waiting for a favourable opportunity to come and head his party. This being the case between Vortigern and Ambrosius, what the Saxon prince said, could not but make deep impression on his mind.

By these continual marks of a seemingly disinterested friendship, Hengist led the British monarch by degrees to seek, of his own accord, the means he designed to furnish him with, namely, the sending for a greater number of Saxon troops. His aim was to put himself in condition to have nothing to fear from the Britons, and withal to be independent of the king; which he could not attain to but by the means he in-

Ambrosius,
who he was.
Stillington.
Orig. p. 319.
Gilda, p. 9.

¹ He is said by several to be son of Constantine, beheaded by Honorius. Rapin. tended.

tended. Vortigern, despairing ever to regain the affection of his subjects, and considering Ambrosius, though absent, as a very dangerous rival, saw his whole refuge lay in the Saxon prince, whom he deemed his best friend, and accordingly to him it was he applied for advice and assistance. Hengist tells him, "All the Saxons in Britain are at his devotion, but their number is too inconsiderable to protect him." Adding, "The Britons, in all likelihood, will not fail to shew their discontent, whilst the Saxons are in the north, and therefore he fees but one way to secure the king from their plots, which is, to send for more Saxons to be commanded by trusty leaders, who will implicitly follow his orders." This advice being agreeable to Vortigern's intentions, he immediately closes with it. Hengist promises to send the new troops into the north, against the Picts and Scots, whilst he stays himself in Kent to have an eye upon the malecontents. This precaution seemed very proper to prevent the insurrection of the Britons, who by that means would be hemmed in by the Saxon forces.

Brit. Hist.
lib. iii. cap.
1.

452.
Oeta and
Ebusa come
and settle in
the north
with Saxon
troops.
Nenn.
Geoff. Mon.
Cum,

Hengist having obtained the king's consent, sent for a fleet of forty ships, conducted by Oeta his brother, who brought with him his son Ebusa, and a great number of Saxon troops. These new-comers begin with ravaging the Orcades, then making a descent on the coasts of the Picts, oblige the inhabitants to retire northwards. As soon as the Picts had thus deserted part of their country, the Saxons seated themselves there so strongly, that it was not possible to dispossess them. At first they settled on the north side of the Tyne towards the east. Afterwards they advanced towards the south, and drove the Britons beyond the Humber; but this was done by degrees. This third body of Saxons arrived in 452, three years after the first. With these fresh supplies, Hengist found himself strong enough to be in no great fear of any attempt from the Britons: Nay, he began to shew less respect for Vortigern, and under colour of wanting frequent recruits to keep up the number of his forces, sent for continual supplies from Germany without asking his leave. At length he throws away the mask, and making bitter complaints that the Saxons were not duly paid according to agreement, boldly demands the arrears, threatening, without prompt and full payment, to do himself justice.

Gild. Bede.
lib. i. cap. 15

453.
Vortimer
encourages
the Britons
to drive out
the Saxons.

The Britons, surprised at these menaces, and greatly mortified to see Hengist in a condition to do as he proudly threatened, began to rouse themselves, and think of means to free themselves from these foreigners. Vortimer, eldest son of Vortigern,

Vortigern, had beheld with extreme regret, how the Saxons, Malm. lib. i. by his father's fault, strengthened themselves daily, and had very much dreaded the consequences thereof. As soon as he saw the Britons in emotion, he improved the opportunity, and represented to the leading men, that it was time to apply an effectual remedy to the evils they lay under. He told them, his father's cowardice, or perhaps treachery, had been the occasion of the Saxons becoming so powerful; that it was necessary therefore to prevent Vortigern from heaping any more favours on these foreigners, to the prejudice of the British nation, which was in danger of being over-run, if measures were not taken to put a stop to their growing power. The Britons, convinced by these reasons, awaked at last out of their lethargy, and by Vortimer's instigations, the most powerful of them, having entered into a private confederacy, of which Vortigern had not the least notice, suddenly compelled him to make his son partner with him in the government, and to leave the administration of affairs to his care. The plot was so well laid that in an instant Vortigern saw himself without either fortress, or troops, or credit, and constrained to do whatever was desired, he not having time to call the Saxons to his aid. As he had not mistrusted his own son, he had taken no care to guard against him. Thus Vortimer was invested with the whole royal authority, leaving his father only the empty title of king without any power ^m.

454

Vortigern is compelled to associate his son.

The new monarch found no great difficulty to persuade the Britons, that nothing but force could drive the Saxons out of their country. It was but too plain, from their proceedings, that they did not design to go away voluntarily. The war therefore being resolved, the Britons made preparations to rid themselves of their guests, whom they looked upon as their mortal enemies. Hengist, for his part, finding he was like to have a fierce war upon his hands, made haste and concluded a peace with the Picts, who were proud of having for allies men so formidable for their arms. This precaution enabled him to make a powerful diversion in the north by the help of the Picts, assisted by the Saxons lately settled in those parts. As for Kent, Hengist looked upon himself to be strong enough there to make head against Vortimer, who was preparing to attack him.

I am now going to enter upon the recital of a war, which, after numberless engagements, render the Saxons masters of Britain. An event, so remote from the expectations of the

^m All historians agree not in this point. Some will have it that he voluntarily made his son partner with him. Rapin.

Britons

THE HISTORY

Britons when they sent for the Saxons to assist them, affords matter of wonder and admiration at the short-sightedness of men, and the uncertainty of their counsels! But before I relate the issue of this war, it will be proper to acquaint the reader, that he is not to expect a full and particular account of matters. Historians have been contented with relating some certain facts, which just serve to carry on the thread of the history, but hardly give us a general idea of that revolution which peopled Britain with new inhabitants, and introduced a new face of things over the whole island.

455.
The battle
of Eglesford
Affer. Gab.
Athelwen-
dus. Flor.
Wigorn.
Sax. Ann.
Ranulph.
Cest. Poly-
chron.
G. Malmsh.
lib. i. c. i.

The Britons and Saxons being prepared for war, were not long before they came to an engagement. In the first campaign, the two armies met at Eglesford^a in Kent, the Saxons being commanded by Hengist and Horfa, and the Britons by Vortimer. The first battle, according to the historians, was very bloody, Hengist lost Horfa^o, his brother, and with his own hand slew Catigern^p, youngest brother of Vortimer. If we may believe the British historians, Vortimer not only obtained a complete victory over the Saxons, but driving Hengist as far as the isle of Thanet, compelled him to embark and fly into Germany. But by what followed after this battle, it is evident, if the Saxons were not victorious, at least they were not vanquished^q, since all their historians unanimously affirm, that this very year 455, immediately after the battle, Hengist first took upon him the title of king of Kent, which doubtless he would not have done, had he been defeated and obliged to fly into Germany.

Hengist
takes the
title of king
of Kent.
Bede.
Sax. Ann.

It must not be thought strange to find so great contrariety among the historians concerning events so remote from our time; when even the authors that write of what has passed in our days, very rarely agree in facts which by their late date, might easily be known.

457.
The battle
of Crecan-
ford.
Gildas.
Bede, lib. i.
Huntingd.
lib. ii.
Sax. Ann.

Two years after, another battle was fought near Crecanford^r in Kent, wherein Vortimer was entirely defeated, with the loss of more than 4000 men and his best officers. Not being able to keep the field, he was forced to shut himself up in London, till he could draw another army together. Mean while Hengist, to strike the greater terror into the Britons, ravaged the country in a merciless manner. They that were most exposed to the fury of the Saxons quitted their houses,

ⁿ Now Aylesford.
^o He was buried at Horsted, so called from him.
^p He was buried near Aylesford, where four great stones stand an end, with others across them, like Stone-

henge. Camden.
^q R. Higden expressly says, that Hengist got the victory, p. 223.
^r Now Crayford, from the river Crecan now Creece. See Camden. Rapin.

and fled to the woods for refuge. Some abandoned their country, and retired into Armorica, where they were civilly received by king Aldroen. During these devastations, the very churches were not spared, but all that were in the neighbourhood of the Saxons, were reduced to ashes. These barbarous pagans, joining to their natural fierceness a religious zeal, thought they honoured their gods, by inhumanly treating the christians, especially the ecclesiastics, who were most cruelly dealt with.

The Britons being reduced to this extremity, their chiefs assembled themselves to consider of means to prevent their total ruin. Guithelin, archbishop of London, and head of Ambrosius's party, advised them to apply to the king of Armorica for assistance. He represented to them, "That as Aldroen had always shewn great civilities to the Britons, there was room to hope he would not abandon them in this their pressing necessity." Adding "that since Vortigern and Vortimer were no longer to be depended upon, he thought it necessary to invite over Ambrosius Aurelianus, who being sprung from illustrious ancestors, and having all the qualifications to be desired in a general, would, in all probability, by his valour and conduct, free them from their present danger." As they had always hated Vortigern, and, since his last defeat, were dissatisfied with Vortimer, the common, though unjust fate of vanquished generals, they readily embraced the archbishop's advice; and desired him to go himself and negotiate the affair; which he gladly undertook, as enabling him to accomplish a design he had long been forming. He sets out immediately for Armorica, and laying before Aldroen the deplorable condition of the Britons, obtained with ease the aid he demanded. Aldroen, who had so generously received all the fugitive Britons, was willing to give the nation a farther proof of his friendship by granting them an aid of ten thousand men. He placed Ambrosius at their head, who conducted them safely to Totness. This general was received with great demonstrations of joy, being looked upon as the only support of the sinking Britons. But this joy was not universal: Vortimer's party, still powerful, considered Ambrosius as one come to usurp the crown, under colour of defending it. And Vortimer himself threatened to punish severely those that should join him. Thus the miserable Britons, always a prey to their intestine divisions, instead of uniting against the common enemy, prepared to destroy one another.

Mean while, Ambrosius and Guithelin perceiving the conjuncture to be favourable, conspired the ruin of Vortigern and

The Britons desire the assistance of the king of Armorica, by the advice of the bishop of London. G. Monm. M. Westm. Huntingd.

458. Ambrosius lands with 10,000 men. G. Monm.

Ambrosius and Guithelin conspire the ruin of

the two
British
kings.

Vortimer. They began with representing to their party, "that vain were the hopes of driving out the Saxons, under the conduct of these two kings, the son being a prince without courage or experience, and the father an enemy to the nation; as appeared by his strict union with the enemies of the state; not to mention his excessive liberalities, which obliged his subjects to take the administration out of his hands. That in vain therefore were their preparations to drive out the foreigners, if these two domestick enemies were not first destroyed, who were in arms only to favour and assist them." On the other hand, Vortigern and Vortimer told their friends, "that Ambrosius, under pretence of assisting, was come to subdue them: that the archbishop was an ambitious man, who sought to put the crown on the head of Ambrosius, only to get the administration of the government into his own hands, than which, such was his arrogance, nothing should be more dreaded by the Britons: that they must willfully shut their eyes not to see, that the designs of these two heads of their party, were directly opposite to the good of the kingdom: that instead of marching their fresh troops against the Saxons, they had done nothing since their arrival, but caballed with the people, and taken measures to oppress those that were in arms for the defence of their country."

They accuse
Ambrosius
of aspiring
to the
crown.

Civil war
among the
Britons.

458.
Battle of
Catgwaloph
Bede, lib. i.
cap. 22.
Hunting.
lib. ii.

The mutual animosity of the two parties was so violent that they soon came to blows, each preferring his private to the public interest. The first battle was fought near Catgwaloph in Carmarthenshire. As it is difficult from the confused accounts of historians, to know on which side victory inclined in this and several other engagements, I shall only observe that the civil wars lasted till the year 465, to the great weakening of the Britons, whilst the Saxons had time to strengthen themselves both in Kent and beyond the Humber. To so wretched a state were the Britons at last reduced, that numbers of them, harrassed one while by the civil war, another while by the Saxons, abandoned their native country, where they could no longer subsist.

A band of
Britons flee
into Holland
Job. Leyden

A Dutch writer informs us, that some of those unfortunate wretches going on board of a galley, and rowing towards the mouth of the Rhine, landed at Catwick near Leyden, where they settled by the sea-side in an old Roman camp, to which they gave the name of Brittanburg.

^s Perhaps the town now called Kydwell; Lat. Catguilia. Lambard's Dict. Topogr.

Thus

Thus Britain, for seven or eight years, suffered all the calamities of a civil war. At length the wisest of both parties considering their dissension would be the cause of their common ruin, made up the breach by parting the kingdom between the contending princes. The two British kings had the eastern, and Ambrosius the western part, divided from one another by the Roman high-way, called afterwards Watling-street^t. From hence may be dated the beginning of the reign of Ambrosius.

The Saxons, upon the union of the two parties, joined their forces also. In the first engagement, Hengist lost Wipped, one of his principal officers, from whom the field of battle was called Wipped's-*fleet*^u. Here the British and Saxon historians, according to custom, give us contradictory accounts. The last say, their countrymen obtained that day a signal victory. Whereas the others affirm, that Vortimer, who commanded the army, routed the Saxons, and compelled Hengist a second time to fly into Germany. But it appears by what followed, that the advantage was on the side of the Saxons. I will even venture to say, contrary to the opinion of some noted historians, that in all likelihood Hengist never returned to Germany. Not so much as one author marks either the time or place of his second landing, though they were no less necessary to be observed than those of his first.

In this war it was, that the famous Arthur, at fourteen years of age, made his first appearance in the British armies, under Ambrosius. His inclination for war made him take upon him betimes the profession of a soldier, which he never quitted during his life. He succeeded Gorbodach his father in the kingdom of Danmonium^w in 467. He was no sooner on the throne, but he had a war to maintain against Howel king of Arcleuth^x, in the neighbourhood of Scotland. This prince is said, out of envy to the glory Arthur had acquired, to enter

^t The Romans, for the more convenient going from colony to colony, had their publick highways called *Vie Conulares*, *Prætorie*, *Regie*, &c. but by Bede and the moderns *Strate*, or *Streets*. (Hence the many *Strettons*, i. e. *Towns on those Streets*). There were four in England, *Watling-street*, *Ikenild-street*, *Ermin-street*, and *Foss-way*. Two of these ways are extended cross the breadth of the kingdom, the other two through the length of it. The tracts of these four ways, are, and have been, for many ages, very obscure; and it is not yet sufficiently cleared, where any of them

distinctly went. Brady, p. 45. Hist. Eng.

^u *Wippedi fluëntium*. See Glossar. Saxon. In all probability Ipswich in Suffolk. See Langhorn. Camden thinks it was in the isle of Thanet, but that could not be. Rapin.

^w Cornwall and Devon. There were several petty kings dependant on the chief monarch. Rapin.

^x Or *Alclud*. This kingdom contained part of Cumbræ land and Lenox. Dunbritton was afterwards the name of the capital. Camd. p. 918.

470.
Pritæus
Hist. Brit.

into an alliance against him with the Saxons in the North. But instead of lessening his reputation, he served to increase it considerably. Arthur beating him back to the isle of Mona, gave him battle, and slew him with his own hand. He gained this victory in 470, being then about eighteen years old. We shall see him hereafter signalizing himself by actions more glorious, as well as more beneficial to his country.

473.
The fourth
battle be-
tween the
Saxons and
Britons.
Flor. Wi-
gorn.
Vortimer
dies.
Sax. Ann.

The war continuing between the two nations, a battle lost by the Britons in 473, put their affairs in extreme disorder, and gave the Saxon prince opportunity of enlarging his territories. At length Vortimer, the principal promoter of the war, died in 475, poisoned, as some say, by Rowena his mother-in-law, through the suggestion of Hengist. The British historians would fain make, at any rate, a hero of Vortimer, by attributing to him many signal victories over the Saxons. But the growth of these last in power and dominion, notwithstanding their pretended defeats, is a clear evidence, that the advantages of Vortimer were neither considerable, nor even real. His death brought some quiet to Britain, if a deceitful calm, that proved the ruin of the Britons, may be so called.

Treaty of
peace be-
tween the
Saxons and
Britons.

After a twenty years war, both sides began to shew an inclination for peace, which Vortimer had always strenuously opposed, fearing when the war was over with the Saxons, he should be obliged to begin another with Ambrosius, who had the hearts of the people, and could hardly bear to see Vortigern and his son on the throne, though deprived of half their dominions. The peace was concluded, on condition each party should keep what he possessed. Hengist, who had entertained hopes of conquering all Britain, was not a little concerned to find himself so much disappointed. He comforted himself however with the thoughts of doing by policy, what he could not effect by force.

Reflections
on the resist-
ance of the
Britons.

When we reflect on the weakness and dispiritedness of the Britons before the arrival of Hengist, it must be surprizing to see them able to stand against the Saxons in the first war, which lasted so long. Those very Britons, who after the departure of the Romans, scarce dared to look the Picts and Scots in the face, successfully defended themselves against both Saxons and Picts: nay, they even frequently ventured to attack the Saxons in the height of their strength, and put them in fear of losing the county of Kent, delivered to them by Vortigern. And if they could not wrest it from them, at least they prevented them from enlarging their conquests. A long war

teaches at length the most unwarlike nation the use of arms, and very often enables them to repair in the end the losses they sustained in the beginning. Had the Saxons invaded Britain at first with a numerous army, in all appearance they would have conquered the whole in a very little time. But sending over only a small number of supplies, they spun the war out to a great length, and by that means taught the Britons a trade, which the Romans had done all they could to make them forget. Of this, there have been many other instances. It may be said perhaps, that whilst they defended themselves in the South, they lost ground in the North. But it must be considered, the country beyond the Humber was lost to them, before the coming of Hengist, and that the Saxons took it from the Picts and Scots, and not from the Britons. We are ignorant of what Osta and Ebusa did during this long war. It is to be supposed they assisted Hengist by frequent diversions, and even sent him supplies by sea, which they could not do by land, because of marching through the enemy's country.

Hengist, after all his hopes of becoming master of Britain, saw himself with extreme regret reduced to the kingdom of Kent. He had acquainted the Saxon princes in Germany, that, provided they sent him supplies, he could easily procure them a lasting settlement in the island. And yet after twenty years war, he found there was but little appearance of his being as good as his word. The falling off of Vortigern, and the valour of Ambrosius, joined to a conduct which equalled him to the most famous generals, seemed to lay invincible obstacles in his way. However, he was resolved not to give over his design, but endeavour to do that by fraud which he could not accomplish by force. To this end he contrived a plot, that by its blackness sullied the glory of all his former actions. As soon as the peace was concluded, he pretended to be highly pleased with it, and behaved in such a manner as showed he had no design of enlarging his conquests. The Britons, charmed with this seeming moderation, were easily comforted for the loss of Kent, imagining they knew the worst, and, perhaps, hoping one day to meet with a favourable juncture to recover it again. In the mean time, not to provoke a prince whose valour they had so often experienced, they lived in an amicable manner with him. In short, their animosity against the Saxons by degrees entirely vanished. Hengist omitted nothing to keep them in a security, which would lead them into the snare he was preparing for them. He let them know, his intention being to live in perfect union with them, he should be glad from time to time to keep up the good understanding

Hengist bar-
barously
murders 300
Britons.
G. Monm.
Nennius.
Malmsh.
M. Westm.

G. Malmsh.
G. Monm.

Vortigern is
forced to
give up a
large coun-
try to Hen-
gist.

His subjects
abandon
him, and go
over to Am-
brofius.

476.

Ambrofius
assumes the
title of em-
peror.

between the two nations by parties of pleasure. Vortigern, a passionate lover of such diversions, joyfully accepted his proposal, and went so far as to pay him the first visit, accompanied with 300 of his principal subjects. Hengist received them seemingly in a very respectful and cordial manner, which charmed the British lords. His entertainment was splendid, and nothing was wanting to divert them. But towards the end of the feast, the scene was changed. Hengist had ordered matters so, that having artfully raised some subject of dispute, at a certain signal given, the British lords were all murdered². Vortigern, because Hengist had need of him, was only made prisoner. In vain did he complain of this base treachery; he could not obtain his liberty without delivering up to the Saxons a great tract of land bordering upon Kent, with which Hengist enlargest his narrow territories. This was afterwards divided into three provinces, called by the Saxons, Suffex, Essex, and Middlesex; which names they retain to this day. Moreover, not content with this acquisition, Hengist ravaged the neighbouring country in a merciless manner, and became master of London, Lincoln, and Winchester.

The indignation of the Britons at this barbarous action was so great, that they could not look upon a Saxon without horror. But this fatal event was attended with farther consequences. Vortigern, as he had given his subjects, more than once, cause to think him a friend to the Saxons, was reckoned an accomplice in the massacre, since he alone was spared. And therefore they all deserted him, and acknowledged Ambrosius³ for their sovereign, except a few friends, who were of little service to him in his sinking condition.

Ambrosius, as soon as he saw himself sole monarch of the Britons, assumed the imperial purple, after the manner of the

² The signal was, Nimes eue Seaxes, (i. e.) Pull out your Daggers. Stillington doubts the truth of this fact, because Witechird relates one like it that happened in Germany. But it might be repeated in Britain. Rapin. This massacre was committed on the 1st of May. Higd. In memory of it, Ambrosius is said to have built Stonehenge near Salisbury. G. Monm. lib. viii. As it has been justly wondered at how stones of twenty or thirty tons could be raised so high as they are, it will not be amiss to give the reader Mr. Rowland's Hypothesis in his *Mona Antiqua*. Small mounts were thrown up with sloping sides and level at the top. Up

these sides, with great leavers and pulleys by little and little, they rolled and heaved up the stones they designed to erect; then laying them along on the top of the hillock, they dug holes in the earth at the end of the stones, as deep as the stones were long, into which they let them slip straight on ends with their tops level with the tops of the mount; then placing other stones upon these, and taking away the earth almost to the bottom of the supporters, there appeared what we call Stonehenge, Rollrick or Cromlech.

³ Baronius confounds Ambrosius Aurelianus, with another Aurelian. Rapin.

Roman

Roman emperors, creating at the same time Prince Arthur, who had signalized himself in the war by many brave actions, a Patrician ^a. Could Britain have been saved, it would doubtless have been so by these two great princes, who had all the qualities of the most celebrated heroes in an eminent degree. But its fate was determined. This noble country was destined to undergo an extraordinary revolution, and become a prey to the Saxons. All that Ambrosius and Arthur could do was to put off its ruin for a time.

Mean while, Hengist was not a little perplexed to see his country quite dispeopled: for the inhabitants refusing to live under a prince that had given such evident proofs of his treachery and cruelty, retired in crowds into the other provinces; so that his new dominions were of no use to him, there not being hands enough to cultivate the lands. In this perplexity, he resolved to send for Ella, a Saxon general, from Germany, promising part of the territories granted him by Vortigern. Ella received the offer with joy, and shortly after arrived in Britain, with his sons Baldulphus, Colgrin, and Cissa an infant. He landed his troops at Whitering in Suffex, but not without opposition. The inhabitants of the country rising to prevent his entrance, he became not master of the shore till after a long battle. At length he drove the Britons as far as the forest of Andredswald ^b, at that time 65 miles in length, and 30 in breadth. The retreat of the Britons gave the Saxons opportunity to settle by degrees along the coast and towards the Thames. During the nine years they were employed in extending their conquests in those parts, they had continual wars with the Britons, the particulars whereof are unknown: We are told, that the Saxons settled all along the southern coast, were called Sud or South Saxons, and their country Suffex. Hengist took care to strengthen himself in the best manner he could, in the rest of the country given him, and planted colonies of his own countrymen. Those that were seated to the east were called East Saxons, and their country Effex. The country between Effex and Suffex, was termed Middlefex. As for Kent, it retained its ancient name, the only one perhaps the Saxons did not alter.

Hengist having thus settled matters, gave those foldiers, that desired it, leave to return into Germany. At their arrival on

Hengist invites over more Saxons.

477.
Ella arrives in Britain. Fab. Æthelw. Flor. Wigorn. H. Hunting. lib. ii. Sax. Ann.

Suffex.

Effex. Middlefex.

^a P. Arthur must have been created to Britain: Rapin. See Nicholson's a patrician by Ambrosius, since there was then no other emperor in the west. ^b Andredswald, as Camden says, was 120 miles long. It is now called Weild then in Italy, had never any pretensions or Wild. Cam. p. 166.

Jo. Doufa.

the continent, they built the castle of Leyden, which is ascribed to Hengist himself by a Dutch Poet, as well as by several others, who were of opinion that he went back into Germany ^c.

Nine years
rest from
war.

The Britons were not then in a condition to think of recovering the provinces usurped by the Saxons. Harassed by almost continual wars for sixty years together, it was time to breathe a while. However, they were grieved to see the Saxons so firmly settled in the country, and in a capacity of strengthening themselves, by the conveniency of sending, whenever they pleased, for fresh supplies from Germany. But they were forced to be patient, 'till their almost quite exhausted forces were repaired. Accordingly, without any previous truce or treaty of peace, both sides lay quiet for nine years. Hengist, no less than the Britons, had need of some respite, to put the affairs of his kingdom in order. During this interval, Ella gained ground, the Britons not daring to oppose him, for fear of giving Hengist a pretence to renew the war, which it was their design to avoid.

The Britons
solicit Ambrosius to
take up
arms.
G. Monm.

The Britons having had time to recover their strength, began to solicit Ambrosius to take up arms. They represented to him, "That the longer the Saxons were left in quiet, the stronger they grew: That since the war ceased, Britain abounded with young soldiers, fit to fight for their country; if this opportunity therefore was let slip, they might perhaps expect another in vain." Ambrosius told them, "He was convinced, as well as they, of the necessity to exert their utmost to expel the foreigners, but there was no hopes of succeeding as long as Vortigern was alive; that although he was old, and in appearance incapable of acting, he had a powerful party, that would not fail of raising new disturbances as soon as the war broke out: That they had found by fatal experience, ever since the arrival of the Saxons, he had always favoured them." In fine, "He put them in mind, that all their losses were owing to their divisions," and as these divisions still prevailed, it was to no purpose to expect any better success." He concluded with saying, "They had but one of these two ways to take, either to let the Saxons remain in quiet till Vortigern's death, or to rid themselves of that domestick enemy, and unite their forces against the foreigners." Such was the hatred of the

^c The mighty Hengist, if we credit fame,
On circling Arches rais'd this stately pile;
O'er British seas, when he in triumph came,
And brought new laurels from the conquer'd isle. Doufa.

generality

generality of the Britons against Vortigern, that they resolved immediately upon the latter of the two methods, and with one consent, prepared to put their resolution in practice with all possible secrecy and expedition. Vortigern so little expected to be attacked, that he was like to have fallen into the hands of Ambrosius. He had but just time to throw himself into a castle in Wales, where he was not very secure. Ambrosius willing to complete his work, instantly went and besieged him, being resolved not to let him escape. During the siege, the castle, whether by accident, or the engines of the besiegers, taking fire, was burnt to ashes, and the unfortunate Vortigern perished in the flames. This was the end of that prince, advanced to a great age, after a troublesome reign of forty years. He had, besides a daughter, three sons by his first wife, Vortimer, Catigern slain in a battle with the Saxons, and Pascentius, of whom I shall speak hereafter. By his daughter, whom he debauched, he had a son named Faustus, who passed his life in a monastery, where he was distinguished for his piety.

The arms of the Britons are turned against Vortigern.

485.

The death of Vortigern. G. Monm. Nennius. M. Westm.

Ambrosius being thus rid of a very formidable, as he ever thought, and hated rival, renewed the war against the Saxons, which had been interrupted by the weakness of both parties, and the divisions of the Britons. The particulars of this war, after its renewal, are very imperfectly known: but considering the valour and activity of the two generals, it may be supposed to have been very sharp. Historians relate but one remarkable event, namely, the signal victory obtained by Ambrosius, in the year 487, over Ella, and his two eldest sons. This is properly the first victory the Britons could indisputably boast of, whatever their historians say to the contrary. This defeat obliged the Saxon general to retire to his strong holds, in expectation of fresh supplies, sent for from Germany.

Ambrosius renews the war, and defeats Ella in 487. Sax. Ann. Huntingd.

Hengist lived not to see the end of this war. He died in 488, aged about sixty-nine, of which he had passed thirty-nine in Britain, and thirty-three on the throne of Kent. He cannot be denied the glory of being one of the bravest and most prudent generals of his time. It were to be wished for the English, that the founder of their monarchy had not, as I may say, cemented his throne with the blood of so many British lords, whom he treacherously murdered. An action that must leave an indelible stain on his memory. Had it not been for this, his reputation would have been uncommon,

Hengist dies 488. Nennius. Flot. Wigorn. W. Malm. H. Hunting. Ran. Cef-trensis.

d Some British or Welch writers tell us, Hengist was taken prisoner and beheaded by the Britons. G. Monm. M. Westm. But the Saxons unanimously assure us he died a natural death. Rapin.

since by his conduct and valour he happily accomplished a design, the execution whereof was extremely difficult. Besides Kent, given him by Vortigern, and considerably enlarged by the acquisition of Essex and Middlesex, he was in possession of some lands in Lincolnshire, where he built Thong Castor. The Saxons beyond the Humber acknowledged him for their sovereign. He left two sons, Efcus who succeeded him in the kingdom of Kent, and Andoacer who staid in Germany.

His issue.

Efcus king
of Kent.
Sax. Ann.
G. Monm.

After the defeat of Ella, about a year before the death of Hengist, Efcus was sent into the north, to assist Osta and Ebusa against the Britons. But as soon as he had notice of his father's death he hastened to Kent to take possession of the kingdom. In the mean time Ambrosius improving his victory, retook London, Winchester, and Lincoln, seized by the Saxons, after the massacre of the British nobles. Efcus, wanting the qualities of his father, never endeavoured to recover these places, but preferred his ease before the fatigues of war. In all probability he obtained a truce, since in the three following years, there is no mention of any hostilities on either side.

490.
Arthur goes
to Jerusa-
lem.
Nennius.
H. Hunting.
lib. ii.

During this calm, Arthur, who had all along assisted Ambrosius, finding his presence was not absolutely necessary in his own country, made a voyage to Jerusalem. Ambrosius, in the mean while, by the assistance of Samson bishop of Dol, whom he had sent for from Armorica, and made archbishop of York, regulated the affairs of the church, that were in extreme disorder by reason of the foregoing wars.

491.
Ella besieges
Andred-
Chester.
H. Hunting.
lib. ii.
Sax. Ann.

The truce or discontinuance of the war lasted but three years. The Northumbrian Saxons beginning to stir in 491, Arthur, who was returned from his voyage, marched against, and defeated them. At the same time Ella having received a strong reinforcement from Germany, went and besieged a strong reinforcement from Germany, went and besieged

Andred-Chester, situated in the forest of Andredswald. The resistance of the besieged, and an army of the enemy posted on an advantageous ground, made him lose a great deal of time. But at length, after a vigorous defence, the town was carried by storm, and entirely destroyed. Immediately after this, Ella assumed the title of king of Suffex, or of the South-Saxons, which he durst not do whilst Hengist was alive. This second Saxon kingdom contained the present counties of Suffex and Surrey. Ella was also elected monarch or general of the Saxons in the room of Hengist. For it must be ob-

He takes the
title of king
of Suffex.

Is elected
monarch.

e In Latin, Anderida. In the reign of Somner takes Anderida to be Pemsey or Edw. I. a little town called Newenden Hastings in Suffex. Hist. of Rom. was built in the same place. Rapin. Forts,

served,

served, although Hengist was only king of Kent, yet was he considered also as head of all the Saxons, according to the custom of that nation in Germany, where, in time of war, they had always their general in chief, accountable only to the states. This custom the Saxons continued in Britain, and always elected a general, whom some writers stile Monarch, because, as we shall see hereafter, he was head over several kings. In all appearance, Hengist's son thought himself incapable to discharge this high office, since he suffered Ella to be invested with it.

About two years after, Arthur defeated the Northumbrian Saxons again, on the banks of the river Dugles ^f, where he had routed them three years before. 494.

The year 495 was very remarkable for the arrival of Cerdic, a Saxon general, not only upon the account of his conquests, but chiefly because from him the kings of England are descended, in the male line, down to Edward the Confessor, and in the female, down to the illustrious prince who now sits on the throne. If we trace him higher, we find, by the Saxon Annals, that he sprung from Woden, the root of all the principal families of the Saxons. He was famous also for founding a kingdom to which all the rest in the end became subject, and consequently, he is to be looked upon, if not as the first, at least as one of the principal founders of the English monarchy. This warlike prince having acquired great reputation in Germany, and finding no farther employment there, resolved to seek his fortune in Britain, where he knew many families of his nation had already established themselves. To that purpose he equipped five vessels, and taking his son Cenric, advanced to man's estate, with him, now sailed for Britain. 495.

Ella, as I said, brought with him his three sons Baldulph, Northumb-berland divided into
Colgrin, and Cissa, who was very young; and the two eldest
treading in their father's steps, bravely assisted him. They are
called by some Cismenius and Plentigus ^g. Osta, commander
of the Saxons in the north, having been frequently defeated
by Arthur, and perceiving himself too weak to guard all his
conquests, had divided them into two parts, of which the
southern was called Deira, and the northern, Bernicia. He
had committed the care of the first to Baldulphus and Colgrin,
reserving Bernicia to himself to defend it against the con-
tinual attacks of the northern nations. Colgrin, after the last

^f In Lancashire near Wiggin.

^g So called by British writers, but
by the English ones, Cymen and

Pleting, from whom Cymethore in
Sussex. Rapin.

defeat of the Northumbrians, by Arthur, had shut himself up in York, where Arthur immediately went and besieged him. Nevertheless Baldulphus having been informed of Cerdic's design of coming to Britain, was gone into Norfolk to expect his arrival, and favour his landing. But Cerdic's arrival being delayed by some accident, Baldulphus marched back towards York, with intent to relieve it. He was met upon the way by Cador, nephew to Arthur, who defeated him, and dispersed his army in such a manner, that he was forced to make his escape all alone, disguised like a peasant^a. In that dress he safely reached the walls of York, and making himself known, was drawn up by a rope. The news he brought of Cerdic's being about to arrive from Germany with powerful supplies, instilling new life into the besieged, they continued to make a vigorous defence. Arthur pushed the siege briskly, in expectation of taking the town before the arrival of the Saxon prince. All this while Cador was in Norfolk, ready to oppose the landing of the Saxons. But before Arthur had made any considerable progress in the siege, he received the ill news of Cerdic's landing at Yarmouth^b, and beating the forces sent against him. Upon which he raises the siege, and retires to a place of security, till he could learn the exact number of the Saxons, which fame had greatly multiplied. Baldulph and Colgrin marching out of York, committed great devastations in Lancashire, whilst the Britons were dismayed and terrified at the arrival of Cerdic. So great was their terror, that Arthur thought fit to keep at a distance from the Saxons for some time, for fear of not being able to inspire his troops with resolution enough to face these formidable enemies. But this was not all that followed upon the arrival of Cerdic.

Cerdic arrives and defeats Cador.

Arthur raises the siege of York.

496.
Pascientius revolts.
Geoff. Mon.
Neon.

But is defeated by Arthur.
Mat. West.

Pascientius, son of Vortigern, having long concealed his secret disgust at not having any of his father's dominions assigned him, laid hold of this juncture to obtain what he thought his due. With the assistance of those that, like him, were displeased with the advancement of Ambrosius, he drew some forces together, and being joined by Baldulph and Colgrin, was reinforced by many of his friends in Wales. Ambrosius being grown sick and old, Arthur, took upon him to chastise the rebel, and marching against him,

^a Like a harper, says Geoff. Mon. lib. ix. cap. 1.

^b He landed at a place called Cerdic's-Ora. Sax. Ann. which, accord-

ing to Camden, was near Yarmouth in Norfolk; but according to others, near Southampton. See Bp. Gib. Gloss. at the end of Sax. Ann.

gave him battle, and entirely routed him near the little river Dugles^k.

The next year, Arthur in the same place gained another 497- victory, and so warmly pursued the British prince, that he forced him to submit and sue for pardon. Palscentius got more by his submission, than by his arms. For besides his pardon, it procured him the possession of Brecknock and Radnor^l in Wales, which being erected into a kingdom, his posterity enjoyed it for many years. I imagine that his father Vortigern's private demesns lay in those parts, and that Ambrosius did but give him the lands belonging to his family before Vortigern was king. If he invested him with sovereignty, it was only to give him some satisfaction concerning his pretensions to the crown of Britain.

About this time the Saxons in the north conquered the little kingdom of Galway^m from Galvan, nephew of Arthur. This country, now part of Scotland, had remained in the hands of the Britons, and withstood the continual attacks, as well of the Saxons as Picts. Galvan having lost his dominions, retired to his uncle Arthur, to whom he was very serviceable in his wars.

Shortly after, Porta lands at Portlandⁿ, so called from him, with fresh supplies of Saxons from Germany. This at a time the Saxons began to be superior, obliged Arthur to quit the field and retire to London. Though he had generally the better of the Saxons in all the encounters, yet his troops were considerably diminished; whereas the enemy's forces were continually increasing by fresh recruits from Germany. Nay, whole bodies, under the conduct of famous leaders, came over to Britain, in order to procure a settlement, or for the sake of plunder only. Arthur, who had not the same supplies, would have been reduced to extremity, without the assistance of Hoel, king of Armorica, his nephew. This young prince, greedy of glory, and glad of an occasion to signalize himself in the service of his uncle, put himself at the head of 15000 men, and landed at Southampton. With this aid, Arthur went and attacked the Northumbrians, grown formidable by the valour of Baldulph and Colgrin, their leaders, and meeting them in Deira, obtained a complete

^k Near Wiggin in Lancashire, or by the river Dog or Due in Lincolnshire. Tyr. p. 135.

^l In British Bwett, and Vortigern Maur.

^m In Latin, Gallovidia, G. Malm. calls it Walvitha and Walvertha.

ⁿ The Sax. Ann. and Huntingdon, p. 312. and Mat. Westm. p. 182. say, he landed at Portsmouth with his two sons, Bieva and Mæglæ. It does not appear that any writer says he landed at Portland. See Tyrrel.

He is beaten again, and pardoned. Neanius.

Galway conquered by the Saxons.

501. The arrival of Porta. Hunting-Camden. Sax. Ann. Flor. Wig. M. Westm.

Arthur is assisted by the king of Armorica. M. Westm.

Argentre. Hist. de Bret. ch. 33 He defeats the Saxons.

victory over them. The two Saxon brothers, not being in condition to withstand him after their defeat, had no other course to take, but with the remains of their army, to join Cerdic, then besieging Lincoln. But Arthur, fearing the loss of that place, followed them with speed, and surprised Cerdic in so sudden a manner, that not being able to continue the siege, or raise it, without danger, he was constrained to hazard a battle^o, which proved fatal to the Saxons. Cerdic being defeated, was forced to betake himself to the forest of Celidon, where having suffered great hardships, he at length found means, though with great difficulty, to retire towards the western coasts. Some historians assure us, that seeing he must inevitably perish if he staid in a place where he could neither have provisions, nor hope for assistance, obliged himself by a treaty with Arthur, to return into Germany with the remains of his troops. They add, that being embarked with intent to perform his promise, he altered his mind at sea, and came and landed at Toston^p in the west. However this be, Cerdic certainly remained in the island, and lay quiet for some time, having lost in the battle above 6000 men.

After Cerdic's defeat, all the Saxons were equally concerned to oppose the progress of Arthur, who, like an able general, wisely improved his victories to the utmost. The dread he struck them with, made them resolve to unite all their forces, and endeavour to retrieve their affairs. They were sensible that by dispersing their forces in several parts, they endangered in one place what they had got in another, which was never the way to procure a lasting settlement. Wherefore Euseb king of Kent, Ella, king of Sussex, Cerdic, Porta, the northern Saxons assembled all their troops, and conferred the command in chief on Cerdic. The infirmities and old age of Ella, who had been monarch ever since 492, were probably the cause of his not heading the army at this time. Cerdic having divided his troops into two bodies, gave the command of the least to Baldulph and Colgrin, and headed the other himself with his son Cenric. While the Saxons were employed in making preparations, the Britons were exerting their utmost to raise an army capable of withstanding so powerful enemies. In this so pressing an occasion, where they had need of all their forces, those that could bear arms

And beats Cerdic.

G. Malmsh. Nennius. H. Hunting. lib. ii. Polychr. lib. v. cap. 6. Gal. Mon.

H. Hunt. lib. ii. Polychr. lib. v. cap. 6.

Great preparations on the side of the Saxons,

and Britons.

Nennius. H. Hunting.

^o By the river Bassas, which is supposed to run by Boston. Tyrr. p. 135.
^p Probably Totness, for Geoff. Monm. says, lib. ix. cap. 3. "Totone-

sum Littus adiverunt." And "in Totonesio littore applicuerunt," says Mat. Westm. p. 136.

came in crouds, and lifted themselves under their generals : so that it was thought on both sides a decisive battle would quickly ensue. Ambrosius, called here by historians Nazaleod, though very old, and almost past the time of action, could not see all these preparations without having his courage roused, which age seemed to have laid asleep. He put himself at the head of his army, and detached Arthur to follow Baldulph and Colgrin, who were marching towards the west, resolved to go in quest of Cerdic. Arthur, every where victorious, coming to an engagement with the Saxon brothers in Cornwall, obtained a signal victory over them ^q.

Ambrosius
heads the
Britons.

Whilst this great general was causing the arms of the Britons to triumph in those parts, Ambrosius advanced towards Cerdic, who had no thought of retiring. The two armies being engaged, Ambrosius broke through the right wing of the Saxons, commanded by Cerdic, and put them to rout. But whilst he was eagerly pursuing his victory against a body that made but a faint resistance, Cenric had the same advantage over the right wing of the Britons, which he more wisely improved : instead of losing time in pursuing the runaways, he flies to the assistance of his father, and falling upon Ambrosius in flank, puts him in irreparable disorder. By this prudent conduct, he gave Cerdic time to rally his troops, and complete the victory by an entire defeat of the Britons.

580.

The Britons
are defeated,
and Ambro-
sius slain.
H. Hunt.
lib. ii.

Ambrosius, enraged to see the victory snatched out of his hands, did all he could to renew the fight : in spite of age and infirmities, he threw himself among his enemies in order to animate his troops by his example. But all his efforts served only to crown his glorious life with an honourable death. The fall of Ambrosius caused an universal rout among the Britons, who precipitately abandoned the field of battle to their enemies. The success of that day was, by the public acknowledgement of his father, attributed to Cenric. This battle was fought in 588, near a place called by the Saxons, Cerdic's Ford.

Before I proceed any farther, it will be proper to observe, that the name of Nazaleod, given by historians to the British monarch slain in this battle, has made some imagine it was not Ambrosius. But the opinion of Camden and several other good writers, who assert the contrary, is doubtless to be preferred. All the historians agree that Ambrosius fell in battle. Now after the beginning of this prince's reign, there was no

Nazaleod
and Ambro-
sius the
same person.
Camden.
H. Hunting.

^q Near Gainsford, says Dr. Gale, in were five thousand Britons slain with
his notes upon Nennius, p. 131. him. Sax. Annal.

^r Charford in Hampshire. There

THE HISTORY

other battle except this, wherein a British monarch was slain. Besides, historians would not have omitted to mark the time of the death of so famous a prince, had it happened in some other action.

Arthur elected monarch.

Uther de Prim. c. 13
G. Monm.

Uther.
Stillingfleet
Langhorn.

He beats the
Northumbrians.
Camden.

And gains a
victory at
Cadbury.

511.
The battle
of Badon
hill.

Bede.
Langhorne.

Arthur was elected monarch in the room of Ambrosius. He was doubtless the fittest person to command the army, his very name being a terror to the Saxons*. Between Ambrosius and Arthur, some writers place Uther Pendragon, who, they affirm, was Arthur's eldest brother, and both of them sons of Ambrosius. Others say, Arthur was the son and successor of Uther. But they that are most versed in the English history maintain that Uther was only a surname given to the great Arthur on account of his victories, the word being capable of that sense in the old British language.

Arthur, after his coronation at Caerleon, which he had retaken from the Saxons, marched against the Northumbrians, and defeated them on the banks of the little river Ribroyt that runs through Lancashire. This is reckoned his tenth victory over the Saxons. In the mean time Baldulph and Colgrin, invading the western parts, made such devastations, that he was obliged to leave Northumberland, and march against the two brothers. However, he left Hoel his nephew in Bernicia, to oppose the Saxons there, who, though often beaten, were still formidable. His usual success attended him: the Saxon brothers being compelled by him to come to an engagement, were routed near Cadbury in Somersetshire.

Mean while, Cerdic having received fresh supplies from the Saxon princes in Britain, as well as from Germany, laid siege to Bath. Baldulph and Colgrin having joined him also with what troops they could draw together, his army was so strong, that he wished the Britons would attempt to raise the siege. His wishes were accomplished: Arthur, resolving to hazard all to save that place, came and gave him battle, which proved the bloodiest that had ever been fought between the two nations. It lasted from noon till night, without any visible advantage on either side. Both armies kept the field, waiting for day to renew the fight. The Saxons, during the night, posted themselves on a little hill, called Bannetdown, which was of great importance, though it had been neglected by both sides the day before. As soon as it was light, Arthur perceiving the advantage the Saxons had gained by seizing that post, was resolved to dislodge them, which he effected after a long and obstinate fight. The Britons, animated by the pre-

* Arthur signifies a Horrible Bear, or an Iron Hammer, from the British word Arth, a Bear. Still. Orig. Brit.

lence and valour of their king, perceiving the Saxons in retreating down the hill had put themselves in some disorder pressed them still more vigorously, and at last entirely routed them^t. They gained on this occasion a most complete victory. Balnulp and Colgrin, were both slain, and Cerdic, with the remains of his army, retired into an inaccessible post.

An unexpected event gave the Saxons time to breathe, and prevented Arthur from improving his victory. The Picts, who were in alliance with the Saxons, knowing Arthur to be at a distance, and his nephew Hoel sick at Arecalute, resolved to besiege that town, in expectation of taking it before it could be relieved. But Arthur was too quick for them. Instead of pursuing his advantage upon Cerdic, he flew to the assistance of the king of Armorica, and compelled the Picts to raise the siege. The British monarch was so provoked with the Picts for this diversion, which came so opportunely for the Saxons, that he ravaged their country from one end to the other, and would have entirely destroyed it, had not the bishops by their intercession diverted him from his purpose.

During this expedition died Gueniver, wife of Arthur, who was buried in the county of Angus^u. As she had no children, the women of the country fancied all that walked over her grave, would, like her, be barren; for which reason great care was taken to hinder the young damsels from approaching it. Hoel, after this expedition, returned to his own country, the victory of Badon having secured Arthur, for some time, from any attempts of the Saxons. Arthur, in his return from the country of the Picts, made some stay at York, which the Saxons had abandoned after the battle of Badon. His chief intent was to regulate the affairs of the church, which were, from the time the Saxons had been masters of that city, in great confusion.

Elsus king of Kent died in 512, memorable only for leaving his name to all his successors, kings of Kent, who from him were called Elscingians. He was succeeded by his son Osta.

Two years after died Ella king of Suffex, and monarch of the Saxons, having enlarged his narrow territories at the expense of the Britons, during a reign of twenty-three years. His two eldest sons having been slain at Badon, Cissa the youngest succeeded him in the kingdom of Suffex; but the monarchy of the Saxons was conferred on Cerdic.

^t Malmesbury says Arthur slew four hundred with his own hand, p. 7. in 511, seems to be best supported. See Langh. p. 62.
^u Other places the battle of Badon in 520; u In Scotland.
but Langhorne's opinion, who places it

The Picts make a diversion in the north. G. Monm. lib. vii. H. Hunting. lib. ii. Argent lib. ii. Arthur ravages their country. G. Monm. lib. vii.

Arthur's wife dies. G. Malmsh. Fl. Wig. Hest. Boeth G. Monm. lib. vii.

512. Osta king of Kent. G. Malm. lib. i.

514. The death of Ella. M. Westm. Bede, lib. ii. H. Hunting.

514.
Hunting.

Cerdic, ever since the battle of Badon, had lain quiet in his own country, expecting a supply from Germany, which arrived in 514, under the conduct of Stuff and Withgat his nephews *. Upon this he took the field again, and committed great devastations in the country of the Britons. Arthur, though weakened by his own victories, not having the same recruits as the Saxons, made however powerful struggles to oppose the progress of these formidable enemies. The many and bloody battles between the two nations did not decide the quarrel, since victory inclined sometimes on one side, and sometimes on the other. But at length, in 519, Cerdic

519.
Cerdic gains
a great vic-
tory.

defeated the Britons in such a manner, as made them despair of ever driving out the Saxons *. Whereupon Arthur saw himself under a necessity of taking other measures. As he found his army irreparably destroyed, he thought it more prudent to conclude a peace with Cerdic, and grant him a part, rather than hazard the whole, by endeavouring to deprive him of all. This consideration moved him to surrender by treaty a certain tract of land, containing the present counties of Hampshire and Somersetshire. The Saxon prince was pleased with these terms, being desirous, after so long a war, of enjoying some repose in his declining age. As soon as he was in possession of his new territories, he founded the kingdom of Wessex, or of the West-Saxons, so called because it lay west of Kent and Suffex. He was crowned at Winchester, twenty-three years after his arrival in Britain. Thus by his valour and perseverance he procured himself a settlement in the island, as well as his countrymen Hengist and Ella.

Higden.

Cerdic
crowned
king of
Wessex.

Chron.
Rudborn.
lib. ii.

Arthur took this opportunity to rebuild some of the churches destroyed by the preceding wars, and to repair, as far as lay in his power, the damages religion had hitherto sustained.

527.
Ercheawin
first king of
Essex.
Huntingd.
lib. ii.

From the time Hengist had peopled Essex and Middlesex with Saxons and Jutes, they had been governed by a deputy under the king of Kent. But in 527, Erchenwin, descended from Woden, assumed the title of king of Essex, or of the East-Saxons. This kingdom lying eastward of the other three, contained the two counties of Essex and Middlesex, of which London was the capital. Who Erchenwin was, how long he had been in Britain, and what right he had to this new kingdom, historians inform us not. I suppose he was governor under Oeta king of Kent, and taking advantage of his weakness, engaged the people to acknowledge him for king.

w They landed at Cerdic's Ora, with three ships. Sax. Ann. "In occidentali it, in Hampshire. "parte Britannie," with two ships, x At Charford in Hampshire. Sax. says Mat. Westm. p. 184. So that Cer- Annal,

About

About this time, multitudes of Angles, under the conduct of twelve chiefs, all of equal authority, but whose names, except Uffa (of whom I shall have occasion to speak hereafter) are unknown, landed at a port on the eastern coast of Britain, where, without much difficulty, they possessed themselves of some post, those parts being ill guarded by the Britons. In time as they were continually enlarging their conquests towards the west, they compelled the Britons at length to abandon the country along the eastern shore. The Angles, thus situated, had an opportunity of sending from time to time for fresh colonies from Germany, with which they founded a fifth kingdom, by the name of the kingdom of East-Anglia, or of the East-Angles. But as the first chiefs assumed not the title of king, the beginning of this kingdom is generally brought down to the year 571.

The arrival of the Angles.
Bede.

G. Malm.
M. Westm.

They settle on the eastern coast
M. Westm.

During the eight years peace between Arthur and Cerdic, the king of Armorica being disturbed by the rebellion of Frollon, one of his subjects, sent to his uncle Arthur for aid. As Britain was then in a state of tranquillity, Arthur would go in person, and assist the king his nephew. To that end he passes into Armorica, where he revenges Hoel, by slaying Frollon with his own hand in the first battle they fought.

G. Monm.

Arthur was still with Hoel when the Angles arrived in Britain. His absence very probably gave them an opportunity of making greater progress than they would have done, had he been in the country. Cerdic also taking advantage of Arthur's absence, and of the Angles, broke the peace, and made some farther conquests. He was constantly attended by his son Cenric, who bravely seconded him in his undertakings, and by his valour and conduct caused him to gain a signal victory in Buckinghamshire, at a place called Cerdic's Lega, now Cherdsey.

527.
The battle of Cherdsey Hunting.
lib. ii.
Sax. Anni.

Arthur at his return found his affairs in extreme disorder, by reason of Cerdic's new conquests, and the arrival of the Angles. However, perceiving himself unable to renew the war with his enemies, whose number was continually increasing, he chose to make a new treaty with Cerdic. Immediately after this treaty, Arthur is said to assume the title of emperor, of which his seal found at Westminster, is pretended to be a proof. Leland says, he saw the impression of it on red wax, with these words round it: PATR. ARTHURIVS. BRITANN. GALL. GERM. DAC IMPER. that is, "Patricius Arthurius, Britannicus, Gallicus, Germanicus, Daci-

528.
Arthur renews the treaty with Cerdic

Asser.
Arthur.

y Milton confounds this with the battle of Badon-hill. Rusp.

"cus, imperator." These proud titles perhaps were the occasion of ascribing to him so many pretended victories in foreign countries, and of styling him conqueror of the Gauls, Germans, and Dacians. But whether this seal be genuine or not², there is foundation enough for these titles from the exploits now related of this prince. He might be called Britannicus from his being monarch of the Britons: the title of Gallicus might be owing to his expedition into Gaul: the surname of Germanicus was no less proper, since he frequently defeated the Saxons who came from Germany; lastly, his being styled Dacicus might be founded on his victory over the Jutes, who were mixed with the Saxons, and by some have been confounded with the Danes and Dacians. Be this as it will, if he assumed the title of Emperor, as it is very likely, since Ambrosius did the same, the four different times of his attaining to the four several dignities, must be carefully distinguished: 1. He mounted the throne of Danmonium in 467, at fifteen years of age: 2. In 476, he was created patrician by Ambrosius: 3. In 508, he was elected monarch of Britain: 4. In 528, he assumed the imperial purple. These epochs thus distinguished, remove in a great measure, the confusion in the history of this great prince with respect to chronology.

Four epochs of the reign of Arthur.

Arthur returns into Armorica. Monm. vii. Ann. Sax. i. 3. 1. 3.

Hoel, king of Armorica, was enjoying the repose procured him by Arthur, when he heard that the Wisigoths, then in possession of part of Gaul, were preparing to invade his dominions. Wherefore he desired Arthur to come once more in person, to assist him against so formidable enemies, that were already masters of part of Gaul. How necessary soever Arthur's presence might be in his own kingdom, he readily gave Hoel this full proof of his affection and gratitude. As he was like to be detained abroad some time by the affairs of Armorica, he left Modred his nephew, whom he designed for his successor, regent in his absence, at the same time entrusting him with the care of the queen his wife.

320. Arthur takes the field of battle. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330.

Arthur was no sooner gone, but Cerdic, taking advantage of his absence, attacks and subdues the Isle of Wight, destroying almost all the inhabitants in a cruel manner. But this loss was nothing to Arthur, in comparison of what shortly after followed by the treachery of Modred, to whose care he had committed what he held most dear. This traitor, finding the

² There is great reason to suspect its genuineness; very probably it was the invention of some monk of Gloucest. See Nicolson's Hist. Librar. p. 31.

wife

wife and kingdom of Arthur in his power, falls in love with both, and not satisfied with debauching the queen in private, publicly marries her. In order to avoid by a second crime the punishment of the first, he resolves moreover to seize the crown of his uncle, his king, and benefactor. The more easily to accomplish his design, he judges it necessary to make Cerdic his friend, and by his means to gain all the rest of the Saxon princes to his interest. He was sensible it would be very difficult to support himself in his usurpation, if he were immediately forced to engage in a war with the foreigners: besides he could not find a readier or more powerful protection. But the Saxon prince not being of a humour to neglect his own, for the sake of another's affairs, Modred could not possibly obtain this protection without paying dear for it. However, as he had no other way to support himself, he resigns to Cerdic one part of the dominions usurped upon his uncle, and enters into a league offensive and defensive with him. What the Saxon prince got by this treaty, lay extremely convenient for him, and greatly exceeded what was before given him by Arthur: it contained, besides part of Danmonium or Cornwall, the present counties of Berkshire, Wiltshire, Devonshire, and Dorsetshire; this, with Hampshire and Somersetshire, which he was before possessed of, rendered his kingdom much larger and more considerable than the three other Saxon kingdoms already established. The treaty being executed, Modred was crowned at London, those who privately abhorred his treacherous practices not daring to oppose it, for fear of being oppressed, before the return of their lawful prince.

Modred
leagues with
Cerdic.

Ran. Cest.
G. Malmsh.
Antiq.
Glast.
Polychr.
Ricard.
Division.

He is crown-
ed at London

Mean time, Cerdic, after having much enlarged his dominions, was incumbered with his greatness. As most of his subjects were Britons, on whose loyalty he could not wholly rely, he believed it necessary, in order to preserve his new dominions, to people them with Saxon colonies: to that end he sent word into Germany, that all who were willing to come and settle in his kingdom, should meet with encouragement. This invitation induces many of the Saxons and Jutes to embrace the present opportunity. Soon after above eight hundred vessels are seen to arrive, freighted with families, in quest of settlements in Cerdic's new kingdom. These colonies were joyfully received, and planted in habitations, from whence Cerdic took care to drive such Britons as he most suspected, especially from the frontiers. Thus Briton was filled by degrees with new inhabitants, and began to lose the superiority in number she had hitherto had above the foreigners.

Cerdic in-
vites over
more Sax-
ons.
G. Malmsh.
Antiq. Glast
Many Sax-
ons and
Jutes come
and settle
in Britania.

Cerdic
crowned
again.

Advantage-
ous situa-
tion of the
kingdom of
Wessex.

Cerdic pro-
vides against
Arthur.

He gives the
isle of
Wight to
his nephews
Sax. Annal.

534-
The death
of Cerdic.
G. Malm.
lib. i. cap.
6.
Sax. Ann.

He is suc-
ceeded by
Cenric.

Polychr.
lib. vi. c. 4.

Cerdic having settled these new-comers, was crowned a second time at Winchester, the metropolis of his dominions, by the same title of king of Wessex, or of the West-Saxons, that he had before assumed. This ceremony was thought necessary, by reason of the great number of his new subjects, Saxons and Jutes, that were lately added to the old. This kingdom was very advantageously situated, being bounded on the north by the Thames, on the west by the Severn, on the south by the sea, and on the east, by the kingdom of Sussex. As for the Britons, that were still in possession of the greatest part of Danmonium, they could not be very formidable to Cerdic, being divided from the rest of their nation by this new kingdom and the Severn.

Cerdic was but too well acquainted with the valour and activity of Arthur, to imagine he would sit still at his return, and therefore used all his endeavours to put himself in a posture of defence. To that end he repairs all his strong holds, adds new works, and takes all other precautions his prudence suggests to him, not to be surprized when he comes to defend his dominions. Every thing being put in order, he rewarded his nephews Stuff and Withgar, who had faithfully served him ever since their arrival, with the isle of Wight. As in all likelihood they were Jutes, Cerdic, in the distribution of his new colonies, had taken care beforehand to people that little island with their own countrymen.

Thus Cerdic was prepared against the attacks of Arthur, when death took him out of the world in the year 534, sixteen years after his first coronation, and thirty-nine after his arrival in Britain. He must have been of a great age when he died; for thirty-nine years before, Cenric his son was able to assist him in his wars. The time this prince passed in Britain was a continued scene of good and bad success, which served equally to shew his ability to improve his advantages, and to repair with a wonderful readiness, the disorder his affairs were frequently thrown into by the fortune of war. Cenric, his son, the faithful companion of all his labours, succeeded him, in both in the kingdom of Wessex, and also in the monarchy or generalship of the Saxons and Angles. Cerdic's successors were surnamed Gewisshians, from Gewissh, one of their ancestors, famous no doubt in his generation.

The same year died Oeta, king of Kent, after a reign of twenty-two years, wherein nothing remarkable occurs but

a There were many Jutes also in Kent, Essex and Sussex. Rapin. With-
wasburgh, now contracted into Gaeff-
brook, was so named from Withgar, who was buried there. Sax. Ann.

the

the dismembering of the kingdom of Essex, which he, for some unknown reason, did not think fit to oppose. He was succeeded by his son Hermerick.

Arthur, after a four years absence, at length quitted Armoria. We are ignorant of the cause of his long stay there, so very prejudicial to his affairs, which at his arrival were in a desperate condition. Modred was in possession of his throne, and moreover in strict alliance with the Saxons. On the other hand, the Saxons being now masters of a good part of the island, were led by their own interest to support the usurper, and maintain him on the throne. However, Arthur, though broken with age, and almost destitute of friends, resolved to undertake the recovery of his kingdom, and to punish the treacherous Modred. This bold resolution roused the courage of those that dared not at first to declare for him. A great number of officers and soldiers, who could not bear the thoughts of fighting against him that had taught them to conquer, deserted the usurper, and lifted themselves under the banner of their lawful prince. Thus Arthur saw himself on a sudden at the head of an army capable of making Modred uneasy, if not by number, at least by the bravery of the troops, and the valour and experience of the leader. Modred, on his part, omitted nothing for his defence. As he was not ignorant of the people's inclination to his uncle, he had reason to apprehend a general revolt; and therefore had strengthened himself with the assistance of the Saxons; and upon the same account made an alliance with the Picts^b. He easily engaged the Picts to his interest, since they passionately desired to be revenged of Arthur, who had formerly carried fire and sword into their country. Thus Arthur, with a few friends, was forced to stand against the Saxons and Picts, in conjunction with the Britons that sided with Modred. But the want of numbers was supplied by his courage and experience. Though his troops were much inferior to those of his enemy, he found means however to engage him in a very disadvantageous post, and obtain a signal victory. In this action he lost Galvan and Angusel, two princes of his blood, who had faithfully served him both in prosperity and adversity.

Though Modred was defeated, the supplies he received from the Picts and Saxons, soon enabled him to give his uncle a second battle, but with no better success. As the particulars of this war are confusedly delivered, and besides contain no-

535.
Arthur re-
turns,

and defeats
Modred.

537.
Arthur wins
a second vic-
tory over
Modred.

^b He engaged in his party the Scots, leading, according to Geoffrey of Monmouth, lib. xi. cap. 5. Picts, and Irish; so that there was an army of 80,000 men to oppose Arthur's

thing material, it will suffice, I believe, to relate the issue. Modred, though constantly worsted, found means to prolong the war seven years, without Arthur's being able to destroy the usurper, much less retake from the Saxons, what had been surrendered to them. During this war, there happened two eclipses of the sun, which credulous historians have expressly remarked, fancying they were presages of the utter ruin of the Britons, which fell out soon after.

542.
The last
battle,
wherein
Arthur and
Modred
were slain.
G. Monm.
H. Hunt.

The superiority of Modred's forces being balanced by the valour and experience of Arthur, the war had now lasted seven years without any thing decisive. Modred, though several times vanquished, was still at the head of a very numerous army. On the other hand, Arthur, though extreme old, and with an army weakened by the several battles he had given his enemy, supported himself by his great experience in the art of war. At last the fatal blow was given in the year 542. Arthur pursuing his enemy from place to place, drove him to the extremity of Danmonium, where he could not avoid fighting. This last battle was fought by the river Cambalon^c, near Camelford. It proved fatal to the two leaders, as well as to all the Britons, who having lost their best troops, were never after able to stand against the Saxons. During this bloody battle, the uncle and nephew happening to meet, rushed upon one another so furiously, that nothing but death could part them. Modred was slain upon the spot, and Arthur, mortally wounded, was carried to Glasfenbury, where he died, aged 90 years, 76 of which he spent in the continual exercise of arms. Tho' he had reigned but 34 years, yet before he mounted the throne, he had long commanded the British armies under Ambrosius. Some have put an interval of several years between Ambrosius and Arthur, because they were at a loss where to place there Uther Pendragon, whom they will have, at any rate, to be a king different from Arthur. But the best authors are of opinion, that the name Uther, signifying in British a Club, was given to the great Arthur, for the same reason that Charlemain's grandfather was called Martel, or Hammer. As to the surname of Pendragon, it owes its origin, as it is pretended, to Arthur's wearing a dragon on the crest of his helmet.

Arthur's
eucnemium.

Arthur was undoubtedly a great general. It is pity his actions have served for foundation to numberless fables that have been published concerning him: whereas his life was worthy of being recorded by the gravest and most able pen. He is said to have instituted the order of the Knights of the Round

^c Cam signifies Winding in Saxon. It is called also Camel.

Table, so famous in romances. Though this institution has given occasion for many fabulous relations, it is not therefore to be deemed altogether chimerical. For where is the improbability that Arthur should institute an order of knighthood in Britain, when we learn from the letters of Cassiodorus, that Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, instituted one in Italy in the same century?

Such was the love and esteem of the Britons for this hero, that many would never believe he was dead. Nay, there were some for several ages after, who, imagining he was travelled into foreign parts, expected his return^d. This would seem incredible, had there not been, in the sixteenth century, an instance of the like folly with regard to Don Sebastian king of Portugal. It is this perhaps that gave occasion to some writers, desirous of pleasing the Britons to invent Arthur's travels and numberless victories in foreign countries. The titles of Germanicus, Gallicus, Dacicus, assumed by that prince, might serve for foundation to such fictions. These pretended voyages and imaginary victories, have proved an inexhaustible fountain of absurd and ridiculous things, ascribed to him by the writers of romances. Hence it is, that his history has been so disfigured, as to cause many to doubt, whether there was ever such a man as Arthur in the world; and no wonder, for it is impossible to reconcile all the contradictions that occur, in his fabulous history. But if we distinguish truth from falsehood, and reject what favours too much of the romance, we meet with nothing in the life of this hero, unbecoming the character of a great prince. The times of his life and reign are so confounded by these fabulous writers, that they are very difficult to be cleared, and therefore recourse must be had to the four several epochæ's before-mentioned. He was born at Tindagol in Cornwall in 452; or 453, and died in 542. He was buried in the monastery of Glasfenbury, by Gueniver, his second wife. He had too others of the same name, the first died in the country of the Picts, and the third proved false to him. By this last he had a son called Noem, who died an infant. Arthur, when he was about to expire, sent his crown to Constantine his cousin, son of Cadur, and grandson of Ambrosius, declaring him his successor; which must be understood only of

^d Historians assure us, this notion was not entirely rooted out till his tomb was found in the reign of Henry II. 600 years after his death. Rapin. "Occultavit se rex moribundus ne casus tanto infuissent inimici, amiceque

"molestarentur. Unde quoniam de morte Arthuri vel ejus sepultura nihil referant historię, gens Britonum ipsum adhuc vivere prę magnitudine dilectionis contendunt." M. West. p. 192.

Usher de
Prim. &c.
Giral.
Spec. Eccl.
lib. ii. c.
21.

Danmonium, for the monarchy of Britain was extinct by his death. It is pretended, that his body was found whole and entire in Glaffenbury monastery in the reign of Henry II. with the visible marks of ten wounds, one whereof only seemed mortal. But what is said of his stature is unquestionably fabulous, namely, that the distance between his eye-brows was a span, and the rest of his body in proportion. We have the particular names of his arms in the ancient romances. His shield was called Pridwin, his lance Ron, and his sword Calibron. This last was presented in 1191 to Tancred king of Sicily, by Richard I. king of England.

Reg. de Flav.

Causes of
the weak-
ness of the
Britons.

After Arthur's death, by whose valour and experience the affairs of the Britons had been supported, they were no longer able to resist the Saxons. Indeed, the Saxons had been great sufferers too in the frequent battles between the two nations: but the circumstances of the two parties were unlike. Whatever loss the Saxons sustained, it was soon retrieved by means of their continual supplies from Germany. But it is easy to perceive, the Britons, being destitute of foreign aid, must have been drained by the incessant wars they had maintained since the departure of the Romans. Nay, they could not make use of all the soldiers Britain might have supplied them with; for many of their countrymen seeing no end of their miseries, were fled for refuge to the Picts, or into Armorica. Such numbers retired to Armorica, that by their junction with the British families long before settled there, they became more numerous at last than the natives. Hence it is pretended, that this province of Gaul, called Armorica, that is, Maritime, by reason of its situation, took the name of Bretagne from the great number of Britons that fled thither. Argentre, who wrote the history of that country, pretends, Armorica was antiently called Bretagne, and that the inhabitants sending colonies into Albion, gave that island the name of their own country*. It is probable indeed, the Armoricans peopled some part of Great Britain; but in all that this author alledges in proof of his assertion, there is no sufficient reason to shew, that, before these colonies, Armorica was called Bretagne, much less, that the Armoricans altered the old name of the island of Albion.

The Britons
give the
name of
Bretagne to
Armorica.
Meyserai,
Abr. Chron.
Tom. VII.

537. As soon as it was rumoured in Germany that Arthur was dead, and the dismayed Britons had neither power nor courage

The arrival
of Ida.
G. Monm.
S. x. Ann.
Flo. Wiv.
H. Hunt. g.
M. weftm.

* The first time we find the name of Bretagne given to Arm^arica, is in the subscription of Manu^ectus to the council of Tours in 463, where he is named

Episcopus Britannorum. After which time it was frequently called Britannia Cismarina, Minor, Celtica, &c. See Concil. Gall. tom. i. p. 126.

to

to defend themselves, great numbers of people resolved to go over and settle in Britain. Ida, by nation an Angle, and descended from Woden, having embarked on board forty vessels many families of his own countrymen, landed at Flamborough in Yorkshire, then in possession of the Northumberland Saxons, who received them as friends. The Northumbrians, so called from inhabiting north of the Humber, had maintained themselves in that country ever since the time of Hengist, and had all along been in some dependence on the kings of Kent. They had often favoured the enterprizes of their countrymen in the southern parts, by frequent diversions, which had several times drawn into the north the arms of Ambrosius and Arthur: but, though frequently defeated, they had however kept possession of these northern countries, without its appearing how they were governed, from the death of Cæta and Ebusa, to the year 547. Ida, when he first arrived in their country, (whether he had made an agreement with them before he left Germany, or they were tired with being in subjection to the kings of Kent, from whom, by reason of their distance, they could expect no assistance) found them ready and willing to obey him. It may be, they were not in a condition to oppose Ida, who had brought with him a strong army. However Ida first king of Northumberland. this be, Ida was acknowledged for sovereign of the Northumbrians, as well as of the Angles his followers, under the title of king of Northumberland^f. The readiness of the Saxons Sax. Annal. Huntingd. G. Monn. Flor. Wigg. M. West. to mix with the Angles, and obey a king of that nation, confirms what I have elsewhere observed, that the Saxons and Angles were in Germany but one and the same people. The name of the Saxons still remains in Germany, whilst that of the Angles is entirely lost; and on the contrary, this latter is perpetuated in Britain, where the former is almost forgotten. Northumberland was the fifth kingdom founded by the Anglo-Saxons. Ida, the first king, was a prince of great fame; and yet, as he established himself without any obstacle, there is but one particular recorded of him in history, and that is, his building the city of Bebbanburgh, so called from his queen Bebba. This city, after many years, was destroyed: however, there still remains the castle of Bamborough.

The memoirs concerning the settlement of the Anglo-Saxons in Britain, are so short and imperfect, that it is impossible to frame from thence a regular history. We must therefore be satisfied with a certain number of facts transmitted to

^f This Ida was the first that took upon him the title of king; yet there were Saxon princes in that country many years before. Tyr. p. 142. Malm. p. 16.

us; by the help whereof, the thread of the history may, in some measure, be pursued.

552.
Cenric re-
pulses the
Britons.
Sax. Annal.

In the year 552; notwithstanding their weak estate, the Britons made an effort to recover part of their lands from Cenric king of the West Saxons, but were repulsed with great loss near Salisbury.

555.
G. Monm.
lib. viii.
cap. 1.

We find also^g that three years after two sons of Modred, by the assistance of the Saxons, attempted to dethrone Constantine, to whom Arthur had bequeathed the kingdom of Danmonium. But Constantine, being better prepared than they expected, not only put them to the rout, but pursued them to Glassenbury, and stabbed them himself in the arms of the abbot, who interceded for them in vain^h.

559.
Ida dies.
Sax. Ann.

Ida, king of Northumberland died in 559, having reigned twelve years. Though the profound peace he enjoyed during his whole reign, gave him no opportunity of shewing his valour, yet all the historians agree, he was a most accomplished princeⁱ. It is pity we have not a fuller account of his life. After his death, Northumberland, for some unknown reason, was divided into two kingdoms. Adda, son of Ida, was king of Bernicia, or the northern part, and Alla, descended from Woden, of Deira, or the southern part: Ida left twelve sons, six by wives and six by concubines, who formed several branches, as may be seen in the genealogy of the kings of Northumberland, which the reader should now and then take a view of, if he desires to understand fully the history of these Saxon kingdoms.

560.
Death of
Cenric.
Bede.
lib. ii. c. 5.

The next year Cenric king of Wessex, and monarch of the Anglo-Saxons, died, after a reign of twenty-six years. The reputation he had gained during his father's life, made it believed he would push his conquests farther. But when he was on the throne, he shewed no signs of ambition, and employed himself wholly in promoting peace and good order in his dominions. He took up arms but once to repel the Britons, who came and attacked him. Of the four sons he left,

^g It is not (as Rapin says) in the Saxon Annals, but Geoffrey of Monmouth, lib. x. cap. 3, 4. and M. Westm. p. 192.

^h Matthew of Westminster says; one of them fled to Winchester, where taking shelter in the church of St. Amphibalus, he was slain before the altar. The other took refuge in a monastery in London; but being found near the

altar was killed. M. Westm. p. 1, 2.

ⁱ Geoff. Monm. lib. xi. cap. 4.

ⁱ "Ida state & moribus integer, puris & desæcatis moribus, multum splendoris generosis contulit natalibus, adeo bello invictus; domi severitatem regiam geruina animi magnitudine temperabat." Malm. lib. i. cap. 3.

Ceaulin, the eldest, succeeded him both in the kingdom of Wessex, and the dignity of monarch of the Saxons.

Ceaulin was no sooner on the throne, but he formed vast projects to enlarge his dominions by new conquests. He was an ambitious prince, who, not content with the prerogatives he was vested with as monarch, considered the other Saxon kings as his vassals, pretending to keep them in a rigorous dependence. As he was sensible it would be very difficult to

obtain the submission he expected from them, he made extraordinary preparations, which alarmed both the Saxon and British princes. The last especially could not but be in extreme consternation, by reason of their deplorable state. After the death of Arthur, they lived in a sort of anarchy. What remained of their country, was cantled out into little independent states, which weakened one another by the discord that reigned among their respective princes. The British historians give such a character of these petty sovereigns, that the nation in general could have but small hopes of assistance from any one, or all of them together. Constantine king of Cornwall, was a cruel and bloody prince, polluted also with abominable lusts. Aurelius Conan, whose kingdom lay eastward of the Severn, was guilty of parricide, and reigned with unheard of tyranny. Vortipore king of Demetia [or South-Wales] was overgrown with pride; he gloried also in having no religion; and persecuting the clergy: Cuneglas, whose dominions were north of Cambria (so the country was called between the Severn and the western sea) was grown old in vice, and famous for his wicked deeds. Maglocun or Malgo, king of Mona or Anglesey, thought of nothing but pillaging his neighbours and subjects, and heaping up riches by rapine and violence. In a word, Britain was in a terrible confusion. After Arthur's decease, every one lived as he pleased, and the authority of the tyrants was in proportion to the license their subjects were suffered to take. These sovereigns were divided among themselves, and, as they had no confidence in one another, could not agree upon proper means to free themselves from the impending calamities. Each therefore pursuing only his own interest, the Saxons were left at liberty to establish themselves upon their ruins.

Ceaulin's preparations, however, roused them a little out of their lethargy, and obliged them to think of their defence. To that end they chose Malgo to command them, purely for the sake of his giant-like stature. But what could this unexpe-

k Arthur's sister's son, who sided with Modred against his uncle. Gild.

rienced

rienced general have done, if the Saxons had united their forces against him? He would have lost, perhaps, in a single battle, what the great Arthur had taken so much pains to preserve. But happily for him and the Britons, the Saxon monarch was possessed with the project of subduing his countrymen first, so turned against the Saxons the arms he should have employed against the common enemy. He could not discover his designs, without incurring the enmity and jealousy of the neighbouring princes. But as no one of them in particular was able to withstand him, his kingdom being much stronger than any of the rest, each dreaded being oppressed, should he declare against him singly. They were therefore by degrees forced to submit to a much greater dependence on their monarch or general, than their laws and customs required. Mean while, they grieved in private to be thus kept under, fearing withal that Ceaulin's designs would extend farther.

564.
Ethelbert
becomes
king of
Kent.
G. Malmsb.
lib. i.

567.

Flor. Wi-
gorn.
Malmsb.

At length, Hermenric king of Kent, dying in 564, Ethelbert, his son and successor, could not bear the proud and haughty proceedings of the West-Saxons, which were the more grievous to Ethelbert, as being a descendant of Hengist, he thought he had a better right to the dignity of monarch than any other prince. Prepossessed with this notion, he resolves to revive the pretensions of the kings of Kent, neglected by his predecessors, and declares war with Ceaulin, not considering the disproportion between his forces and those of his enemy. Ceaulin, disdainful to be attacked by a young prince of so reputation, marched towards Kent with design to prevent him, and meeting him at Wibbandune¹, entirely routed him. Ethelbert being defeated a second time, was totally disabled, and forced to sue for peace. His vexation at so unexpected a disappointment, was increased by the jests of the other princes, who rallied him for his presumption. He had occasion for this lesson, to teach him that courage alone is not sufficient for war, but must be joined with prudence and strength. He improved so much by it, that he afterwards became one of the wisest and most illustrious princes of his nation. This was the first civil war among the Saxons, which was followed by many more, caused by the restless ambition of their princes. As soon as they were out of danger from the Britons, they quarrelled among themselves, with such animosity, that if another Arthur had appeared, the Britons might have recovered all they had lost. But divine providence had otherwise decreed.

¹ Wimbleton in Surry.

Uffa, the only survivor of the twelve chiefs of the Angles before-mentioned, assumed in 571 the title of king of the East-Angles, and his kingdom was called East-Anglia. As this was forty years after his arrival in Britain, he must have been of a great age when crowned. This was the sixth kingdom founded by the Anglo-Saxons ^m.

571.
Uffa first
king of the
East-Angles

Ceaulin was so elated with his success against Ethelbert, that he looked upon the neighbouring Saxon princes as his subjects and vassals. Indeed the king of Northumberland and East-Anglia, being separated from him by a large tract of land possessed by the Britons, had not much to fear from his ambition. But the kings of Kent, Essex and Suffex were forced to submit to him, as superior to each of them in extent of dominions. After this he turned his arms against the Britons, with design to make new conquests. I can't possibly relate the particulars of this war, being very slightly passed over by the historians. They only tell us, that Cutha, brother of Ceaulin, frequently defeated the Britons, and would, in all probability, have very much enlarged his brother's dominions, had not death seized him in the midst of his victories ⁿ.

The ambi-
tion of Ce-
aulin.

He attacks
the Britons:
Sax. Ann.
Flor. Wig-
gorn.
H. Hunt.
lib. ii.

Before this war was ended, Uffa, first king of the East-Angles, died in 578, leaving his crown to his son Titulus.

578.
Titulus.
Flor. Wig.
The Britons
send to the
Scots for
assistance.
Huntingd.
Fordun.

Such was the deplorable condition of the Britons, that the time of their utter destruction seemed to approach. Pressed on the south by the Saxons of Wessex, Suffex and Kent, on the east by those of Essex or East-Anglia, and on the north by the Northumbrians, they were, in a manner, surrounded by their enemies. There was, however, one refuge left, which helped to keep alive, for a while, their faint expectation of being able to withstand so many misfortunes. As the necessity of their affairs had formerly obliged them to send for the Saxons to defend them against the Scots, a no less pressing occasion compelled them at this time, to implore the assistance of the Scots against the Saxons. This resolution being unanimously

^m The kings his successors were from him called Uffings. Hig. p. 224.

ⁿ Anno 571, Cutha defeated the Britons at Bedicanford (Bedford) and took from them the towns of Lygeanburh (Layton Buzzard in Bedfordshire) Aylebury in Buckinghamshire, and Bennington and Eynham in Oxfordshire. Anno 587, Ceaulin and Cutha defeated the three British kings, Commail, Conidan, and Farinmail at Deerham in Gloucestershire, and took from them Gloucester, Cirencester and Bath. Again,

Anno 584, there was another battle between the Britons and Saxons at Ferh-anleagh (Fretherne in Gloucestershire) wherein Cutha was slain; but however the Saxons got the victory. Camd. p. 291. 238. Anno 592, there was another battle between them, wherein the Saxons were beat: it was fought at Wodnesbirne, (Wodensburge or Wan-dike in Wiltshire. Camd. p. 85, 100.) Sax. Ann. Huntingd. p. 315. Malmsh. p. 12. M. Westm. p. 197, 198.

taken,

Aidan
marches to
their assist-
ance,

and defeats
Ceaulin.
H. Hunting-
lib. ii.

Aidan is
vanquished,
and retires
into Scot-
land.

taken; ambassadors were sent to Aidan king of Scotland, to engage him in their quarrel. "They represented to him, that their ruin would infallibly draw on his; for the Saxons had in view no less than the conquest of the whole island, great part whereof was now in their possession: that if these foreigners should at length over-run what remained in the hands of the Britons, the Scots were to expect no better quarter than the Picts, who were already dispossessed of part of their country." To which they added, "That the Saxon monarch was an active and ambitious prince, capable of forming designs, the consequences whereof were to be equally dreaded by all his neighbours, if care were not taken in time to put a stop to his progress." Aidan, prevailed upon by these considerations, puts himself at the head of a powerful army, and joins the Britons, in order to attack the common enemy. Ceaulin having notice of his march, made all possible speed to meet him, with what troops he could assemble. But as the neighbouring kings, his countrymen, were not very forward to lend him assistance, his forces were far from being equal to those of the Britons and Scots. How great soever the superiority of his enemies might be, he courageously attacks them: but, after long disputing the victory, his army, overpowered by numbers, is cut in pieces, his son Cuthwin slain, and himself narrowly escapes. The Britons were so elevated with their success, that they began now to form projects to drive the Saxons entirely out of that island; but they were far from being able to put them in practice. The Saxon princes, though well enough pleased to see Ceaulin humbled, thought it not for their interest to let the Britons and Scots enjoy the advantage they had gained by their victory; and therefore soon put their monarch at the head of a much more numerous army than the former. Upon which, impatient to be revenged, he goes in quest of his enemies, and meets them without delay. In a second battle, he repaired, by a signal victory, his former disgrace, and convinced the Britons of the vanity of their projects. Aidan retiring into Scotland after his defeat, the Britons who saw all their measures broken, thought only of preserving what they had left, content with dividing their country with the Saxons, since they were unable to expell them. But divine justice that had long pursued them, was not yet satisfied. They were still to be reduced to greater distress, and behold the best and richest part of the island taken from them by a nation whom God had chosen for the instrument of his vengeance.

o Some say he was slain in the battle. Scoti-Chr. Buchan. lib. v.

Scarce were the unfortunate Britons recovered from their late consternation; when a great fleet appearing on their coasts, quite sunk their courage. This fleet, the most considerable of any that had come from Germany, brought great numbers of Angles, conducted by Crida a leader of the same nation, of the race of Woden. I have not been able to learn where they landed, but probably it was in East-Anglia, and having marched cross that kingdom, they advanced towards the middle of the island, upon the territories of the Britons, who were unable to oppose their arms. As Crida advanced in their country, disorder and consternation increased among the miserable Britons. Some vainly projected to defend themselves, whilst others sought only to save their goods, their wives and children, abandoning their lands to the Angles. Crida taking advantage of their terror, spread himself far and wide, and becoming master of the field, drove his frightened enemies before him. In vain did they fly to their walled towns; the want of provisions for such multitudes, soon compelled them to surrender at discretion.

584.
The arrival
of Crida,
Huntingd.
Fl. Wig.

who makes
great con-
quests.

The Britons being unable to defend themselves against these new invaders supported by their countrymen already settled in the island, took the only course left them, and retired into Cambria beyond the Severn. They had no other retreat, being pressed on all other sides by the Saxons and Angles. Their flight put Crida in possession of all the country lying between the Humber, the Severn, and Thames, by which he was bounded on the north, west, and south. To the east of him lay the kingdoms of Essex and East-Anglia.

The Britons
retire into
Wales.

Out of all these conquests, Crida formed a kingdom larger and more considerable than any of the other six, by the name of the kingdom of the Middle-Angles. This kingdom was afterwards more generally called Mercia. Crida the first king was crowned in 584.

The found-
ing of the
kingdom of
Mercia.

Cambria not being sufficient to contain so many families, multitudes of miserable Britons fled into Armorica, where great numbers of their countrymen were already settled. Others submitted to the Saxons or Angles, content to become hewers of wood and drawers of water for a wretched subsistence. Those that remained in Cambria, a country defended by nature, kept their ground against all the power of the conquerors, who could not, till long after, extend their conquests beyond the mountains. This little corner of the island, where the Britons were cooped up, was afterwards divided into several petty kingdoms, which were one while separated, another while united, according to the ambition or power of their

The State of
the Britons.

their kings ^p. Here I shall leave the Britons for the future, as making a state by themselves, and having no relation to the history of England, but what is commonly found between two neighbouring nations. It is true, they made from time to time several attempts to recover what they had lost : but their efforts proved ineffectual, as did the endeavours of the Anglo-Saxons to force them in these retreats.

The Saxons
change the
name of
Cambria in-
to Wales,

The Saxons gave the Britons the name of Gwallish, or Wallish, that is, Gauls ; taking them to be, as in all appearance they were, of Gaulish extraction. For this reason Cambria was by them termed Wallish Land ; from whence came the name of Wales, used by the English at this day, and changed by the French into Galles, upon account of their being derived from the Gauls. The Walloons also, and Wallachians, have still kept these names, and in some places in Germany, the Italian tongue is called Welsh, because of Gallia Cisalpina inhabited by the Gauls. As for the name of Cambria given by the native Britons to Wales, I suppose, that before the arrival of the Saxons, the Britons, who call themselves Cumri, or Cumbri, named their country Cambria ; and that after their retreat beyond the Severn, the same name which before was common to all Britain, became peculiar to Wales.

and of Bri-
tain into
England.
Jo. Salisb.
in Polychr.
lib. v. c. 17.

About the same time, the Anglo-Saxons unanimously agreed to call the seven kingdoms in general by the name of England, that is, the country of the Angles. Whether this was done because the Angles were more numerous than the Saxons and Jutes, and possessed the largest and most considerable of the seven kingdoms, or for some other reason, is uncertain. Perhaps Engle-land is only a contraction of Engle-Saxe-land, a name derived from the two principal nations that were settled in Great Britain. But the Picts, Scots, and Irish, were not fond of this change of names. They continued to call the new possessors of Britain, Saxenag, or Saxons, and their country Saxeneage. I suppose, as the Saxons were first known in Britain, the neighbouring nations, accustomed to that name, did not think fit to receive the alteration introduced by the conquerors.

I am very sensible, that the changing of the name of Britain into that of England, is generally ascribed to Egbert king of Wessex, about two hundred and fifty years after the time I am speaking of. But this opinion is founded on the authority of an historian that is far from being infalli-

^p The Angles possessed the kingdoms of Northumberland, Mercia, and East Anglia ; as the Saxons the other four kingdoms on both sides the Thames.

ble ¹. Others, who seem to go on much better grounds, positively affirm, the name of England was given to that part of Britain conquered by the Saxons, a little after their arrival in the island; which may very well be understood of the time immediately following the arrival and conquests of Cerdic. But how is it possible to extend this "little after" to the reign of Egbert, who began not till the year 800 ²?

After the death of Ida, and the division of Northumberland before-mentioned, Alla reigned in Deira, and Adda, eldest son of Ida, in Bernicia; who dying in 563, four kings, all sons or brothers of Ida, successively filled the throne of Bernicia till the year 586, when Athelric, Ida's youngest brother, was placed thereon. But as he was very old, Adelfrid his son held the reins of the government by his father's authority.

In the year 587, Ercewin, first king of Essex, died, after a reign of sixty years, and was succeeded by his son Sledda.

Thus we have run through, in this second book, the most remarkable events that happened in Great Britain, from the arrival of the Saxons to their establishment in the island, during a war of 130 years. We have seen the efforts of the Britons, who, after a resolute defence, were forced at last to give up their country to the very people they called to their assistance. In the following book, we shall see what passed in the Heptarchy, the name given to the seven kingdoms of the Anglo-Saxons, when considered as making but one body under the same government. The Saxons, Jutes, and Angles, who conquered the best part of Britain, looking upon themselves as one and the same people, as they had been in Germany, established a form of government, as like as possible to what they had lived under in their own country. They formed their Wittena-Gemot, or assembly of wise-men, to settle the common affairs of the seven kingdoms, and conferred the command of their armies upon one chosen out of the seven kings, to whom, for that reason, no doubt, some have given the title of monarch, on pretence of his having the precedence and some superiority over the rest. But to me that dignity seems rather to have been like that of stadtholder

¹ Geoffrey of Monmouth.
² John bishop of Chartres says, England was so called from the first coming of the Angles; others from the name Hengist, (a notion probable enough,

says Selden) whose reputation, wars, and government, being first invested by Vortigern in Kent, are above all the other Germans most notable in the British stories, and Harding

He called it Engaste's Land.

Which afterwards was shorted, and called England.

As for the word Englishman, 'tis used seen in the Saxon laws. And Bede, long before Egbert's time, as may be lib. ii. cap. 4. and lib. iv. cap. 1.

Schools of
Dubricius
and Illutus.
Spelm.
Conc. vol. i.
p. 24.

were no less ignorant than corrupted, and that their corruption was chiefly owing to their ignorance. To apply some remedy to this evil, he believed the most beneficial thing he could do for Britain, would be to erect schools for the instruction of youth, and particularly for those that were designed for the service of the church. Pursuant to this pious resolution he founded several, among which those of Dubricius and Illutus were the most famous. Dubricius, bishop of Llan-caff, was made archbishop of Caerleon, and metropolitan of all Cambria. He had two schools where he taught himself, one at Hensland, and another at Mockroft. Illutus taught at Llan-twit, that is, the Church of Illutus. There was also at Bangor, in Cambria, a famous monastery, where youth were educated. It is not to be doubted that these schools of Germanus were of great benefit to Britain, since they afterwards produced many illustrious men, that governed the British churches in the most perilous times. Amongst the advantages the Britons received from the presence of Germanus, some reckon also the change he made in the public service of the church, by introducing the Gaulish rites and ceremonies. This is almost all we know concerning the British church, during the time the Saxons were employed in their conquests. I can only add a few particulars relating to some ecclesiastics famous for their sanctity, who flourished then in the island; with which I shall close my account of the church of Britain, till the conversion of the Saxons give me occasion to speak of the church of England.

St. Patrick. Patrick was one of the most remarkable for the conversion of the Irish, which is generally ascribed to him, though Anatolius and Palladius preached in Ireland before him. In all probability Patrick made the greatest progress, and therefore the Irish did, and still do, reverence him as their apostle and protector. It is proper to observe, that there were three noted men of this name: Patrick the Elder, who died in 449, and is mentioned in the Chronicle of Glaffenbury Church; Patrick the Great, the converter of the Irish, who died in 493, having governed the church of Ireland sixty years; Patrick the younger his nephew, who survived his uncle some years.

Dubricius. Dubricius, bishop or rather archbishop of Caerleon, was illustrious for his piety, learning, and the above-mentioned schools; and lastly, for his synod at Brêvi in Cardiganshire, against the Pelagians^a.

^a Dubricius died in the Isle of Bardsey, in 522.

David, son of a British prince, and successor of Dubricius, ^{St. David,} removed the archiepiscopal seat from Caerleon to Menevia, ^{529.} from him called St. David's. He was noted for his austere life, and his synod at Vittoria, where the canons of Brévi were confirmed. Several miracles are attributed to him, particularly his giving to the Bath-waters the virtues they still retain. He is said to have lived one hundred and forty-six years.

Sampson the Elder and Sampson the Younger. The first ^{Sampson Elder and Younger,} being bishop of Dol in Armorica, was sent for into Britain by Ambrosius, and made archbishop of York. The second, of royal race, was made an archbishop, without any particular see assigned him, with power to perform the archiepiscopal functions wherever he came. The Saxon wars forced him to return home, where he was made archbishop of Dol. He is said, when he left Great Britain, to carry with him several memoirs, that would have given us a more perfect knowledge of the affairs of the British church, had they been carefully preserved.

Cadoc, abbot of Lancarvan, spent his whole income, ^{Cadoc,} which was very considerable, in maintaining three hundred priests. He lived to the year 570.

Patern, of a noble family in Armorica, having studied ^{Patern,} twenty years in Ireland, came and settled in Cambria, where he usefully employed his time in promoting peace among the several princes. He generally resided at Cardigan, where is still to be seen Llan-Badarn-vawr, that is, the Church of the great St. Patern, which for some time was a bishop's seat. Patern died in his native country, where he was so distinguished for holiness of life, that no less than three festival-days were dedicated to his memory.

Petroc, a native of Cornwall, was famous for his piety, ^{Petroc,} and gave name to Petroc-stow, or Padstow, in the same county ^b.

Kentigern, son to a princess of the Picts, was abbot of ^{Kentigern,} Glasgow, from whence he went into Cambria, and founding a religious society, returned to his monastery ^c. His austerities are mightily extolled, and particularly his strict abstinence from flesh.

Asaph, the disciple of Kentigern, wrote his master's life, ^{Asaph,} by whom he was made abbot of the monastery founded in Cambria: he lived to the year 590, and left his name to the city of St. Asaph.

^b He was buried at Bodmin. ^c And there died in 560. Harp. cap. 28.

Columba.

522.
Usher Brit.
Antiq.
c. 15.

Sax. Annal.

Lib.iii. c.4.

Columba, nobly descended in Ireland, founded there a monastery, called Dearmach, that is, the Field of Oaks, because situated in a forest. Some time after he came into Britain, to preach the Gospel to the Highland-Picts, of which they were yet ignorant. God was pleased so to bless his labours, that he had the satisfaction to see those savages converted to the Christian religion, with their king Bridius, who gave him the little island of Jona, or Hy, called since Colchil, where he founded another monastery that afterwards became very famous^d. These two monasteries for a long time supplied the Scotch churches, both in Ireland and Great Britain, with bishops and priests. It is observable, that according to the institution of Columba, the abbot of Jona retained a jurisdiction not only over several monasteries which branched forth from that, but also over the monks that went from thence to be priests or bishops. Bede's reason for this is, because Columba the founder was himself but a priest. It might be added, that the monks who had vowed obedience to the abbot of Jona, when they came to be bishops, did not think the episcopal character freed them from their vow. This instance somewhat perplexes the friends of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, who endeavour to get over it, by alledging it was an ~~an~~ custom crept into that country, against the general practice of the church throughout Christendom^e.

Gildas

d Jona, Hu, Hii, or Columb-cylle, one of the Hebrides, two miles in length, and one in breadth. Camden. "This island was given by the Picts to the Scottish monks, because they had received Christianity through their preaching, about A. D. 565. The monastery here, was for a long time the chief of almost all those of the northern Scots, and all those of the Picts, and had the direction of their people." Bede, lib.iii.cap. 3, 4. There were in it two monasteries, one of monks, dedicated to St. Columba, the apostle of the Picts (from whom this island was called Columb-cylle) that was the see of the bishop of the Isles; and the other of nuns. Camd. p. 2071. Buchan. lib. i. This island is famous for the burial of the ancient kings of Scotland, forty-four of whom are said to have been buried there. Buchan ibid. This account seems more authentic than that given by Hector Boetius. According to him, this monastery was founded A. D. 379. when

Maximus, or Maximin, banished the Scots out of Britain.

e Bede says (speaking of Jona, or Hy) "This island is always wont to have for its governor the abbot or presbyter, to whose authority all the province, and even the bishops themselves, after an unusual order, ought to be subject, according to the example of their first teacher, who was never a bishop, but a monk." Bede, lib.iii. cap. 4. The Saxon Chronicle is more express and says, "There must be always in Hy an abbot, and not a bishop, and that all the bishops of Scotland ought to be subject to him." Hence some have inferred, that bishops were not then thought so necessary, since the abbot of Hy, without being ordained bishop, exercised episcopal authority over those that were bishops. To this Usher answers, "That this authority of the abbots of Hy, their exercising jurisdiction over the bishops of Scotland, was a superiority of mere jurisdiction, and

Gildas of Badon, or Bath, was scholar to Illutus, and a ^{Gildas.} monk of Bangor monastery. He was born in the year of the battle of Badon, according to Usher, in 520, but according to my calculation, built upon reasons too long to be inserted, in 511. Gildas wrote a treatise, entitled *De excidio Britanniae*, Of the Destruction of Britain, wherein he boldly censures the British princes of his time, that is, those who, after the death of Arthur, divided the country into several petty states. From him chiefly it is that we know what passed among the Britons about the time he wrote, in 564. There is another history, or rather romance, under the name of Gildas, who is by some called Albanian, and supposed to be different from him I am speaking of. But the learned Stillingfleet asserts, ^{Orig. Brit.} they are both the works of one author, and that there was no other Gildas but he of Badon.

Columbanus, an Irishman, disciple of Congal, abbot of ^{Columbae} Bangor in Ireland, passed great part of his life in Britain ^{nu.}. From thence going into Burgundy, he founded the abbey of Luxeuil, of which he was the first abbot. Twenty years af- ^{Fechet.} ter, Thierri, king of Austrasia and also of Burgundy, ba- ^{Antiq.} nished him his dominions, for too freely censuring his con- ^{Gaul.} duct, and forced him to fly to Agilulph king of the Lombards. At length he founded, near Naples, the monastery of Cobio, where he died ^{s.}.

These were the most noted ecclesiastics in the British church, from the arrival of the Saxons to the retreat of the Britons into Cambria. It is obvious we have the names only of those that flourished in Cambria, Ireland, or Scotland. As for the other parts of Britain, we know nothing of what passed with respect to church-affairs: we have not so much as the names of the bishops, except Theon and Thadiock, archbishops of London and York, who were forced also in the end to fly ^{Usher. Brit.} into Cambria. ^{Antiq.} It is very likely all the monuments of the British churches were destroyed, wherever the Saxons became masters, and that it was not possible to preserve any but those of the churches of Wales, where the Saxons could never penetrate. It is easy to imagine, that the church was in a very mournful state whilst the Saxons were exercising their fury. These merciless idolaters, as well out of duty as wantonness, not only trampled upon every thing relating to the Christian

"and not of order; and cites the An-
"nals of Ulster to prove that a bishop
"always resided in Hy." De Brit.
Eccles. Ant. cap. 16. Lloyd proves,
that Columba was ordained by Fincan
bishop of Meath, cap. 5.

f He came into Britain in the year
580.

g To these may be added Taliaffin,
the famous British poet, whose verses
are preserved to this day. Tyr. p. 144.

Gildas,
§ 24.

Bede, lib. i.
cap. 15.

religion, but let loose their rage against the Christians themselves. Gildas and Bede have painted their inhuman proceedings in such colours, as shows their barbarities were carried to the highest degree imaginable. "From the east to the west (says Gildas) nothing was to be seen but churches burnt and destroyed to their very foundations. The inhabitants were extirpated by the sword, and buried under the ruins of their own houses. The altars were daily profaned by the blood of those slain thereon." Bede, who was a Saxon, and therefore not to be supposed to aggravate the cruelties of his countrymen, expresses himself thus: "By the hands of the Saxons a fire was lighted up in Britain, that served to execute the just vengeance of God upon the wicked Britons, as he had formerly burnt Jerusalem by the Chaldeans. The island was so ravaged by the conquerors, or rather by the hand of God making use of them as instruments, that there seemed to be a continued flame from sea to sea, which burnt up the cities, and covered the surface of the whole isle. Public and private buildings fell in one common ruin. The priests were murdered on the altars; the bishop with his flock perished by fire and sword, without any distinction, no one daring to give their scattered bodies an honourable burial."

To these mournful descriptions may be added, that the Britons, who escaped the fury of their enemies, not finding wherewithal to subsist in the woods and mountains, were forced at length to surrender to the conquerors, deeming themselves happy in being able to purchase their lives with the loss of their liberty. Some fled into foreign parts, and those whom the love of their native country kept at home, and the dread of slavery prevented from submitting to the Saxons, dragged on a wretched life, in miserable want and perpetual fear. It is therefore no wonder that the accounts of the British church are so imperfect, since the Saxons used their utmost endeavours to destroy all the monuments that might have been preserved.

THE
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND.

BOOK III.

*Concerning the most remarkable events during the
HEPTARCHY of the ANGLO-SAXONS, to its dissolu-
tion, and the union of the seven kingdoms. Containing
the space of two hundred and forty-three years.*

THE revolution caused by the conquest of the Anglo-Saxons, introduced a new face of things in Great Britain. The country formerly inhabited by the Britons was now possessed by strangers. The very names of the towns and provinces were changed, and the country divided in a very different manner from what it was by the Romans. It will therefore be requisite, before we proceed to the affairs of the Anglo-Saxons (which are to be the subject of this third book), briefly to show the state of Great Britain after this revolution.

Great Britain, divided into several kingdoms, was shared among four different nations, namely, the Britons or Welch, the Scots, the Picts, and the Anglo-Saxons. Under the Britons were comprized all those foreigners, Romans or others, settled in the island ever since the reign of Claudius, who, being

The state of
Great Bri-
tain.

THE HISTORY

being incorporated with the natives, became one people with them. The descendants of these foreigners were undoubtedly very numerous, it being the constant policy of the Romans to diminish, as far as lay in their power, the natives of a conquered country, and to send thither large colonies either of veterans, or of people taken from their other conquests. As Britain had been in their possession four hundred years, very probably they had not neglected, with regard to that island, a custom they practised every-where else. Before they left Britain, their colonies were distinct from the natives. But the war, carried by the Picts and Scots into the Roman province, after Honorius had renounced his right, and that of the Britons and Romans settled in the island, with the Anglo-Saxons, so confounded them, that we don't find from thenceforward in any history the least signs of distinction between the Roman colonies and British natives. The Britons therefore, now retired beyond the Severn, are to be considered as a people composed of the ancient inhabitants of Great Britain and the Roman colonies. The Vandals settled about Cambridge were also reckoned as Britons, and involved in the same ruin with them. After the establishment of the seven kingdoms of the Anglo-Saxons, the Britons had nothing left but Cambria, and the western part of Danmonium. Cambria (the name formerly of all Britain) was changed by the Saxons into Wales. As for Danmonium, it was, in all appearances, a Roman name. The Britons called that country Kernaw, from Kern, that is, in their language, Horns, because of the many promontories that shoot out into the sea like horns. Hence doubtless the Saxons gave it the name of Cornwall, that is to say, the country of Kernaw, inhabited by Gauls or Britons. They seemed to study to leave neither to the inhabitants nor countries any sign of the Roman names, since they even stiled Welsh a people the Romans had called Britons above four hundred years. The natives kept their ground a good while in that corner of the island, as well as in Wales, till at length they were entirely subdued, as we shall see hereafter.

The north part of Great Britain was in possession of the Picts and Scots, separated from the English by the Esk and Tweed, and the mountains between these two rivers. The Picts were on the east, and the Scots on the west side. The Grampian mountains served them for a common boundary, from the mouth of the Nid to the lake of Lomond. Abernethy, now a small town in the county of Strathern, was the capital of the Picts, from whence the bishop's seat was removed to St. Andrews. Edinburgh belonged also to the Picts, and what-

whatever the English possessed beyond Severus's wall was taken from the same nation. The territories of the Scots extended towards the north and west, as far as the sea that bounds the island on these two sides.

The Saxons, Angles, and Jutes, who are all to be considered as one people, and comprehended under the name of English, had conquered all the southern part of the island, from the channel to the wall of Severus, and a little beyond, towards the east. This part of Great Britain, possessed by these three nations, was divided into seven kingdoms, whereof the Saxons and Jutes had four, namely, Kent, Essex, Sussex, and Wessex; the Angles alone had two, Mercia, and East-Anglia; but in Northumberland they were mixed with the descendants of the Saxons that first took possession of the country beyond the Humber, under Oëta and Ebusa.

The history of these seven kingdoms is what I am now to give a general knowledge of. I say general, because it is impossible to be very particular, by reason of the barrenness of the authors that have writ on this subject. As the greatest part intended only to write bare annals, they have omitted what might contribute most to the composing a regular and connected history of each kingdom, or of all together. Some, particularly intent upon the history of one of the seven kingdoms, scarce make any mention of what passed in the rest. Hence it is, that hardly any thing is known of the affairs of some of these kingdoms, the histories whereof have been neglected, or, it may be, lost by some accident.

Another and greater difficulty occurs, in the choice of a method. If the history of the seven kingdoms be given at once, by placing the events, that happened in each, according to the order of time, the thread of the narration must be continually broken, and confusion introduced, which will be farther increased by the difficulty of remembering names now grown barbarous. On the other hand, if the history of each kingdom be given apart by itself, it will hardly be possible to avoid a tedious repetition of facts common to two, and sometimes three of the kingdoms, by reason of their wars with one another. Besides, in this method, the reader will lose the benefit of seeing a perpetual synchronism of the affairs of the seven kingdoms, which is no little help to the giving a distinct idea of the state of England, during the heptarchy.

After weighing the conveniencies with the inconveniencies of these two methods, I am resolved in some measure to follow both. To that end, I shall first make some remarks on the Anglo-Saxons in general. In the next place, I shall give
a brief

a brief summary of the history of each of the seven kingdoms in particular. Lastly, I shall represent, in synchronical tables, the principal events which happened in each kingdom, that the history of all the kingdoms together may be seen at one view. I hope by this means to give a compleat idea, if not of all the affairs of the heptarchy, at least of what is most material.

Of the H E P T A R C H Y in general.

BY the Heptarchy is meant the government of the seven kingdoms of the Anglo-Saxons, considered as making but one body and one state. The Anglo-Saxons, as I said before, established in England, a form of government not unlike what they had lived under in Germany; that is, considering themselves as brethren and countrymen, and being equally concerned to support themselves in their conquests, they conceived it necessary to assist one another, and act in common for the good of all. To that end they judge it proper to appoint a general in chief, or, if you please, a monarch, invested with certain prerogatives; the nature and number of which we are not fully informed of. Upon the death of this general or monarch, another was chosen by the unanimous consent of the seven kingdoms. But there were sometimes pretty long interregnums, caused by the wars or divisions between the sovereigns, who could not meet or agree upon a choice.

Besides this monarch, they had also, as the center of the heptarchical government, an assembly-general, consisting of the principal members of the seven kingdoms, or their deputies. This is what was called the Wittenagemot, or general parliament, where the concerns of the whole nation only were considered. But each kingdom had a particular parliament, much after the manner practised in the United Provinces of the Low Countries. Each kingdom was sovereign, and yet they consulted in common, upon the affairs that concerned the heptarchy; and the acts and resolutions of the assembly-general were to be punctually observed, since every king and kingdom had assented thereto. Such was the form of the heptarchical government, on which I shall no farther insist, designing to speak more fully of it in another place.

But

But as time and circumstances often cause alterations in the best constitutions, it happened that the ambition or restlessness of their kings did not suffer the Anglo-Saxons to remain long in that union the form of their government supposed. The most powerful often took advantage of the weakness of the rest to aggrandize themselves at their cost. Hence their frequent wars with one another, which ended in the destruction of some of the seven kingdoms that were annexed to others, and at last in the union of all under the government of a single prince. Herein chiefly consists what is transmitted to us of the history of the seven kingdoms of the Anglo-Saxons, I mean their continual wars from the beginning to the end of the heptarchy.

Another cause of their wars was the ambition of their monarchs, who, not content with the prerogatives annexed to their dignity, were for stretching their rights. Had the historians that writ of the heptarchy been pleased to have given us an exact account of the prerogatives of the monarch, we should have been able to judge, in some measure, of the causes of the wars, so frequently occasioned by the disputes on that head. But as they have only marked the time and success of these wars, without letting us know the reasons and motives of them, the history is rendered very imperfect, and incapable of being so coherent as one would wish, since the annals give us only a bare relation of facts, without any manner of connexion. All we can gather from them is, that the Anglo-Saxon kings were naturally very restless, and enemies to peace. But this character is not peculiar to them, since in the following ages there has been no greater union among the princes of Europe.

Besides these wars, to which the historians and annalists have chiefly confined themselves, there were, no doubt, many more agreeable and affecting events, that would have embellished and enlivened their histories. But unhappily these writers being all monks, had not judgment enough to make choice of such matters as would have rendered their works entertaining. The affairs of religion, and especially the founding of the monasteries, and the privileges of the monks and clergy, were the only things they enlarged upon. As their sole view was to show the origin of these foundations, and the endowments of monasteries, in doing this, they could not help informing posterity that there were in England seven different kingdoms, whose kings founded such and such monasteries, and granted them such revenues and immunities. By this they were induced to write a kind of history of the heptarchy,

THE HISTORY

heptarchy, otherwise the ground of their rights would not have appeared. But on the other hand, as their design required nothing more, they were satisfied with relating the succession of the kings in the several kingdoms, with some of their principal actions. This is properly all the assistance we have for the history of the heptarchy, the chief subject whereof consists of religious affairs. Of which, therefore, it will be necessary to say a few words.

When the Saxons arrived in England, they were all pagans and idolaters. It was one hundred and fifty years after their arrival, before they were instructed in the christian religion. Their conversion began in 597, with the kingdom of Kent, by Austin, a Benedictine monk, sent by pope Gregory I. and ended in 653 with the kingdom of Mercia, by the ministry of certain missionaries from Northumberland. During these 56 years spent in propagating the gospel, revolutions happened in some of the seven kingdoms, whereby christianity was so rooted out, that it was again to be planted, as if it had never been heard of. This was the case of the kingdom of Essex, Northumberland, and East-Anglia. So from the beginning of the conversions to the end, there was in England a mixture of christians and idolaters; some of the kingdoms being converted, whilst others remained in paganism; neither were all of the same kingdom converted at once.

Austin preached to the Saxons of Kent, Mellitus to the East-Saxons, Paulinus to the Northumbrians, Birinus to the West-Saxons, Wilfrid to the South-Saxons, Felix to the East-Saxons, and the northern monks to the Mercians. But all these preached not with the same success, because the conjunctures were not every where alike favourable. However, in the space of about 60 years after the coming of Austin, all England was converted. But no more of this at present, as I intend to speak more largely of the church of each kingdom.

I have another, and no inconsiderable remark to make, and that is, the monks, in converting the Anglo-Saxons, took care to inspire them with reverence for monasteries and the monastick life. They wrought so upon the minds of the kings and great men, that it is astonishing what number of monasteries, from the conversion of the English to the dissolution of the heptarchy, that is, in 200 years, were founded in England, and what immense riches the monks had acquired in that time. Religion seemed to consist in enriching the monks, and the highest perfection in embracing a monastick life. For this cause kings and queens, princes and princesses, stripped themselves of all their worldly grandeur, to pass the residue

residue of their days in a monastery ; some to expiate their enormous crimes, others-as believing it the readiest way to heaven. The monks did not neglect to cherish the fervour of this sort of devotion, extolling to the skies those that resolved to offer such sacrifices to God, and sainting all that died in these pious dispositions. Hence the great number of saints of both sexes, recorded in the Ecclesiastical History of England, among whom are several kings, as being of all the others the best able to purchase a Saintship this way.

After these general remarks, I proceed now to the particular history of each of the seven kingdoms, of which I shall relate only what is material, to avoid as much as possible, the dryness which usually attends such kind of summaries.

SUMMARY of the HISTORY

O F

NORTHUMBERLAND.

THE kingdom of Northumberland was situated on the north of the Humber, as its name imports. It was bounded on the south, and parted from Mercia by that river, on the west by the Irish sea, on the north by the country of the Picts and Scots, and on the east by the German ocean. It contained the present counties of Lancashire, Cumberland, Westmoreland, Northumberland, York and Durham. The principal cities were York, Dunelm, (since called Durham) Carlisle, (named by the Romans, Luguballia) Hexham or Hagulstadt, Lancaster, and some others of less note. This country was divided into two parts, Deira and Bernicia, each, for some time, a distinct kingdom of itself. Bernicia was partly situated on the north of Severus's wall, and ended in a point at the mouth of the Tweed. Deira contained the southern part of Northumberland, as far as the Humber. The greatest length of the whole kingdom, including both parts, was 160 miles, and its greatest breadth 100.

I D A.

I D A.

547.
Sax. Ann.

Ida, the first king, began his reign in 547, and died in 559. After his death Northumberland was divided into two kingdoms, namely Bernicia and Deira. Adda, son of Ida, was king of Bernicia, and Alla of Deira, but the occasion of this division is unknown.

In Bernicia.

559. ADDA.
566. GLAPPA.
572. FRIDULPH.
579. THEODORIC.
586. ATHELRIC.

In Deira.

559. ALLA.
died in 588.

Of all these kings there is nothing known but the time of their death.

Athelric being very old when he came to the crown, his son Adelfrid governed the kingdom in his name, without the title of king; and having espoused Acca, daughter of Alla king of Deira, who died in 588, got possession of that kingdom, though Alla left a son of three years old, named Edwin.

A D E L F R I D.

590.
Ann. Sax.

613.
Bede, lib. ii.
cap. 2.

Adelfrid^a, succeeding his father in 590, became very powerful and formidable to his neighbours, particularly to the Welsh, as well as to the Scots and Picts. But of his wars, historians have related only this remarkable particular. Adelfrid preparing to lay siege to Chester, then in the hands of the Welsh, these last were bent to give him battle, and to procure the blessing of God on their arms, twelve hundred and fifty monks from the monastery of Bangor, were ordered to pray near the field of battle, during the fight. The monks making too much haste to the place appointed, were met by Adelfrid, who being told the reason of their leaving their monastery, put them all to the sword. This massacre was followed with a signal victory over the Welsh; after which Adelfrid entered Wales, and entirely demolished the monastery of Bangor, where were still above a thousand monks, since Bede assures us, they were divided into seven classes, the

^a Adel, Athel, Ethel, signify Famous or Noble: Fred, Frid, Freth, Frith, signify Peace: Adelfrid or Ethelfrid (i.e.) Famous for Peace: Athelric, Nobly Strong; Ric signifying, Strong or Powerful.

least of which consisted of above three hundred. Two of Malmsh. the gates of this immense edifice were above a mile asunder. As this was a very antient and famous monastery, in all probability the monks driven out of Britain by the Saxons had taken refuge there^b.

Whilst Adelfrid was aggrandizing himself by his conquests, Bede, lib. iii. and growing formidable to all his neighbours, Edwin, son of ^{cap. 22.} Alla, king of Deira, wandered from place to place, destitute of the necessary assistance to recover his father's dominions. Nay, it was even difficult for him to find where to remain in safety. Adelfrid his enemy, was so powerful and so dreaded, that not one of the English princes cared to hazard his dominions in defence of a distressed orphan. At length Redowald, king of the East-Angles, pitying his condition, afforded him a retreat at his court. He was then about thirty years old, of a noble presence, and withal possessed of such good qualities, as gained him the love and esteem of Redowald and his queen. Scarce had he begun to enjoy the sweets of his retreat, when he saw himself on the brink of destruction by Adelfrid's enmity, and Redowald's timorous conduct. Adelfrid fearing the king of East-Anglia was forming some project for the restoration of Edwin to the throne of Deira, sent ambassadors to him, to desire him to deliver up Edwin, or put him to death; and in case of refusal, to proclaim war against him. Redowald, surprized at this demand, was some time before he could resolve what to do. As his forces were not equal to the king of Northumberland's, he dreaded the exposing his dominions to the ravages of that incensed prince, should he afford him a pretence for a war. On the other hand, honour, honesty, the laws of hospitality, Edwin's innocence pleaded against his being delivered to an enemy that demanded him only to take away his life. Redowald considered likewise what a disparagement it would be to submit to the orders of one that had no right to command him. These various reflections made him extremely uneasy, and caused him to incline sometimes to the side of generosity, and sometimes to that of political interest.

Whilst Redowald was thus in suspense, Edwin informed by the queen of the king's irresolution, was in great perplexity.

^b This monastery was in Flintshire, near the river Dee. Camden, p. 556. Tyr. p. 164. One may judge of the magnificence of this monastery, by Malmabury's description of it: "Quorum incredibilem æstiva ætate au-

"merum fuisse, indicio sunt in vicinis
"cenobio tot semirutæ Parietes Ecclesiarum,
"sarum, tot anfractus porticuum,
"tanta turba rudium, quantum vis
"alibi cernas."

For twenty-seven years he had wandered through divers kingdoms, without meeting with other sanctuary than what the king of East-Anglia had generously granted him, but which now, by reason of the neighbourhood of Northumberland, was like to prove fatal to him. He saw his ruin unavoidable, if Redowald delivered him to his enemy; but on the other hand, that prince's irresolution made him hope for some advantageous change in his fortune. He considered, if Redowald resolved to protect him, the war that would infallibly attend his refusal, might prove a means to raise him to his father's throne. Besides, he was not sure of avoiding by flight the danger that threatened him, or of finding another retreat. He determined therefore to wait the event, and trust to the generosity of Redowald, who as yet seemed unresolved. Redowald was naturally generous; but the fear of engaging in so dangerous a war, made him at last resolve to sacrifice Edwin to the interest of the state. Edwin informed of this by the queen, gave himself over for lost; and the more, because the very moment Redowald resolved to make this sacrifice to the king of Northumberland, he took all possible care to prevent the victim's escape.

Hitherto nothing but what is natural has been related of Edwin. But in the days of Bede, who hath given us a large account of this prince's adventures, miracles were so much in vogue, that there was scarce any remarkable event, in history, but what was seasoned with some prodigy or apparition. Accordingly, that writer, who seems a little too credulous in this point, would not neglect to embellish his ecclesiastical history with a miraculous event told him, as he says, by some old men of his time. Besides, being himself a Saxon, and born in Northumberland, a miracle wrought in favour of the first Christian king of that kingdom, could not but redound to the honour of his country. He has related many more, which he was not so much concerned in, and are no better supported than this on the present occasion. I would willingly have passed it over in silence, as I have many others that occur in his history, if I had not observed the later historians have affected to copy it; so leaving the reader to believe as he pleases, I shall continue the history of Edwin, as related by Bede.

Edwin, after his melancholy news from the queen, went and walked in the palace-garden during the night, to consider of his affairs. Whilst he was deeply buried in thought, he saw a man, in a very strange dress, coming towards him, who asked him, "What kept him thus awake, when all the
" world

"world was asleep?" The prince answered, "He was surprized to see a stranger so inquisitive about the affairs of one that was unknown to him." "Think not, replied the stranger, that I am ignorant of what employs your thoughts: I know all that has befallen you to this hour, and am come to bring you consolation in your misfortunes. What now will you give to him that shall assure you of, one day, mounting the throne, and becoming the most powerful and glorious king that has hitherto reigned in England?" "If ever that happens, answered Edwin, I will liberally reward all that shall have done me any service, as well as the person that foretells my good fortune." "He who is able and willing to raise you to this height of grandeur, continued the stranger, requires nothing of you but to embrace his doctrine and obey his precepts." "I should be a wretch indeed, replied Edwin, should I refuse to be ruled by so true a friend." Then the stranger laying his hand on the prince's head, told him, "Remember what I am now doing, and when the like shall happen to you, think then of performing your promise without delay." Upon these words, the stranger disappeared in an extraordinary manner, to convince Edwin there was something supernatural in this adventure.

Edwin's surprise was farther increased by the coming of a Huntingd. messenger from the queen, to let him know Redowald had ^{say 1.} altered his mind. She had so strongly represented to him the horror of the action he was about to commit, that he resolved to hazard all, rather than be instrumental in destroying the innocent. Redowald having taken this generous resolution, sent back the ambassadors, declaring he could not think of delivering up Edwin, much less of putting an innocent prince to death, that had fled for refuge to his palace. He did not question but this refusal would kindle a bloody war. Adelfrid was fierce and powerful, and as he could not but be provoked, the king of East-Anglia rightly judged he would do his utmost to be revenged. But as usually the party that thinks himself injured, is apt to imagine the injurer stands only upon the defensive, Redowald believed Adelfrid, not expecting to be attacked, might be easily surprized before he could draw his forces together. For this reason, he resolves to prevent him, and carry the war into Northumberland.

This resolution being taken, an army was levied with all expedition, and divided into three bodies, that were to march at some distance from each other. The command of the first was given to Reyner his eldest son, with orders to march be-

fore and secure a certain pass. He followed himself at the head of the second, leaving Edwin in the rear with the third. Reyner, desirous to signalize himself by some brave action, before the arrival of the other two bodies, advanced with more speed than his orders required. He hoped to surprise the king of Northumberland, who did not expect to be attacked. And indeed, Adelfrid had not yet assembled all his forces; but finding Reyner too far advanced to be supported, took advantage of his rashness, and attacked him before it was in the power of Redowald to join him. As Reyner's conduct was entirely owing to his excess of ambition and courage, he sustained the efforts of Adelfrid with great bravery; but having too much exposed himself to danger, was slain, and his army put to flight.

Bede.
G. Malmsh.

617.
Sax. Ann.

Redowald, extremely concerned for the loss of his son, thought of nothing but revenge. Having joined Edwin, he marched with all expedition to attack the enemy, who, being now too far advanced, had not time to retreat. Nay, he could not think of retiring, after his proud threats, had it been in his power; and therefore, instead of retreating, he fiercely marched towards the East-Angles. The two armies soon coming to an engagement^c, Adelfrid performed wonders to preserve his reputation; but finding he was overpowered by numbers, chose rather to die than out-live the shame of his defeat. With this resolution he threw himself among the thickest of his enemies, and fell in the midst of their ranks, covered with wounds. The Northumbrians immediately threw down their arms, and betaking themselves to flight, left their enemies masters of the field.

After this great victory, to which Edwin had not a little contributed, Redowald marched into Northumberland without opposition. Adelfrid had left three sons, Anfrid, Oswald, and Oswy, who finding themselves unable to resist the conqueror, fled into Scotland. The Northumbrians thus abandoned, without general or army, and in the usual confusion on such occasions, chose to submit to Redowald. This generous prince would neither punish them for the insolence of their king, nor improve for himself the advantage acquired by his victory. From an uncommon greatness of soul, he not only gave Edwin the kingdom of Deira, to which he had some pretensions, but likewise that of Bernicia, reserving to himself only the glory of so heroical an action; for which,

^c Near the river Idl in Nottinghamshire.

and upon account of his late victory, he obtained the dignity of monarch, then vacant.

EDWIN.

Edwin^d, who a little before was an object of pity, by one of those surprising revolutions that are beyond the reach and foresight of man, but are ever subservient to the designs of providence, saw himself on a sudden at the head of a powerful kingdom. One can't help seeing in the advancement of this prince the hand of God, disposing all things, by degrees for the execution of his purposes. It appeared in the sequel, that God was pleased to make use of Edwin to lead the North-umbrians to the knowledge of the gospel, as he had already made use of Ethelbert for the conversion of the Saxons of Kent. This is what we shall see more fully in the history of the church.

Sax. Ann.
Bede.
G. Malmsb.
Huntingd.

Upon the death of Redowald, in 624, Edwin openly aspired to the monarchy; and indeed there was then no Saxon or English prince able to dispute that honour with him, except Cinigifil and Quicelm, joint kings of the West-Saxons. Quicelm especially opposed him to the utmost of his power, and thereby drew upon himself from that prince, then in league with the king of Mercia, a war that put him in danger of losing his dominions, and obliged him humbly to sue for peace. The war being thus ended, Edwin met with no farther opposition, and saw himself at length invested with the so much desired dignity of monarch. The very Welsh, to prevent an invasion, threatened by Edwin, consented to pay him tribute.

This prince carried the prerogatives of the monarchy higher than any of his predecessors. He claimed an absolute power over the other kings, and treated them with little or no respect. He showed the most regard for Ebald king of Kent, whose sister Ethelburga, a princess of great worth, he designed to espouse. He imagined, his being monarch would cause his proposal to be gladly received; but he met with more difficulty in his courtship than he expected. Ethelburga, being a zealous christian, would not hear of marrying an idolatrous prince, though otherwise never so much to her advantage. Her brother was no less averse to the match, and when proposed to him, refused to give his consent, unless his sister had free liberty publicly to profess her religion. Though this

624

Bede, lib.ii.
cap. 9.

^d Ed or Ead, (i. e.) Happy, Blessed. Win or Wipe, War, or Beloved.

625.

condition was by no means pleasing to the monarch, yet the desire of possessing a princess, whose worth was universally known, induced him to agree to whatever was required. On the other hand, Ethelburga was prevailed with to consent, in expectation that after the example of Bertha of France, her mother, who had procured the conversion of the Saxons of Kent, she should be able likewise to lead her spouse, and his subjects, to the knowledge of the truth. Every thing being settled to the king of Kent's satisfaction, Ethelburga set out for Northumberland, accompanied with some ecclesiasticks, and particularly Paulinus, consecrated bishop by Justus archbishop of York. This was the same Paulinus that converted Edwin and the Northumbrians to the christian religion, as will be more fully related in the history of the church.

Bede.
Malmsh.
Huntingd.

Edwin lived several years in profound peace, both feared and esteemed by all the kings of the heptarchy. He improved these favourable junctures, not only in maintaining his dominion over the other kings, but also in establishing good order in the state, and enacting wholesome laws, which he caused to be strictly observed. Historians remark, that in his reign justice was administered with that impartiality and rigour, that a child might have gone over the whole kingdom of Northumberland with a purse of gold in his hand, without danger of robbing. But Edwin's chief care, after his conversion, was to spread the christian religion where it was yet unknown, and replant it, where it had been abolished. By his instigation, perhaps by his absolute order, it was, that Erpwald, king of East-Anglia, permitted the gospel to be preached again in his dominions, and at length turned christian himself. Edwin, who could but ill brook the least opposition to his will, pretended to have an authority over the rest of the kings, of which he was extremely jealous. By an ensign carried before him in the form of a globe^c, as a symbol of the union of the heptarchical government in his person, he gave them to understand, he would be considered not only as their head, but their master.

633.
Bede, lib. ii.
cap. 2.

Malmsh.

Of all the Anglo-Saxon princes, Penda king of Mercia was the most uneasy at Edwin's greatness. This prince being naturally restless and proud, and looking upon his dependence on the king of Northumberland as dishonourable, was extremely desirous to cast off that badge of slavery. But as he did not dare to undertake alone so great an enterprize, he impatiently waited for a favourable opportunity to act. At that very time

^c In Latin, *Taſſa*; *Lipſius* on *Vegetius* ſpeaks of it.

there

there was another prince in the island, who, being in the same case, no less ardently desired to throw off the English monarch's yoke. This was Cadwallo king of Wales, who deemed it a dishonour to him and his country, to pay tribute to a foreign prince. These two princes knowing at length each other's thoughts^f, enter into a league against Edwin, and make preparations, which as they could not be concealed, caused Edwin Sax. Ann. to resolve to prevent them if possible. Accordingly he advances as far as Heathfield^g, where meeting the confederate kings, the two armies came to an engagement. The battle was fought on both sides with desperate fury. The Mercians and Welsh confided in their numbers, and the Northumbrians in the valour and prudence of their king. Edwin, though inferior in number of troops, supplied that defect by his courage and conduct, and kept the balance even, which made him hope victory would at last incline to his side. But a fatal accident robbed him of that presence of mind he had all along preserved, and which was then more than ever necessary. Offrid, his eldest son, bravely seconding him, was slain at his feet with an arrow, which threw him into such a rage, that he rushed among the thickest of his enemies, without minding whether he was followed by his soldiers. He was immediately run through in many places, and with his life lost the victory. Upon Edwin's disappearing, the dismayed Northumbrians begin to fall into disorder, and at last relinquish the field of battle, and take to flight.

Thus fell Edwin, in the forty-eighth year of his age, the sixteenth of his reign; and the ninth of his monarchy. By his first wife, daughter of Cearlus king of Mercia, he had two sons, Offrid and Edfrid. By his second, Ethelburga of Kent, he had two other sons, and two daughters, who all died in their infancy, except Anflæda, wife of Oswy king of Northumberland. Edwin resided at Derventio, now Aulaby^h in Yorkshire.

INTERREGNUM.

The two conquering kings behaved upon their victory with Bede, lib. ii. all imaginable cruelty. As the Northumbrians, after the loss cap. 20 of their king and army, were unable to resist them, they

^f Cadwallo (says Geoffrey of Monmouth) being forced by king Edwin to fly into Ireland, soon after returned with a great army of Irish, and overcoming Penda king of the Mercians,

obliged him to join his forces against Edwin.

^g Now called Hatfield, in the West-Riding of Yorkshire. Camden.

^h Six miles from York.

Bede.
Thorn.
Hist. Abb.
Canterb.
Cam. in
Kent.

entered Northumberland, and ravaged the country in a terrible manner. Cadwallo, though a christian, carried his barbarity to that height, that Edfrid, son of Edwin, dreading to fall into his hands, surrendered himself to Penda, from whom he expected more favour. He was received at first with some civility; but was afterwards, by Penda's command, murdered in his presence. Queen Ethelburga and Paulinus fled to the king of Kent, who gave his sister some lands to found a monastery, where she passed the residue of her days. As for Paulinus, he was by the same king's means made bishop of Rochester.

The Northumbrians were so weakened by their defeat, and the cruelty, or rather fury, of the two victorious kings, that they remained a long time before they recovered themselves. At length, seeing no end to their misfortunes, they judged it more honourable to die with their swords in their hands, than perish by the barbarity of the two tyrants, who breathed nothing but blood and slaughter. Accordingly, being resolved to sell their lives dear, they considered of choosing a leader. But when they came to the election, the old jealousies between the Bernicians and Deirians reviving, they could not agree upon choosing a king in common. The men of Deira chose Osric, a relation of Edwin; and the Bernicians set Anfrid on the throne. This last, after the defeat and death of his father, retired into Scotland with Oswald and Oswy, his brothers, where they were all three baptized.

Sax. Ann.
Bede.
Malmsb.

OSRIC
in Deira.

ANFRID
in Bernicia.

633.
Bede, lib. i.
cap. 1.

634.
G. Malm.
lib. i. cap. 3.

These two kings were no sooner on the throne, but they abjured the christian religion, which they had before professed. But if their rebellion against God was sudden, their punishment was no less so, being both slain in the first year of their reign. Osric rashly besieging Cadwallo in York, with an army of undisciplined troops, the Welsh king, disdainful to be thus braved, sallies out and attacks him so briskly, that his army is routed, and himself slain on the spot. After which he marched against the king of Bernicia, who was at the head of twelve thousand men, and amusing him some time with propositions of peace, till he was within distance, fell upon him unexpectedly, and made a terrible slaughter of the Northumbrians, Anfrid himself being killed in the battle.

INTER-

INTERREGNUM.

It is easy to conceive the wretched condition of Northumberland, after so many successive losses. Cadwallo's rage being inflamed by the efforts of the Northumbrians, seemed incapable of being appeased with less than the entire destruction of the miserable nation. His barbarities at length obliged Oswald, brother of Ansfid, to resolve to hazard all, in order to relieve a people so cruelly oppressed. In this generous resolution, he assembles a small body of forces, with which he boldly opposes the usurper. Though the king of Mercia was now returned to his kingdom, Cadwallo looking upon Oswald's army with the utmost contempt, marched against him; not doubting of success¹. Oswald being informed of his approach, intrenched himself in an advantageous post, where he resolutely expected him. But as he relied more on the assistance of heaven than his own strength, he erected a cross before the camp, and falling down on his knees with the whole army, humbly implored a blessing on his arms. Mean time Cadwallo advanced full of confidence, not questioning in the least but the superiority of his forces would procure him the victory. In this belief, to encourage his men by his example, he attempts in person to force the enemy's intrenchments, wholly intent upon satisfying his furious rage. But whilst he is endeavouring to open a passage to join his enemies, he is shot through the body with an arrow, which puts an end to his projects and life. His death causes a great disorder among his troops, who begin by degrees to retreat. Then the Northumbrians rushing out of their intrenchments, fall upon their enemies so vigorously, that they are entirely routed. The victory was so compleat, and the protection of heaven appeared so visibly in favour of the English, that the field of battle was named Heofen or Heaven-field, the same that is now called Haledon².

Sax. Ann.
Bede, lib. ii.
cap. 3.
Polychron.
lib. v. c. 12.

¹ Matthew of Westminster says, Penda was then general of Cadwallo's forces; though Bede seems to affirm, the battle was fought against Cadwallo.

² Bede, says, the battle was fought at Denisesburna, (supposed to be Dilsdon) and relates many very incredible and superstitious miracles concerning

this place and the cross erected by Oswald, whose chief merit with the monks was his introducing monkery with the christian religion, which makes the story of the cross to be considered as a monkish fiction, as well as the name of Heaven-field.

OSWALD.

634.
glor. Wig.
M. West.

After this great victory, Oswald took possession of the two kingdoms of Northumberland, to which he was heir, namely, to Bernicia by Adelfrid his father, and to Deira by Acca his mother, sister of Edwin. He was the most knowing, as well as most pious prince of his age, having been instructed in the christian religion whilst in Scotland. His strict virtue, great humility, and zeal for the advancement of the true religion, gained him to such a degree the love and esteem of his subjects, that they revered him as a saint after his death. He had the happiness and satisfaction to free his country from the tyranny of Cadwallo, to unite the two kingdoms of Northumberland under his dominion, and moreover to be elected monarch of the Anglo-Saxons. It is even pretended that the Welsh, Scots, and Picts were tributary to him. He took particular care to restore the christian religion in his dominions, from whence the late troubles after Edwin's death had entirely banished it.

Bede, lib. iii.
c. 1. 2.

This prince spent several years in this so pious and necessary a work; but at length was obliged to desist, in order to oppose the designs of the king of Mercia, who was preparing to attack him. Penda, ever restless and haughty, could not bear to see Oswald his superior, as monarch; and therefore, to free himself from so uneasy a dependence, without any declaration of war, he suddenly takes up arms to surprize him. Oswald being sensible, that it was of the utmost consequence speedily to oppose the king of Mercia's designs, made haste to meet him, before he had assembled all his forces. Penda taking advantage of this precipitation, which rendered him superior to his enemy in number of troops, gave him battle, and obtained a signal victory; which would have redounded more to his glory, had he not sullied it by his cruelty. The body of Oswald, who was slain in the fight, being found among the dead, the inhuman conqueror cut it in several pieces, and fixing them on stakes, erected them in the field of battle like so many trophies. This battle was fought at Osgestree¹. Of-

¹ In Shropshire, then called Maserfield. 'Tis incredible to think how many miracles were ascribed to him after his death by his friends the monks; particularly the wonders performed by his right-hand, which Bede says, was preserved uncorrupt in the church of Peterborough in his time. It seems he

sent one day a large silver dish full of meat to some poor people at his gate, ordering the dish to be broken in pieces, and distributed among them. Whereupon Aidan taking him by the right-hand, said, "Let this hand never corrupt." Which (say the monks) accordingly happened.

wald left a son called Adelwalt, some time after king of Bede, lib. iii. Deira. cap. 9.

Penda, after his victory, behaved with his usual barbarity. Bede, lib. iii. Having ravaged Northumberland, he laid siege to Bamborough, cap. 16. a strong town built by Ida, where meeting with more resistance than he expected, he resolved to reduce it to ashes. To that end, having laid under the walls a great quantity of wood, he set fire to it as soon as the wind favoured his design. But hardly was the fire lighted, when the wind came about and blew the flame directly into his camp, by which the besiegers were great sufferers. This stratagem failing, he raised the siege, and quitting Northumberland, carried the war into East-Anglia. Penda's retreat affording the Northumbrians a little respite, the Bernicians place Oswy, brother of Oswald, upon the throne; and the next year Oswin, son of Osric, slain by Cadwallo, was crowned king of Deira. 642. 644. Sax. Ann.

643. O S W Y
in Bernicia.

644. O S W I N
in Deira.

Oswy thought he was very unjustly dealt with; in being deprived of part of his brother's dominions, but as he dreaded another invasion from Penda, it was no proper season to do himself justice. As long therefore as he was under that apprehension, he lived in a good understanding with the king of Deira. But the moment he sees Penda engaged in other wars, he asserts his claim to Deira, and seeks a quarrel with Oswin; who, after trying several ways to satisfy his enemy, is forced at last to take up arms in his own defence. Oswin was a mild and peaceable prince, more devout than brave; and though drawn into the war purely by necessity, yet for all that he could not conquer his scruples. He verily believed the shedding his subjects blood in his quarrel was the greatest of sins, and therefore withdrawing privately from his army, he retired to a certain earl's house^m, whom he supposed to be his best friend, with design to betake himself from thence to some monastery. But before he could execute his project, his treacherous friend betrayed him to Oswy, who ordered him to be inhumanly murdered, in expectation of seizing his kingdom with the greater ease. This barbarous action did not, however, procure him the advantage he hoped for. The people of Deira, exasperated against him, and dreading to fall under the dominion of so cruel a prince, immediately sent Adelwalt, son of

650.

G. Malm.
lib. i. cap. 3.

651.

Bede, lib. iii.
cap. 14.
Sax. Ann.
Huntingd.

^m He is called by Bede, earl of Hunwald. Brompton says, he was betrayed by one Condehere, a soldier, p. 787.

THE HISTORY

Oswald his brother, upon the throne, who was better able to defend himself than his predecessor. Some time after, Oswy, touched with remorse, founded a monastery in the very place where Oswin was murderedⁿ, flattering himself he should atone for his crime by this slight penance.

OSWY
still in Bernicia.

652. ADELWALT
in Deira.

It was hardly possible for Oswy and Adelwalt, though very near relations, to live in a good understanding. Oswy still preserved his claim to the kingdom of Deira, and Adelwalt could not be ignorant of it. Consequently it was his interest, not only to suspect his uncle's designs, but even to put it out of his power, if possible, from giving him any disturbance. For this reason, he readily listened to the proposal of a league with the kings of Mercia and East-Anglia, against Oswy. Penda, though seventy-eight years old, was the author of this league. Oswy being informed of it, did all that lay in his power to divert the impending storm, even to the offering money to Penda, to bribe him to desist from his enterprize. But nothing could appease that prince, the irreconcilable enemy of the Northumbrians, who seeing himself supported by the armies of East-Anglia and Deira, believed he had now a favourable opportunity to gratify his passion. Oswy therefore found he was obliged to stand alone against these three enemies, whose united forces could not but inspire him with some dread. In this pressing necessity, he made a vow to found a dozen monasteries, and make his daughter a nun, if God would give him the victory. To this vow it is that historians ascribe the success God was pleased to vouchsafe him in this war.

655.
G. Malm.
lib. i. c. 4:

Whilst the two armies were advancing towards one another, Adelwalt formed new projects. He considered, to which side soever the victory inclined, it would prove equally dangerous to him, since he had the same reason to fear his being deprived of his dominions by Penda as by Oswy: and therefore he resolved to save his own troops, and stand neuter during the battle, that he might be in a condition to defend himself against the conqueror. When the two armies came in sight, Penda, who had not dived into Adelwalt's design, boldly attacked the king of Bernicia, not doubting of being seconded by the Deirians and East-Anglians. But when the Mercians saw

ⁿ Ingethlingum, according to Bede, lib. xiii. c. 14, 24; afterwards Yeding priory in Yorkshire. Lamb. Top. Dic.

Adel-

Adelwalt draw off his troops, their ardor abated, and thinking they were betrayed, began to give ground. Mean while, the kings of Mercia and East-Anglia did their utmost to revive the courage of the frightened troops. But being both slain in endeavouring to renew the fight, their army was put to route. *Bede, lib. iii.* This battle was fought in Yorkshire on the banks of the Aire, cap. 24. and the place was afterwards called Winwidfield °.

After this victory, Oswy, without loss of time, marched into Mercia, and became master of that kingdom, which he enjoyed but three years. In that interval, the monarchy, vacant ever since the death of Oswald his brother, was conferred upon him. Penda was properly the only prince that could justly pretend to it, but withal the most dangerous to be intrusted with it.

Oswy held Mercia by right of conquest, whilst the sons of Penda were forced to seek for refuge among their friends. Their misfortune would doubtless have been of longer continuance, had not the rigorous proceedings of Oswy's officers compelled the Mercians to take up arms. They concerted their measures so well, that, when Oswy least expected it, the Northumbrians were on a sudden driven out of Mercia, and Wulpher, son of Penda, placed on the throne.

A few years after, Oswy in some measure repaired this loss, by the acquisition of Deira, upon the death of Adelwalt, who died without heirs. Thus Northumberland was once more united into one kingdom.

O S W Y alone.

This re-union however did not hold long. Oswy's tender affection for his natural son Alfred, induced him to divide Northumberland again, and make him king of Deira, though contrary to the people's inclination.

O S W Y
in Bernicia.A L F R E D
in Deira.

Oswy, after he had reigned twenty-eight years, died in 670^p. The beginning of his reign was troubled with wars; but his good fortune prevailed at last, and procured him some quiet. Bede, for reasons taken notice of in the history of the

o That is the Field of Victory, now
Leeds. Camden.

p And was buried in Whitby monastery in Yorkshire, called in Saxon

Streanecheal, founded by his daughter
Elfreda. Malm. p. 20. Bede, lib. iii.
cap. 24.

church,

him prisoner, ordered him to be beheaded, about two months after his revolt.

Flor. Wig.

When Ofred came of age, and was master of himself, he fell into a wicked and lewd course of life; but especially he had little or no regard for the monks, which was looked upon then as the height of impiety. He made no scruple, as 'tis pretended, to debauch the nuns, and even to force them, when fair means would not prevail. Though this imputation cannot be said to be certainly true, yet the effects of it were great. After Alfred, Ofwy's natural son, came to the crown, all the bastards of the kings, or their descendants, imagined they had the same right to aspire to the throne. This proved the occasion of many troubles in the kingdom. Cenred and Ofric, descendants of Ogga, natural son of Ida, seeing Ofred was neither esteemed nor beloved, formed a party against him, which was abetted to the utmost of their power by the regular and secular clergy, whose interest it was to have a new sovereign. This party became at length so strong, as to be able to give Ofred battle, wherein he was slain, in the nineteenth year of his age, and eleventh of his reign. Cenred, the principal author of the revolt, was his successor.

716.
G. Malm.
lib. i. c. 3.
H. Hunt.
lib. ii.

CENRED.

716. This prince died in the second year of his reign, and Ofric, that assisted him in obtaining the crown, mounted the throne after him.

OSRIC.

718. He reigned eleven years, without doing any thing remarkable, and left his crown to his cousin Ceolulph.

Sax. Ann.
Bede.

CEOLULPH.

730. This prince turning monk, in the seventh or eighth year of his reign, passed the residue of his days in the monastery of Lindisfarn. Edbert ascended the throne after him.

EDBERT.

737. The coronation of Edbert was immediately followed by an invasion of the Picts in the northern frontiers. This war obliging him to march all his forces towards the north, the king of Mercia, taking advantage of their distance, fell upon the

737.
G. Malm.
lib. i. cap. 3.
H. Hunt.
lib. iv.

the southern parts of Northumberland, and carried off a great booty. 740.

Edbert, towards the end of his reign, having made a league with Oengussa king of the Picts, recovered the city of Areclute^q, capital of the kingdom of Lenox, taken by the Welsh in the reign of Alfred. Deovama, general or prince of the Welsh, endeavouring to relieve Areclute, was defeated by the confederate kings. Shortly after, Edbert retired into a monastery, leaving his crown to his son Osulph. 756. Malsb. Huntingd. S. Dunelm.

O S U L P H.

Osulph was assassinated in the first year of his reign; and Mollon-Adelwald, though not of the blood-royal, was raised to the throne. 758.

M O L L O N - A D E L W A L D.

Mollon-Adelwald's election was a fresh occasion of sundry calamities that afflicted Northumberland, and proved in the end the destruction of the kingdom. The Northumbrians having been guilty of the error of placing on the throne a king not of the royal family, all the great men thought themselves entitled to the crown, as well as the princes of the blood. Hence those many factions that ended at last in the entire loss of the publick liberty. Some of the nobles finding Mollon had raised himself to the throne by the help of a powerful party, believed it allowable for them to do the same. Oswy, one of these lords, led the way; but death freed the king from this competitor. Afterwards Alcred, descended from Ida by Alaric, one of his natural sons, following the example of Oswy, and secretly conspiring against Mollon, found means to insnare him and put him to death; after which he was crowned in his stead. 759. Sax. Ann. Malsb. Huntingd. S. Dunelm.

A L C R E D.

Mollon's faction, that was very much humbled by his death, having in time recovered the superiority they had lost, Alcred was forced to fly to the king of the Picts, for fear of falling into the hands of his enemies. As soon as he was gone, Ethelred, son of Mollon, was placed on the throne by his father's party. 761.

^q Or Alcuith, the same with Dumbritton.

E T H E L R E D.

774.
Sax. Ann.
Mahmsb.
S. Dunelm.
Hunting.

As Ethelred had been raised to the crown by the interest of his faction, he judged the best way to fix himself in the throne, would be by the death or banishment of the heads of the contrary party. Accordingly, three of the principal opposers of his election were put to death, for forged or slight crimes. But this method, instead of having the expected effect, served only to hasten the plots of his enemies, whom the deaths of the three innocent lords furnished with a plausible pretence to take up arms. In a short time they were able to bring into the field an army, that gave the king some uneasiness. The king, however, sending his best troops against them, under the command of a general entirely devoted to his service, was in hopes of speedily reducing them to obedience. But his army was overthrown by the rebels. This defeat, which was soon followed by a second, threw him into such an ill situation, that he was obliged to fly for refuge to some of the neighbouring kingdoms. Upon his retiring, Alfwald, son of Osulph, and grandson of Egbert, was placed on the throne by the victorious party.

A L F W A L D I.

779.
H. Hunt.
ff. iv.
R. de How.

Alfwald I. reigned eleven years with great justice and moderation. But, however, it did not prevent his being assassinated by one of the contrary faction. He was honoured by his followers as a saint after his death.

O S R E D. II.

789.
G. Mahmsb.
lib. i. c. 3.

Osred, son of king Alcred, was chosen in his room, who, very unlike his predecessor, became so contemptible, that he was confined to a monastery the first year of his reign. Ethelred's party was deeply concerned in deposing Osred, and had interest enough to recall and place him again on the throne, after fifteen years exile.

E T H E L R E D restored.

Ethelred began his new reign with two acts of cruelty, that very much exasperated his enemies against him. He put Osred his predecessor to death, who, though a monk, made

made him uneasy: and then dispatched out of the way Al-
phus and Alfwil, sons of the good king Alfwald.

During this reign, the Danes made a descent into North-
umberland, and burnt Lindisfarn monastery. Allured by the
booty taken in this first expedition, they came again next
year, and pillaged Tinmouth monastery, founded by king
Egfrid. Ethelred, by the assistance of his father-in-law,
Uffa king of Mercia, prevented them from carrying their
ravages any farther, and drove them back to their ships,
where almost all of them perished in a sudden and violent
storm on the English coast.

After Ethelred was recalled, his cruel and revengeful tem-
per very much inflamed the enmity of the opposite faction,
towards him. Mean while, regardless of the murmurs of
his enemies, he thought only of glutting his revenge, and
establishing himself in his throne, by the death or banishment
of those he most feared. At length, attempting to send
Ardulph, one of the principal lords of the country, into
exile, he gave the contrary party an occasion to rebel. After
the civil war had lasted two years, the malecontents, finding
they had taken a tedious and uncertain way to get rid of their
king, caused him to be assassinated. However his faction was
still powerful enough to place Osbald, one of their own party,
on the throne.

Charles the Great, Ethelred's friend, was so incensed with Alcuin,
the Northumbrian, that he was going to proclaim war
against them, as appears in Alcuin's letter, on this occasion,
to Offa king of Mercia.

OSBALD or OSRED.

Whilst people were intent upon the publick rejoicings at
the election of the new king, the opposite party laid their
measures so well, that Osbald was dethroned, twenty-
seven days after his election, and Ardulph chosen in his
room.

r Simeon of Durham, and Hoveden,
say, that Osred went from his monastery
into exile. From whence being invited
over by some of his party, but after-
wards deserted by them, he was taken

by Ethelred, and put to death. S.
Dunelm. p. 112. Hoved. p. 405. So
that he was no monk, as Rapin sup-
poses.

ARDULPH.

796.

The divisions that prevailed in Northumberland still continue to distract that unfortunate kingdom. Ardulph was supported in the throne only by one of the factions that was then the most powerful. But this did not hinder the other party from frequently attempting to get uppermost. Alcred, formerly king of Northumberland, left a son named Alcmund, who was head of this party. This prince beginning to grow formidable, Ardulph put him to death, judging it necessary to sacrifice him to his safety. His death being looked upon by his friends as a martyrdom, Alcmund was ranked among the saints. But this was not all that followed upon his death. It afforded the king's enemies a pretence to rise in arms, and set Alaric, a lord, at their head. But this general being vanquished, and slain in battle, the malecontents remained quiet for some time, in expectation of a more favourable opportunity. And, indeed, the face of affairs was quickly changed. For the opposite party became at length so powerful, that the king was glad to escape out of his enemies hands, by flying to the court of Charles the Great, where the English were always welcome.

800.
Sim. Du-
nelm.

ALFWALD II.

808.

After the retreat of Ardulph, Alfwald II. who had chased him away, was placed on the throne; and reigning about two years, by his death left the crown to Andred.

ANDRED.

810.

In Andred's reign it was that Northumberland submitted to the dominion of Ecbert, king of Wessex, who put an end to the heptarchy.

The

The HISTORY of the KINGDOM of M E R C I A.

THE kingdom of Mercia was bounded on the north by the Humber, by which it was separated from North ^{Kingdom of Mercia.}umberland; on the west by the Severn, beyond which were the Britons or Welsh; on the south by the Thames, by which it was parted from the kingdoms of Kent, Suffex, and Wefsex; on the east by the kingdoms of Effex and East-Anglia. Thus Mercia was guarded on three sides by three large rivers that ran into the sea, and served for a boundary to all the other kingdoms: hence the name Mercia, from the Saxon word Merc, signifying a Bound, and not, as some fancy, from an imaginary river called Mercia. The inhabitants of this kingdom are sometimes termed by historians Mediterranei Angli, or the Midland English; and sometimes Southumbrians, as being south of the Humber; but the most common name is that of Mercians. The principal cities of Mercia were Lincoln, Nottingham, Warwick, Leicester, Coventry, Lichfield, Northampton, Worcester, Gloucester, Derby, Chester, Shrewsbury, Stafford, Oxford, Bristol. Of all the kingdoms of the heptarchy, this was the finest and most considerable. Its greatest length was a hundred and sixty miles, and its greatest breadth about one hundred.

C R I D A.

First king of Mercia, arrived in England in 584. He ^{H. Hunting.} was crowned the same or the following year, and died in ^{Flor. Wig.} 594^a.

I N T E R R E G N U M.

After Crida's death, Ethelbert, king of Kent and monarch of the Anglo-Saxons, made himself master of Mercia, and kept it some time, as will be related in the history of the kingdom of Kent: but afterwards restored it to Wibba, son of Crida, reserving however some right of sovereignty, the nature of which historians have neglected to explain.

^a The Saxon Annals say in 593.

THE HISTORY

WIBBA.

597. This prince reigned nineteen years, and died in 615. He left a son called Penda, who should have succeeded him, but Ethelbert being still alive, and dreading his restless and turbulent spirit, left Mercia about a year without a king. After that he placed Cearlus, cousin-german of Wibba, on the throne.

H. Hunt ag.
lib. ii.
Polychr.
lib. v. cap.
32.

CEARLUS.

616. After the death of Ethelbert, in 619, Cearlus freed Mercia from the dominion of the kings of Kent. He reigned nine years, and died in 624. As he left no children, Penda, son of Wibba, possessed the throne after him.

Malmsh.
G. Thorn.

PENDA.

625. This prince was fifty years old when he came to the crown. Ethelbert had not without reason passed him by after his father's death, he being the most restless and stirring prince that ever reigned before or since in England: he hated peace worse than death. I have already, in the history of Northumberland, spoken of his wars with Edwin, Oswald, and Oswy. His war with the kings of Wessex and East-Anglia, to avoid repetition, shall be related in the history of these two kingdoms.

M. Hunting.
lib. ii.
Malmsh.

653. In 653, Penda caused Peda, his eldest son, to be crowned of Leicester, and then sent him into Northumberland to espouse the daughter of king Oswy, where he was converted to Christianity. He brought back with him some missionaries, who preached the Gospel in Mercia with good success. But Penda lived and died a pagan.

At length Penda was slain in battle, in the eightieth year of his age, as was related in the history of Northumberland. He left five sons, Peda, Wulfer, Ethelred, Merowald, and Mercelm; and two daughters, Ciniburga and Ciniswintha.

Bede, lib. iii.
cap. 24.
Malmsh.

INTERREGNUM.

657. After the defeat and death of Penda, Oswy became master of Mercia, and kept it three years: however he left Peda, his son-in-law, the little kingdom of Leicester. But Peda being soon after poisoned by his wife, Oswy seized that too, and held it with the rest of Mercia till he was driven thence by

Bede.
Polychr.
Flor. Wig.

by Wulfer, as we have seen in the history of Northumberland.

WULFER.

Wulfer was almost as much a stranger to peace as his father Penda. He waged war, at several times, with all the neighbouring princes, with various success, one while conqueror, another while vanquished. As the particulars of these wars are not very material, and besides are but lamely related by the historians, it is needless to insist upon them. I shall only observe, that he took Adelwalch, king of Sussex, prisoner, and brought him to Mercia, after having conquered his kingdom^b. Some time after, Adelwach turning Christian, during his imprisonment, Wulfer gave him the Isle of Wight, which he had likewise subdued. There is room to conjecture, that Wulfer had also conquered the kingdom of Essex, since it is well known he disposed of the bishopric of London in favour of one Wina.

659.

M. West.

663.

Bede, lib. iv.

cap. 1. et 7.

Flor. Wig.

666.

Wulfer was still an idolater when he came to the crown; but shortly after was converted, and his children were brought up in the Christian religion^c. Vereburga, one of his daughters, was honoured as a saint. He died in 675, thinking to leave his crown to his son Cenrid; but his brother Ethelred found means to supplant his nephew, and obtain the kingdom.

Malm. lib. i.

cap. 4.

Flor. Wig.

ETHELRED.

Ethelred, as soon as he was seated on the throne, erected Herefordshire into a kingdom, and gave it to Merowald his brother^d, who dying without heirs, left it to his younger brother Mercelm: but he dying also without children, this little kingdom was reunited to Mercia.

675.

In 679, Ethelred invaded Kent, and made great devastation^e. After that he turned his arms against Northumberland^f, and compelled Egfrid to restore certain Mercian towns, taken during the reign of Wulfer. Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, greatly contributed to the peace concluded between these two kings.

679.

Bede, lib. iv.

cap. 21.

O. Malm.

lib. iii. de

Pont. Bede.

Flor. Wig.

M. Westm.

^b He also defeated Cenowalch, king of Wessex, at Aton, near Wallingford. Sax. Annal. Malm. Tyrel, p. 138.

^c He married Ermenilda, the daughter of Ercombert, king of Kent. Higd. Polychron. p. 236.

^d He married the daughter of Er-

menred, king of Kent. Higd. Polych. p. 240.

^e Particularly, he destroyed Rochester. Huntingd. p. 318. p. 184.

^f In this battle was slain Elfwine, king Elfrid's brother, near the river Trent. Sax. Ann. Malm. Huntingd. p. 184.

In 697, Ostrith, wife of Ethelred, was assassinated^s, and the little care to discover the murderers, gives room to suspect the king himself was not innocent. However that be, Ethelred growing weary of the world, resigned his crown to Cenred, his nephew, son of Wulfer, and turned monk in Bardney monastery, of which shortly after he was made abbot.

CENRED.

704. Nothing remarkable was done by this prince, during his
Bede, lib. v. four years reign, but the exchanging his crown for the monkish
cap. 20. habit, after the example of Offa, king of Essex, who was come to his court to demand Cinifwitha his aunt, daughter of Penda, in marriage. By the persuasions of this princess, both kings were prevailed upon to turn monks, and go to Rome, and receive the tonsure at the pope's hands. Ceolred, son of Ethelred, succeeded his cousin Cenred.

CEOLRED.

709. Ceolred had a terrible war to sustain against Ina, king of
Ann. Sax. the West-Saxons. Historians, according to custom, without
Flor. Wig. relating the motives or particulars of this war, only say, the
H. Hunting. two kings, at Wodenburg in Wiltshire, fought a bloody
lib. iv. battle with such equal success, that neither could boast of the victory.

Ceolfred was far from being of his predecessor's mind to prefer the monk's habit before a crown. He not only disregarded the monks and the rest of the clergy, but, if the historians are to be credited, violated their privileges without any scruple. This behaviour, so contrary to that of all the other English princes, raised great clamours against him. The monks in particular took all occasions to paint him in the blackest colours. Their animosity followed him even in the other world: after his death, which happened in 716, they gave out that he resigned his last breath, blaspheming and talking with the devil. Such kind of reports against those that were not in the interest of the monks, were not spread without design. The histories of those days are full of the like tales. Ethelbald, grandson of Eoppa, brother of Penda, mounted the throne after Ceolred.

^s By the South-humbers, i. e. the Mercians, south of the Trent. Sax. Ann. Tyrrel, p. 230.

ETHELBALD.

ETHEL BALD.

This prince was one of the most illustrious kings that had hitherto worn the crown of Mercia, to which he added the dignity of monarch of the Anglo-Saxons, resigned by Ina, king of Wessex, when he turned monk. This dignity seems to have consisted originally only in presiding at the general assemblies, and commanding the armies of the seven kingdoms, and some other prerogatives, which conferred no right of sovereignty over the other kings: at least, the electors looked upon it in this light. But the monarchs generally considered it after a very different manner: they were no sooner invested with it, but their first care was to grasp at an unlimited power, to which they thought themselves entitled by the examples of the preceding monarchs. Ethelbald, improving some favourable junctures in his reign, carried the prerogatives of the monarchy to the highest degree, and thereby grew very troublesome and formidable to the other kings^h. For which reason the kings of Wessex and Northumberland agreed to attack him from two different quarters at once. As Mercia was situated between these two kingdoms, Ethelbald was obliged to send half his army towards the north, whilst with the other half he marched himself against the West-Saxons commanded by Ethelun. The particulars of this war are unknown, except that Ethelbald was vanquished and his army put to routⁱ. 716.
Bede, lib. v.
cap. 24.
H. Hunting.

Four years after, this prince was slain^k in a mutiny of the army, raised by a lord, named Beornred, who was proclaimed king by the soldiers. 752.
Ann. Sax.
H. Hunting.

BEORNRED, the Usurper.

Beornred's election by the army, who had no right to assume such an authority, was very displeasing to the Mercian lords, especially as the king elect was no ways related to the royal family: and therefore, before Beornred had time to establish himself in his usurpation, they forthwith placed on 757.
G. Malmsh,
lib. iii. cap. 4
Bede, Epit.

^h Anno 733, he took Somerton. In 742, defeated the Welsh, and made all the kings and provinces of England, south of the Humber, acknowledge him for their sovereign. Huntingd. Brompt. Sax. Ann.

ⁱ At Beorgford, or Burford, in Oxfordshire. Tyttel, p. 266. Huntingd.

p. 341. says it was at Hereford. See Sax. Ann. Malmsh. Brompt.

^k At Secandune, now called Seckington, in Warwickshire. Camden, p. 507, 515, and was buried at Reopandune, or Repton, in Derbyshire. Camden, p. 491.

the throne Offa, nephew of the late king. Presently after, Offa drawing an army together, gave the usurper battle, and obtained a complete victory. Some say, Beornred was slain, and others, that he maintained his ground for a while in some part of Mercia.

O F F A.

757. Offa was one of the most famous kings that reigned in
 G. Malmsh. England during the heptarchy, not only for his being invested
 lib. iv. with the dignity of monarch, but for his victories over the
 Huntingd. Welsh and the neighbouring Saxon princes, and for several
 Mat. Paris. other things which I shall briefly relate. One of his greatest
 victories was that over Aldric, king of Kent, in 774¹.

Nothing was more common than to see those who were invested with the monarchy aspiring to a sovereign authority over the other kings. Offa, treading in the steps of his predecessors, never ceased to disturb his neighbours on that occasion, and was engaged by his ambition in continual wars with such princes as disputed his pretended rights. But these wars are so confusedly related by the historians, that all I could say would not suffice to give a clear notion of them. We must therefore be contented with what has been said of him in general, which may serve to discover the character of king Offa.

Whilst Offa was employed in subduing the Saxon kings, the Welsh, always upon the watch to improve the advantages afforded them by the frequent dissensions of the English, thought they had now a fair opportunity to attack him. This unexpected war, wherein the Welsh at first were successful, caused Offa to conclude a peace with the English, in order to turn his arms against the Welsh. He quickly reduced them to such a condition, that they were forced to abandon not only their late conquests in Mercia, but also part of their own country beyond the Severn, which Offa seized and peopled with English colonies. But to prevent the Welsh from ever retaking it, he threw up a rampart, defended by a large ditch, by means of which he parted his conquests from the rest of Wales. This rampart, in length twenty-four miles, reaching from the mouth of the Dee to the place where the Wye runs into the Severn, was called Clawdh Offa, or Offa's Dyke^m.

In

¹ He conquered the kings of Kent, the West-Saxons at Bensington in Oxfordshire. Huntingd. p. 343.
 Sax. Ann. Anno 778, he defeated m This dike may be seen on Brachy-hill,

In 786, Offa made his son Egfrid partner with him in the Ann. Sax. government, and gave his daughter Edburg in marriage to Mat. Paris. Brithric king of Wessex.

What cast the greatest blemish on Offa's reputation, was M. Westm. his treachery to Ethelbert, king of the East-Angles. This Ann. Sax. young prince designing to marry, came to the court of Offa and demanded his daughter Adelfrida in marriage. He was received at first with great marks of affection and esteem. But soon after the scene was changed; Offa, by the pressing and repeated instigations of Quendrida his wife^a, who represented to him that he ought by all means to embrace so fair an opportunity of becoming master of East-Anglia, was persuaded to break the most sacred laws of honour and hospitality, by the murder of Ethelbert^o. Which done, he marches Brompton. into East-Anglia with a numerous army before the East-Angles had time to prepare for their defence, and meeting with no opposition, seizes the kingdom, and unites it to Mercia.

He had no sooner committed this horrid fact, but he was tormented with cruel remorse. His crime was continually before his eyes, and tortured him to such a degree, that he could not enjoy a moment's ease. To appease his raging conscience, he resolved upon a journey to Rome (which he performed in 794) to obtain a pardon from the pope, and secure himself from the punishment due to his crime. The pope^p granted his request, on condition he would be liberal to the churches and monasteries; for that was the only way then of attoning for sins. It were to be wished that restitution had also been enjoined as a necessary and previous condition.

Among the liberalities of Offa to the churches of Rome, we must not omit one of great consequence for England. Ina, king of the West-Saxons, had now founded at Rome a college for the education of English youth; for the maintenance whereof the founder ordered a penny to be collected yearly

hill, and near Rhyd at Helig and Lantarden in Herefordshire: and it continued northwards from Knighton over a part of Shropshire into Montgomeryshire, and goes over the long mountain of Kevn Digoth to Harden Castle, crosses the Severn and Lhau-Drinio common; from whence it passes the Vynrwy again into Shropshire, not far from Oswalstry. In Denbighshire it is visible along the road between Rbywabon and Wrex-

ham, and being continued through Flintshire, ends a little below Holywell, a place formerly the site of the castle of Basingwork. See *Camd.* p. 698.

ⁿ Matt. Paris says, that he afterwards shut her up, and would never let her come nigh him again, p. 981.

^o He was murdered at Mardon, about three miles from Hereford. *Lewis's Hist. of Gr. Brit. Introd.* p. 43.

^p Adrian.

M. Paris.
M. West.

of every family in his dominions^q. This kind of charity was termed Romefcot, that is, Tribute of Rome, or, sent to Rome. Offa extended this tax throughout Mercia and East-Anglia, the lands belonging to the monastery of St. Alban's only excepted: and because this money was paid at Rome, on a holyday called St. Peter's ad Vincula^r, this tax was named Peter-pence instead of Romefcot. By this means the directors of the college were abundantly supplied wherewithal to defray the expence they were at from the great concourse of the English, who came to study at Rome. In process of time, the popes pretending it was a tribute paid by the English to St. Peter and his successors, converted it to their own use, till it was entirely abolished by Henry VIII^s.

795.
Bede, lib. i.
cap. 7.

Before Offa left Rome, he obtained of the pope the canonization of St. Alban, the first British martyr, whose relics were pretended to be found at Verulam. At his return, he built there a fine church and a stately monastery, to which he granted great privileges and a large revenue. From that time Verulam was called St. Alban's. Offa also was very munificent to the church of Hereford, where the body of the king of East-Anglia lay buried, that prayers might be incessantly made for the murdered and murderer.

lib. i. cap. 4.

William of Malmesbury, speaking of king Offa, doubts whether he should rank him among the good or bad princes^t. The canonization of St Alban, procured by his means, and the founding a noble monastery in honour of that saint, being put in the balance against the murder of Ethelbert, is the ground of that historian's uncertainty.

Lambert.
Sax. leg.
Snellman.
Concil.

The reign of Offa is memorable upon several accounts: His dike: The union of East-Anglia to Mercia: The erecting of Lichfield into an archbishoprick^u, of which I shall speak elsewhere: Peter-Pence: A body of laws published under the title of Mercens Leaga, i. e. Laws of the Mercians^w, which served for a pattern to his successors, and

^q It was in all upon twenty-three of our present counties, for so far his dominions extended.

^r First day of August.

^s Nich. Bacon, in his Historical and Political Discourses, chap. ix. makes it appear it was far from being a tribute. Rapin.

^t Probably the true reason why W. Malmesbury gives him an indifferent character, is because he seized the lands of several monasteries, particularly of

that at Malmesbury. See W. Malmesb. p. 30.

^u Upon his conquering Kent, he removed the archiepiscopal see from Canterbury to Lichfield. See M. Paris, p. 978, 979. Malmesb. de Pontif. p. 199.

^w Concerning this matter, see Nicholson's History, lib. p. 45. and his preface to Dr. Wilkins's Saxon-Laws.

the greatest part whereof were inserted in king Alfred's laws, published about the end of the next century ^x.

Offa had contracted a close friendship with Charles the Great. We meet with some of their Letters in the Life of Offa at the end of Matthew Paris's history: A life wherein are almost as many fables as truth.

This prince died in 796, after a reign of thirty-nine years. Egfrid, who had already been crowned as his partner, succeeded him both in the kingdom of Mercia, and dignity of Monarch.

E G F R R I D.

Egfrid, who survived his father but four or five months, employed that time in enriching the monks, and particularly those of St. Albans. Cenulph, descended from Wibba by another branch, succeeded him in both his dignities.

C E N U L P H.

Cenulph was no sooner on the throne, but he declared war against Edbert-Pren king of Kent, the motive whereof is unknown ^y. We are only told, it proved fatal to the king of Kent, who being taken prisoner, was carried to Mercia, where Cenulph ordered his eyes to be put out ^z, after he had placed another king ^a on the throne of Kent ^b.

Cenulph died in 819, after a glorious reign of twenty-four years. He left a son very young, named Cenelm, and two daughters, Quendrida and Burganilda.

C E N E L M.

Quendrida, eldest sister of Cenelm, hoping to mount the throne, if her brother was out of the way, caused him to be assassinated by one Ascobert, who threw his body into a well, where it was found, as it is pretended, by a miracle. Quen-

^x Geoffrey of Monmouth, lib. i. cap. 20. and Ranulph of Chester, lib. i. cap. 50. confound these Mercian laws with the laws of one Marcia, wife of Guithelin a British king. Alfred the Great says in his preface to his laws, That he had taken from the laws of Ethelbert king of Kent, Ina king of Wessex, and Offa king of Mercia. Rapiin.

^y Malpasbury assigns no other reason

for it, but that he was pushed on by an inveterate animosity against them, which he inherited from Offa, p. 33.

^z W. Malsbury says, that he ordered him to be set at liberty soon after.

^a Cuthred. Malsbury.

^b He restored Adelard, archbishop of Canterbury, to the dignity of metropolitan. Malsb. ibid.

THE HISTORY

drida did not reap that benefit from her crime, she expected ; for the Mercians placed on the throne Ceolulph uncle of the late king.

CEOLULPH.

819. This prince, after a year's reign, was deposed by Bernulph, one of the principal lords of the country.

BERNULPH, 821. LUDICAN, 823.
WITGALPH, 825.

I shall say nothing here of these three last kings of Mercia, because I shall have occasion to mention them in the history of the kings of Wessex.

The HISTORY of the KINGDOM of EAST-ANGLIA.

East Angles. THE kingdom of the East-Angles was bounded on the north by the Humber and the German ocean : On the east by the same ocean, which surrounded it almost on two sides : On the south by the kingdom of Essex ; and on the west by Mercia. Its greatest length was eighty, and its greatest breadth fifty-five miles. It contained the two counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, with part of Cambridgeshire. The chief towns were Norwich, Thetford, Ely, and Cambridge. I have already related, how this Kingdom was founded by the Angles that landed on the eastern coasts of Britain, under twelve chiefs, the survivor of whom, Uffa, assumed the title of king of the East-Angles.

UFFA.

571. We do not find this prince acted any thing remarkable after his being king. He died in 578, leaving his son Titulus to succeed him.

T I-

TITILUS.

All we know of this king is, that he died in 599, and had 578.
for successor his son Redowald.

REDOWALD.

This prince was the most illustrious of all the kings of 590.
East-Anglia, if not of the whole Heptarchy. As I have had Lang. Chr. Reg.
occasion to speak of him largely in the history of Northum-
berland, I shall only observe here that he died in 624, leav-
ing his crown to his son Erpwald.

ERPWALD.

Erpwald made but a very indifferent figure in the Heptarchy, 624.
being all along in subjection to Edwin king of Northumber- G. Malm. lib. i. c. 3.
land, who might have deprived him of his kingdom, with the
consent of the East-Angles, if the obligations he had received
from Redowald his father, would have suffered him to have
been guilty of so black an ingratitude. However, he was
in reality the sovereign of East-Anglia, though he left Erp-
wald the title of king. Erpwald was assassinated in 633, Bede, lib. ii. cap. 15.
after he had reigned about nine years.

INTERREGNUM.

After his death, East-Anglia had no king for three years, 633.
the reason whereof is unknown. In 636 the East-Angles
placed on the throne Sigebart, half brother of their last king.

SIGEBERT.

This prince who was banished by Erpwald his brother by 636.
the mother's side, on suspicion of aspiring to the crown, had G. Malm. lib. i. c. 5.
retired into France, where he became a Christian. As soon Flor. Wig.
as he was king of East-Anglia, he made it his chief busi- Bede, lib. iii. cap. 18.
ness to bring his subjects to the knowledge of the true God ; H. Heut. lib. iii.
which indeed was planted among them in the reign of Redo-
wald, but having made no great progress, was now almost
extinguished. After he had effected this work by the assistance
of Felix, a Burgundian priest, he retired into a monastery,
resigning his crown to Egric his cousin.

EGRIC.

E G R I C.

644. Egric soon after his coronation, being attacked by Penda
Beke. king of Mercia, the East-Angles having no great confidence in their new king, petition Sigebert to quit his monastery, and put himself at the head of their army. He stood out a good while against their intreaties : But possessed with a notion that heaven must crown so pious a prince with victory, they pressed him so earnestly, that at length he yields to their request, and heads the army with Egric, carrying nothing but a switch in his hand. God, who is not directed by the imaginations of men, gave the victory to the Mercians, both the East-Anglian kings being slain on the spot. They were succeeded by Annas, son of Ennius, nephew of Redowald.

A N N A S.

644. Annas was one of the most illustrious kings of East-Anglia. By his aid it was, that Cenowalch, king of Wessex, who fled to him for refuge, was restored to his kingdom, of which he had been deprived by Penda in 645.
654. This action drew upon him the hatred of Penda, who, *Sax. Ann.* out of revenge, resolved to carry fire and sword into East-
Flor. Wig. Anglia. Annas died whilst he was preparing for his defence, leaving the management of this dangerous war to Ethelric, his brother and successor ^a.

E T H E L R I C.

654. Ethelric dreading the valour and power of Penda, bribes him with a sum of money to desist from his war with the East-Anglians, and to induce him to invade Northumberland, offers to accompany him with all his forces. I have already related how they were both slain in an engagement with Oswy. Adelwald, brother of Ethelric, mounted the throne after him.

A D E L W A L D.

655. We know nothing more of this prince, but that he died in 664, leaving his crown to Adulph, his nephew, son of Ethelric.

^a The Sax. Ann. Huntingd. p. 317, and Malmesbury say, that he was slain in a battle with Penda.

ALDULPH.

Of this prince all we can learn is, that he was alive in 664.
680, and assisted at the council of Hatfield. His successor
was Alfwald.

ALFWALD.

Alfwald died in 749, and was succeeded by Beorna and ^{Flor.} Ethelbert, who divided the kingdom ^{b.} M. West;

BEORNA and ETHELBERT.

Ethelbert dying before the year 758, Beorna reigned alone. 749.
But we know nothing more of him, but that he was succeeded
by Ethelred.

ETHELDRED.

Ethelred dying about the year 790, left the crown to
Ethelbert.

ETHELBERT.

This is the prince that Offa king of Mercia put to death
in order to seize his kingdom in 792^c. From that time
East-Anglia and Mercia made but one kingdom.

The HISTORY of the KINGDOM of ESSEX.

THE kingdom of Essex, or the East-Saxons, was bound- Kingdom of
ed on the north by East-Anglia, on the east by the ^{Essex.}
German ocean; on the south by the Thames, and on the west
by Mercia. Its greatest length was seventy-five miles, and

^b Tyrrel says, he saw in a chronicle succeeded Alfwald. Rapin.
of Mailrois, a king named Switheard, ^c He was sainted after his death.
who reigned in 749. He might have Malmsh. Brompt.

THE HISTORY

its breadth thirty-eight. It contained the counties of Essex and Middlesex, and part of Hertfordshire. The principal cities were London and Colchester; the first of which became afterwards the metropolis of all England. It had formerly been very considerable, by reason of its situation, in the time of the Romans, who made it a colony. But in all probability it was reduced very low after the arrival of the Saxons.

This country having been extorted from Vortigern by Hengist, after the massacre of the British lords, was erected into a kingdom by Ercherwin, the first king. Historians have neglected to inform us of the occasion and manner of founding this kingdom, by which the successors of Hengist were deprived of almost as large a tract of land as the kingdom of Kent. Had a monastery been in the case we should have had all the particulars.

ERCHENWIN.

527. Erchenwin began his reign in 527, and died in 587, after
G. Malm. he had reigned sixty years. He was succeeded by his son
lib. i. cap. 6. Sledda.

SLEDDA.

587. It is not known in what year this prince died, but only that
his son Sabert or Saba reigned in 599.

SABERT.

604. Sabert was the first Christian king of Essex, being converted
Bede, lib. ii. by the preaching of Mellitus, and sollicitation of Ethelbert,
cap. 3. king of Kent, his uncle, by his mother's side^a. He was
noted for his piety and zeal for the true religion. He died in
616, and was succeeded by his three sons^b.

SAXRED, SEWARD, and SIGEBERT.

616. These three princes reigning together, forsook with one
Prompt. consent the Christian religion, which they had professed du-
M. Weilm. ring their father's life. After they had reigned seven years,

^a Ricula, sister to Ethelbert, was thedral, which, according to some, he
Sabert's mother. Rapiu. built. Higd. Polychr. p. 228.

^b He was buried in St. Paul's ca-

they

they rashly came to an unequal engagement with Cinigifil and Bede, lib. ii. Quicelm, kings of Wesslex, and were all three cut off, with ^{cap. 1.} their whole army. Their successor was Sigebert the Little. ^{M. Welfm.}

S I G E B E R T the Little.

Nothing particular is known concerning this prince, not so ^{623.} much as the time of his death, but only that he was succeeded by Sigebert the Good, grandson of a brother of pious king Sabert, and was on the throne in 653.

S I G E B E R T the Good.

Sigebert restored the Christian religion in his dominions, ^{653.} from whence it had been expelled ever since the death of Flor. Wig. Sabert. He was assisted therein by Cedd, a Northumberland ^{in General.} priest, consecrated bishop of the East-Saxons. This prince ^{G. Malm.} was assassinated in 655, by two counts his relations, who, ^{lib. i. c. 6.} having been excommunicated by Cedd, complained that the ^{Bede, lib. iii.} king, instead of avenging their quarrel, had cast himself at ^{cap. 22.} the feet of the bishop, begging pardon for conversing with them after their excommunication. His successor was Swithelm his brother.

S W I T H E L M.

There is nothing particular concerning this prince, except ^{655.} that Sebba and Siger succeeded him. ^{Flor. Wig.} ^{G. Malm.}

S E B B A and S I G E R.

Sebba was son of Seward, and Siger of Sigebert the Little, son of the same Seward. Siger returned to idolatry; but Sebba stedfastly adhered to the Christian religion. They were vassals to the king of Mercia, as was before observed in the reign of Wulfer. Siger dying in 683, Sebba remained sole king of Essex.

S E B B A alone.

Sebba reigned about eleven years longer, and then, being ^{683.} very old, turned monk in 694. He left his crown to Sighard and Senofrid his sons.

SIGHARD and SENOFRID.

694. These two brothers reigned, and very probably died, together about the year 705. Offa, son of Siger, mounted the throne after them.

OFFA.

705. This prince desiring to marry, and casting his eyes on Cieniswintha, daughter of Penda, king of Mercia, goes to the court of Cenred to demand this princess his aunt in marriage. But Cieniswintha, being very religious and not young, persuades her lover to turn monk as she does likewise her nephew, king of Mercia. These two princes went to Rome together, and received the tonsure at the pope's hands. Offa is said by some to be succeeded by Seolred, or Selred, son of Sigebert the Good.

SEOLRED.

707. Seolred reigned thirty-eight years, and was killed at last, but by whom, or in what manner, is unknown. Swithred his son succeeded him, as some say.

SWITHRED.

746. This is the last king of Essex, whose name occurs in history, or the Saxon Annals. He began his reign in 746, and in case he was alive at the time of the dissolution of the Heptarchy, must have reigned seventy-eight years.

Of all the kingdoms of the Heptarchy, there is none whose history is so imperfect as that of the kingdom of Essex.

The HISTORY of the KINGDOM of KENT.

Kingdom of Kent. **T**HE kingdom of Kent, the first that was founded by the Saxons, being neither large nor very considerable, made no figure in the Heptarchy, only during the reigns of Hengist and Ethelbert. It was very advantageously situated, having

OF ENGLAND:

797

having the sea on the south and east; the Thames on the north; and the little kingdom of Suffex on the west. As long as this last subsisted, it served as a bulwark to the kings of Kent, against the ambition of the kings of Wessex. But after it was subdued by the West-Saxons, the kingdom of Kent was in continual danger of falling under the dominion of these powerful neighbours. The truth is, the jealousy between the kings of Wessex and Mercia, and the equality of their forces, were the only things that long prevented this little kingdom from becoming a prey to one or other of them. It was not above sixty miles in length, and thirty in breadth. The chief towns were Dorobern or Canterbury, the capital; Dover, Rochester, and some others not so large indeed, but considerable however for their situation and harbours, as Sandwich, Deal, Folkestone, Reculver, &c.

HENGIST, first king.

Hengist arrived in Great-Britain in 449. He assumed the title of King of Kent in 455, and died in 488. He was succeeded by his son Escus. 455.

ESCUS.

As the Saxons, after the death of Hengist, conferred the command of their armies on Ella king of Suffex, Escus very likely was not in so great esteem as his father. I know of nothing remarkable concerning his reign, which lasted to the year 512. His successor was Octa his son. 488. G. Malm. lib. i. cap. 1.

OCTA.

This prince suffered, or at least could not prevent the dismembering of Essex and Middlesex from the kingdom of Kent, to form the kingdom of the East-Saxons. This is the only particular we meet with during his twenty-two years reign. After Octa, his father Hermenric ascended the throne of Kent. 512. Flor. Wig. Malm. Polychron.

HERMENRIC.

There is nothing particular concerning this prince, who reigned however thirty years. Before his death he associated Ethelbert his son and successor.

a Huntingdon says, that he enlarged his dominions, by conquering the kingdoms of the Britons, p. 312.

ETHELBERT.

568. Ethelbert was one of the most celebrated kings, not only of Kent, but of the whole Heptarchy. He was famous upon many accounts, particularly for his being the first Christian king of his nation. But as I intend to speak elsewhere of the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons, I shall relate here only such of Ethelbert's actions as respect not religion.

This prince, who had a great and an aspiring genius, beheld with regret, that his predecessors had lost the dignity of monarch and the superiority Hengist had over all the Saxons settled in his time in Great Britain. At his coming to the crown, he finds Ceaulin king of Wessex, in possession of this superiority as monarch. He resolves to dispute it with him, but is twice worsted. For this cause he remains quiet till the year 593, when he takes up arms again, not singly as before, but in conjunction with all the other kings, who are displeased with Ceaulin's seizing the kingdom of Suffex. Ethelbert being declared general, defeated Ceaulin, who died soon after.

After Ceaulin's death, Ethelbert being elected monarch of the Anglo-Saxons, and forgetting the fall of Ceaulin, of which he himself was the cause, exercised an almost absolute power over all the kingdoms lying south of the Humber, the Northumbrians alone having found means to keep themselves independent. All the rest chose rather to submit than contend with him ^b.

Besides his being formidable to his neighbours for his great accomplishments, he had moreover the advantage of being allied to France by means of his marriage with Bertha, daughter of Cherebert king of Paris. This alliance procured him great respect, the kings his neighbours having reason to dread the introducing the French into England, as he might easily have done. But through the haughtiness wherewith Ethelbert treated them, after several victories, made them very uneasy, they had still a much greater occasion to be alarmed.

594. Upon the death of Crida, king of Mercia, Ethelbert seized that kingdom, though the deceased king had left a son of fit age to succeed him. In this Ethelbert trod exactly in the steps

^b Malmshury observes, that king Ethelbert, in the beginning of his reign, was a scorn to the neighbouring princes; for being beaten in one or two battles, he could scarce defend his own territories: but when in his first years he had learned more experience in war, he soon brought under his subjection all the nations of the Anglo-Saxons, except the Northumbrians. Rapin,

of Ceaulin, though he had himself stirred up the other kings against that monarch, on account of his ambition. Thus men, for the most part, condemn in others what they approve in themselves. Ethelbert, it seems, pretended that he had a right as monarch, or as descendent of Hengist, to succeed to all the vacant thrones in the Heptarchy. For when fortune smiles on a man, he easily finds reason, good or bad, to support the most exorbitant pretensions. However this be, the Anglo-Saxon princes, alarmed at this open usurpation, began to stir, and take measures to put a stop to this formidable power, before it grew to a greater height. The monarch dreading they would all join in a league against him, and serve him as they did Ceaulin, thought it not prudence to expose himself to the same danger. Accordingly, to make them easy, he restored the kingdom of Mercia to Wibba, son of Crida, reserving however such an authority over him, that he durst not undertake any thing without his order or leave. Satisfied with this kind of moderation, the English princes laid aside all thoughts of a war, which necessity alone had driven them to.

Nothing very remarkable happened in the rest of Ethelbert's reign, except what relates to religion, of which I shall speak in the history of the church. This prince had two wives, the first was Bertha of France, by whom he had Edbald his successor, and Ethelburga, married to Edwin king of Northumberland. The name of his second wife is unknown. He died in 616°, after he had reigned fifty-two years.

Sax. Ann.
Flor. Wig.

E D B A L D.

Edbald was very unlike his father. As soon as he became his own master, he forsook the Christian religion, and turned Heathen. He is even said to have married the queen his mother-in-law. His vices rendering him slothful and unactive, all the English sovereigns cast off the yoke they had worn during the life of Ethelbert. The king of Mercia in particular having freed himself from the servitude Ethelbert had kept him in, Edbald had neither the power nor courage to maintain what the king his father thought he had so firmly established. I don't know whether historians are not agreed in giving this prince a very bad character, in order to set off his conversion the more. However this be, they assure us,

916.
G. Malm.
G. Thorn.
Hist. Ab.
S. Aug.

Bede, lib. ii.
cap. 6.

c Bede places his death in 613. Feb. 24.

THE HISTORY

that by the pains of Laurentius, archbishop of Canterbury, he was brought to a sense of his errors, and returning to the profession of the gospel, spent the remainder of his days in the practice of its precepts. He left two sons^d, Ermenfred and Ercombert, which last succeeded him, and a daughter named Enswith, foundress of the abbey of Folkstone.

ERCOMBERT.

640. Ercombert, though the youngest of Edbald's son's, found means to ascend the throne, in prejudice of his elder brother^e. This prince ordered the temples of the false gods to be razed to the ground, and the idols broken in pieces, lest they should prove a snare to the people. Ermenfred his brother, being seized with a distemper that brought him to his grave, he promised to leave the crown, which of right belonged to him, to his children. But he did not perform his promise: Perhaps it was too late when he came to think of it just before his death, in the year 664^f. He left two sons, Egbert and Lothair, and two daughters; Ermenilda the eldest was wife of Wulpher king of Mercia: the other was a nun.

EGBERT.

664. Egbert was no sooner on the throne, but he put two sons of his uncle Ermenfred to death, for fear they should disturb him in the possession of the crown. He presented their sister Domnena with some lands in the isle of Thanet, where she founded a monastery. This prince died in 673, leaving two sons, Edric and Widred, who were not his immediate successors, the crown being seized by their uncle Lothair.

LOTHAIR.

673. After Lothair had reigned ten years unmolested^g, to secure the succession in his family, he made his son Richard partner with him in the government. This proceeding obliges his nephew Edric, son of his brother Egbert, to with-

685. G. Malm.
lib. i. c. 1.

d By Emma daughter of the king of the Franks. Malmsh. He reigned twenty-three years. Huntingd. p. 317.

e Through the assistance and appointment of his father. S. Dunelm. p. 86.

f Malmsh. p. 10. gives this character of him, "That he was famous

" both for his piety towards God, and
" love to his country."

g This could not be, if Malmsh. account be true, viz. That he was molested for eleven years by Edric the son of Egbert, and that they had several engagements, with various success, p. 11.

draw

draw from court, and apply to Edelwalch king of Suffex for aid, who puts him at the head of an army; with which entering Kent, he vanquished Lothair, who died of the wounds he received in battle. After this victory, Edric was crowned without opposition. Richard, son of Lothair, fled into Germany, where Boniface, archbishop of Mentz, an Englishman, gave him his sister in marriage, and caused him to be elected king of Suabia, if we may believe some historians. I do not know how he came to die at Lucca in Tuscany, where his tomb is still to be seen. They stile him king of England, though at most he was but king of Kent.

Offici. Eccl.
Andr. in.
Festo Ric.

685.

G. Malm.

EDRIC.

This prince reigned but two years^h, and as he had no children, left the crown to his brother Widred, who was forced to make Swabert his partner, whose extraction is unknown.

WIDRED and SWABERT.

After Edric's death, troubles and commotions arose in the kingdom of Kent, occasioned by the ambition of some nobles who fortified themselves, and refused to acknowledge Widred for king. Probably Swabert was one of the principal of the rebels, since he was associated into the government. It is not known whether he was any way related to the royal family.

686.

In the reign of these two kings, Cadwallo king of the West-Saxons, imagining the intestine divisions of Kent would render the kingdom an easy conquest, sent an army thither under the command of his brother Mollon, who over-ran great part of the country. But at length the two kings joining forces, vanquish him in battle. Mollon perceiving he was closely pursued, took shelter with twelve others in a house which they valiantly defended: But the Kentish soldiers setting fire to it, they all miserably perished in the flames. Cadwallo soon revenged the death of his brother, whom he tenderly loved. He entered Kent with a formidable army, and never ceased till he had destroyed the whole country with fire and sword. After this invasion, Kent was reduced so low, that it never more made any figure in the Heptarchy.

H. Hunting.
lib. iv.
678.
G. Malm.
lib. i. c. 1.

Brompt.
G. Thora.
Polychr.
lib. x. cap. 20

^h For he was deprived both of his kingdom and life, says Malm. p. 11. but how, he does not mention.

THE HISTORY

Sax. Ann. The two kings enjoyed no repose till the year 691. This
Flor. Wig. perhaps is the reason of Bede's placing the beginning of
Polychr. Widred's reign in this year, though he was crowned five
 years before. Swabert died in 695, and Widred remained
 sole king of Kent.

WIDRED alone.

695. He reigned twelve years alone, and died in 725¹, leaving
Spel. Conc. three sons, Ethelbert, Edbert, and Aldric: The two eldest
 jointly succeeded him.

ETHELBERT and EDBERT.

725. These two brothers reigned together till the year 748, when
Sax. Ann. Edbert died.
Flor. Wig.

ETHELBERT alone.

748. This prince reigned ten or twelve years alone, and after a
Ep. Bonif. reign of thirty-six years, left his crown to his brother Aldric.
40 and 77. He had associated his son Ardulph, who died before him^k.

ALDRIC.

760. Aldric was frequently attacked by his neighbours, who
Fl. General. seeing the weak estate of the kingdom of Kent, improved the
Malmsh. opportunity to subdue it. Offa king of Mercia was one of
lib. i. c. 3. the most forward. He gained a battle upon Aldric, which sunk
 the affairs of Kent very low, but however, the jealousy of the
 other kings would not suffer Offa to become master of the
 kingdom. Besides, he was diverted from the war by a Welsh
 invasion in Mercia, as hath been related in the history of that
 prince. Had it not been for this, he would in all likelihood
 have united Kent to Mercia.

Aldric had associated his son Alcmund, but that prince dying
 before him, he left no heirs, and with him ended the race of
 Hengist. After his death, Edbert, surnamed Pren, was placed
 on the throne.

¹ According to this computation, he three, p. 17.

must have reigned forty years, whereas ^k In this reign Canterbury was burnt.
 Malmsh. says he reigned but thirty- Malmsh. p. 11.

EDBERT-PREN.

The kingdom of Kent being extremely weakened, Cenulph ^{794.}
king of Mercia, making use of so fair an opportunity, ra- ^{G. Malm.}
vaged it from one end to the other; and at last having de- ^{lib. i. cap. ix.}
feated and taken Edbert prisoner, carried him into Mercia,
and put out his eyes. After that, he placed on the throne
Cudred, who was in absolute dependence upon him, and paid
him tribute.

CUDRED.

This tributary king reigned eight years as vassal of the king ^{879.}
of Mercia, who permitted, after his death in 805, his son ^{S. Dunelm.}
Baldred to succeed him. ^{Rog. Hov.}

BALDRED.

In the reign of Baldred it was that the heptarchy was dis- ^{805.}
solved. This dissolution began with the conquest of Kent by
Ecbert, king of Wessex, as will be seen hereafter.

The HISTORY of the KINGDOM of SUSSEX.

THE kingdom of Suffex was one of the most inconsiderable <sup>The king-
dom of Suff-
sex.</sup>
of the heptarchy. It contained only the two counties
of Suffex and Surry, the greatest part of which consisted of the
large forest of Andreswald, so called by the Saxons from An-
derida, the name it had in the time of the Romans. As this
forest stood untouched when Ella conquered Suffex, we may
suppose it was cleared by degrees. This kingdom was not
above fifty miles long and forty broad.

It was bounded on the north by the Thames, on the south
by the sea, on the east by the kingdom of Kent, and on the
west by Wessex. The capital city was Chichester, built by
Cissa, the second king of this kingdom. He built also Ciss-
bury, whose ruins are still to be seen.

E L L A,

ELLA, first king.

491. Ella arrived in Britain in 476, and was crowned king of
Suffex in 491. He was a prince of so great reputation among
the Saxons, that they judged him worthy to succeed Hengist
H. Hunting. in the command of their armies. He met with some ill suc-
cess, having to deal with so experienced a general as Arthur.
But however it did not hinder him from settling in the country
where he first landed, and founding there the kingdom of
Book II. Suffex, or of the South-Saxons. I have largely spoken of
Badulph and Colgrin his sons, slain in the battle of Badon.
This prince dying in 514, left the crown to his only sur-
viving son Cissa:

C I S S A.

514. Cissa was memorable only for his long reign of seventy-six
years, and, I may add, his great age. For supposing him
but a year or two old when his father brought him over, in
476, he must have been at least one hundred and fifteen, or
one hundred and sixteen years of age, when he died, in 590.
M. Westm. But it is not very likely Ella should bring with him a child of
a year old.

590. Cissa leaving no issue, Ceaulin, king of Wesssex and mo-
narch of the Anglo-saxons, seized the kingdom of Suffex.
This occasioned the league against him. But notwithstanding
his being vanquished, Ceolric his nephew and successor re-
mained in possession of Suffex.

Flor. Wig. From that time the South-Saxons made several attempts to
H. Hunting. shake off the yoke of the kings of Wesssex. And herein
lib. ii. properly consists the history of Suffex, till the kingdom was
entirely subdued.

In 607, they revolted against Ceolric, king of Wesssex, but
were reduced to obedience.

In 648, they made another struggle with better success,
Cenowalch, king of Wesssex, continuing still in East-Anglia;
and Penda, king of Mercia, being master of Wesssex, the
South-Saxons took the opportunity to place on their throne a
king named Adelwach.

A D E L W A C H.

684. The kingdom of Wesssex having suffered much by Penda's
invasion, who seized and kept it three years, Cenowalch
was little able, after his restoration, to dethrone the new king
of

of Suffex. But Adelwalch however was not left in quiet: 661.
 Wulfer, king of Mercia, having attacked Cenowalch, and M. Westm.
 worsted him in several encounters, penetrated as far as Suffex,
 where vanquishing Adelwalch in battle, he took him prisoner,
 and after that became master of his kingdom and the Isle of
 Wight. Adelwalch having embraced the Christian religion in Bede, lib. iv.
 Mercia, where he was prisoner, Wulfer set him at liberty, and cap. 13.
 made him a present of the Isle of Wight^a. Sax. Ann.

It is very probable Adelwalch, after the death of Wulfer, recovered the kingdom of Suffex, since we find in the Saxon Annals, that he was on the throne in 686.

The same year Cedwalla, a West-Saxon fugitive prince, 686.
 entered Suffex with an army, and Adelwalch, endeavouring G. Malm.
 to drive him thence, was slain in battle^b. lib. iii. de

After the death of Adelwalch, Cedwalla would fain have Pont. Bede.
 made himself master of Suffex, but was opposed by Authun lib. iv. cap.
 and Berthun, who were returned with an army from an ex- 15.
 pedition in the kingdom of Kent. At the same time Ced-
 walla, hearing of the death of the king of Wessæx, who had
 expelled him his dominions, returned thither, where he was
 placed on the throne. Mean while, Authun and Berthun
 were crowned kings of Suffex. They are said by some to be
 sons of Adelwalch, and by others his generals only.

AUTHUN and BERTHUN.

These two kings did not live long undisturbed. Cedwalla, 688.
 now become king of Wessæx, made war upon them, and
 gained a battle, wherein Berthun was slain.

AUTHUN alone.

Authun very probably preserved the crown of Suffex by an
 entire dependence on the king of Wessæx, who after the
 death of Authun, would not suffer even the vacant throne to
 be filled.

The South-Saxons made several attempts to recover their 722.
 liberty. They took up arms in 722: but having taken wrong Sax. Ann.
 measures, Ina, king of Wessæx, reduced them to obedience. Huntingd.
 lib. iv.

Three years after, taking advantage of some troubles that 725.
 broke out in Wessæx, they placed on the throne a king named

^a And of the country of the Meap- and West-mean. Camden in Hamp-
 shire. Bede, lib. iv. cap. 13. shire.
^b And after a reign of eighteen years.
 which is supposed to be that part of Huntingd. p. 314.
 Hampshire, that is now divided into the
 hundreds of Meansborow, East-Mean,

THE HISTORY

CLEOLULPH.

598. All we know of this prince is, that in 607, he reduced to
 Fl. Wigorn. obedience the South-Saxons, who had revolted^d. He died
 Huntingd. in 611, and had for his successor Cinigifil; his nephew, son
 of Ceolric.

CINIGISIL.

611. A year after his coronation, Cinigifil associated Quicelm
 his brother, or rather divided with him the kingdom of
 Wessex.

CINIGISIL and QUICELM.

612. These two brothers obtained, in 614, a signal victory over
 614. the Britons^c.
 Huntingd. I have already given an account of Quicelm's wars with
 Edwin king of Northumberland, and shall have further occa-
 sion to mention him in the history of the church; and there-
 fore shall say no more of him here. Quicelm turned Chri-
 stian a little before his death, which happened in 635.

CINIGISIL alone.

636. This prince, who had embraced the Christian religion some
 time before his brother, reigned alone till his death. He left
 his crown to his son Cenowalch.

CENOWALCH.

643. The reign of Cenowalch was much troubled by his wars
 with the kings of Mercia. Penda, whose sister he had mar-
 645. ried and divorced, attacked him when he least expected it,
 and compelled him to abandon his kingdom, and fly for refuge
 to Annas, king of the East-Angles, where he remained the
 646. three years Penda kept possession of Wessex. Cenowalch was
 648. converted in East-Anglia, and at length restored to his king-
 dom by the assistance of Annas.

d Huntingdon says, that during his whole reign, he was engaged in wars either with the English, the Scots, or the Picts, p. 315. And Malmabury, that he spent his whole life in wars, and was never idle, being always employed either in defending or enlarging his dominions, p. 12.

e At Beafmdune, Sax. Annal. which Mr. Camden takes to be Bampton in Devonshire, or Bindon in Dorsetshire, p. 54, 56. They had also a battle with Penda, king of Mercia, who attempted to take Cirencester from them. Malmstb. p. 12.

OF ENGLAND.

209

In 652, he obtained a signal victory over the Britons^f; 652.
which was followed by another 658^g.

Some years after, he was engaged in war with Wulfer, 661.
successor of Penda; but which was the aggressor, or what was
the success of the war, is unknown. Wulfer was defeated
and taken prisoner. Others affirm he had entirely the ad-
vantage, which to me seems most likely^h. It is certain Wul-
fur conquered Suffex and the Isle of Wight, which he could
not have done, if Cenowalch had been in condition to oppose
him. However this be, Cenowalch died in 672, and left his
crown to queen Sexburga.

G. Malmsh.
Sax. Ann.
H. Hunting.
661.
Ethelw.
lib. ii. cap. 7.
G. Malmsh.
Sax. Ann.
Fl. Wigorn.
H. Hunting.
G. Malmsh.
lib. i. cap. 4.

SEXBURGA.

She was a princess of great courage, of a very sublime and 627.
extensive genius, and possessed all the qualifications necessary
for well-governing a kingdom. She reigned but one year,
and then died, as some say; but according to others, was de-
posed by the West-Saxons, who thought it a dishonour to
obey a womanⁱ.

627.
Id.
Id.

After the death or expulsion of Sexburga, the kingdom was
divided among several of the great men^k, of whom Cenfus,
a prince of the royal blood, descended from Cerdic, was the
chief. Nothing more particular is known concerning this
dismembering of the kingdom, which however was united
again into one body, after these petty tyrants were either dead
or expelled.

Fl. Wigorn.
in Oca.

673.

CENFUS, ESCWIN, and CENTWIN.

In 674, Cenfus associated his son Escwin; and probably 674:
was forced to let Centwin, brother to the late king Cenowalch,
reign also over some part of the kingdom.

H. Hunting.
lib. iii.

The next year, Wulfer attacked the kings of Westex,
whose army was commanded by Escwin. A bloody battle
was fought, in which Wulfer had the advantage, though the
loss on both sides was very great.

^f At Witgeornestun, says Malmsh.
p. 13. The Saxon Annals say at Bra-
desford, now Bradford, in Wiltshire.
See Camden.

^g Near the hill called Pege, in So-
mersethire; the Welsh were driven
back as far as the river Parbet. Hunt.
p. 317. Malmsh.

^h Malmshury says, that Cenowalch
deprived Wulfer of the greatest part
of his kingdom, p. 13. But Hun-
tingdon affirms that Cenowalch was

defeated, p. 317.

ⁱ M. Westminster says, she was ex-
pelled the kingdom by the nobles, who
despised female government. But what
authority he had for this, does not ap-
pear. Malmshury gives her a great
character.

^k For about the space of ten years.
Bede, lib. iv. cap. 12.

^l At a place called in the Saxon
Annals, Bedanheafde, now Bedwin, in
Wiltshire, Camden.

THE HISTORY

Centus died two years after, and Eswin his son did not long survive him. Thus Centwin remained sole king of Wessex.

CENTWIN alone.

676. History informs us, that in 682, Centwin obtained a signal victory over the Welshⁿ, upon which Cadwallader their king was forced to go and sue for assistance from the king of Armórica: the Welsh prince afterwards took a journey to Rome, where he died.

Fl. Wigorn. About the end of Centwin's reign, Cedwalla, a prince of the blood-royal of Wessex, had so gained the people's affection, that the king, being jealous of him, ordered him to depart the kingdom. As Cedwalla could not dispute the king's command, he retired into Suffex; and being well beloved, a great many young people chose to accompany him, and follow his fortune, insomuch that he entered Suffex with a sort of armyⁿ. Adelwalch, then king of Suffex, angry at Cedwalla's presuming to enter his dominions in a warlike manner, and without his permission, would have driven him thence, but was slain in the fight. After this victory, Cedwalla would have seized the kingdom, but was prevented by Authun and Berthun, as before related in the history of Suffex. Mean while, Centwin happening to die, Cedwalla returned to Wessex, and was placed on the throne.

CEDWALLA.

686. Cedwalla was not only king of Wessex, but likewise monarch of the Anglo-Saxons. His first war was with Authun and Berthun kings of Suffex, spoken of before.

Having ended this war to his advantage, he turned his arms against Kent, from whence he carried off a great booty. Then he attacked the isle of Wight, which belonged to the king of Suffex ever since Wulpher's grant to Adelwalch. Aldwald, brother to Authun being then governor of the isle, undertook its defence; but as Cedwalla's forces were much superior to his, he was forced at last to abandon the isle to the mercy of the conqueror. The inhabitants, being yet idolaters, Cedwalla, through a false zeal of religion, resolved to root them out, and people the island with christians. He would have executed

m. He ravaged their country, and pursued them as far as the sea, or St. George's Channel Huntingd. p. 318. Malmsh. p. 14. n According to Malmsh. he carried away all that were able to carry arms, that he might leave the country defenceless, p. 14.

this

this barbarous resolution, had not Wilfred, formerly bishop of York, and then bishop of Selsey in Suffex, represented to him that it would be much better to endeavour to convert them. Upon the bishop's remonstrances, Cedwalla relented, but on condition the inhabitants would be instantly baptized. The poor wretches, who had no time to deliberate, embraced the christian religion at the first preaching of Birwin, a priest, nephew of Wilfred, who was entrusted with their conversion, if the bare declaration of people threatned with death in case of refusal, may be called by that name.

Some time after Cedwalla sent his brother Mollon with an army into Kent. The miserable death of Mollon there, and the terrible manner Cedwalla revenged it, have already been related in the history of that kingdom.

At length, Cedwalla resolved to take a journey to Rome, to receive baptism at the hands of the pope; for although he was a christian and a great zealot, he had never been baptized. He performed this journey in 688. As he travelled through France and Lombardy, he was every where very honourably received. Cunibert king of the Lombards was particularly remarkable for the noble entertainment he gave him. When he came to Rome, he was baptized by pope Sergius II. who gave him the name of Peter. He had all along wished to die soon after his baptism, and he had his wish, for he died a few weeks after at Rome. He was buried in St. Peter's church, where a stately tomb was erected to his memory, with an epitaph shewing his name, quality, age, and time of his death. He left, by Cendrith his queen, two sons, who did not succeed him by reason of their tender age. Ina his cousin mounted the throne after him.

687.
G. Malmsh.
lib. i. cap. 2.
Brompton.
Polychron.
688.
Bede, lib. v.
cap. 7.

I N A.

Of all the kings that reigned in England during the Heptarchy, Ina was one of the most famous and illustrious: he must needs have been of great repute, since the same year he was crowned he was declared monarch of the Anglo-Saxons in a general assembly, where Sebba king of Essex, his friend, served him effectually.

Ina's wars with the Britons in Cornwall, the kings of Kent, the South-Saxons, and king of Mercia, rendered his valour,

o " Hic depositus est Cedwalla, qui
& Petrus, Rex Saxonum. Sub. xii.
" Cal. Maii indictione secunda qui vixit
" annos plus minus triginta, imperante

" domino Justiniano piissimo augusto,
" anno ejus consulatus quarto, ponti-
" ficante apostolico viro Sergio papa se-
" cundo." Regin,

P a

merit,

688.
AE. Malt.

994. merit, and abilities more and more conspicuous. But as historians have only told us the success, without mentioning the motives and circumstances of these wars, it is impossible to give a particular account of them. They only inform us, that he carried his arms into Kent, from whence nothing could drive him but the bribing him with a large sum of money ^p: that in 710, he conquered part of Cornwall: that in 715, Ina and Ceolred fought a bloody battle at Woden-sburgh in Wiltshire, with equal loss on both sides: that, lastly, he reduced to obedience the South Saxons, who had revolted, and placed one Albert on the throne ^q,

G. Malm.
lib. i. cap. ii.
Polych.
lib. v. c. 20.
Sax. Ann.
H. Hunting.
lib. iv.

Ann. Sax.
Fl. Wig.
H. Hunting.
lib. iv.

These are the military exploits that gained Ina his reputation for war. But the panegyrics bestowed on him by historians, were not owing to these so much as to four other particulars, which to them seemed of great importance, and which they have chiefly dwelt on. First, he rebuilt Glasfenbury monastery, and augmented the revenues and privileges in such a manner, that it became one of the most considerable in all England ^r. In the second place, he published a body of laws, entitled, West-Saxon Leaga ^s, that is, Laws of the West-Saxons, which served for foundation to that published in the next century by Alfred the Great his successor. Thirdly, Ina

G. Malm.
lib. i. cap. 2.

signalized his piety by quitting his crown and turning monk, which was then looked upon as an undoubted mark of religion. This resolution was taken by the persuasions of his queen Ethelburga, who had prepared him for it, by frequently representing to him the example of so many kings his predecessors, that had run the same race before, and were honoured as saints. But lastly, what contributed most to Ina's fame,

727.
Mat. West.

was this: Before he shut himself up in a monastery, he went to Rome, where after conferring with pope Gregory II. he built a large college for the instruction and reception of the English ecclesiasticks that should come to study at Rome, and for the entertainment and lodging of the kings and princes of the same nation, that should visit the tombs of the apostles. Adjoining to the college, he built also a stately church, and

^p Thirty thousand pounds, say the Sax. Ann. And according to Malmsb. thirty thousand marks of gold, p. 14.

^q He also drove all the nobility of East-Anglia out of their possessions, and afterwards defeated them in battle. Malmsb. p. 14.

^r By Malmsbury's account one would be inclined to think that he was the first founder of it. See Malmsb. p. 14. The charter confirmed by a great council of

the whole West-Saxon kingdom, the archbishop of Canterbury, and Baldred king of Kent, with other bishops and great men, is in manuscript in the library of Trinity college in Cambridge, and also published by Sir H. Spelman, in his first volume of the British Councils. But after all this charter seems to be the forgery of the Benedictin monks.

^s See bishop Nicholson's Historical Library, p. 45.

appointed

appointed a certain number of priests to officiate. Besides the charge of the buildings, of the ornaments of the church, and of the necessaries of the college, there was an absolute necessity of settling a standing fund for their maintenance, according to the intent of the founder. Now Ina had taken care of this, by laying a tax of a penny on every family in the kingdom of Wessex and Sussex, which was to be sent yearly to Rome, under the name of Romescot. Some time after Offa king of Mercia imposed the same tax on the kingdom of Mercia and East-Anglia, and termed it Peter-Pence. Some say, Ina returned into England to have this tax settled by the general assembly, or parliament of Wessex, and to get the charter signed by all the nobility of the kingdom^t. After which he returned to Rome, where he took upon him the monkish habit^u. Ethelburga, who advised him to it only because she had a mind to become a nun herself, put on the veil in the monastery of Barking.

Malsbury is mistaken in saying Ina was sixty-two years on the throne of Wessex, since it is certain he had reigned but thirty-seven, or at most but thirty-nine years when he resigned his crown to his cousin Adelard.

ADELARD.

Though Adelard was placed on the throne with the consent of the assembly general, Oswald, one of the royal family^w, disputed the possession of it with him, Their quarrel was decided by a battle, wherein the king was victorious over his rival, whose death, which happened shortly after, restored peace and tranquillity to the kingdom. Adelard died in 740, and was succeeded by Cudred his brother or cousin. 727.
Malm. lib. i.
cap. 2.
Ann. Sax.

CUDRED.

We have only the following particulars of the reign of Cudred: for we must not expect to find any connexion between the facts related by the historians or annalists. 740.

In 743, this prince obtained a signal victory over the Cornish men. Two years after, Ethelun, a West-Saxon lord, dissatisfied with the king, raised a sedition among the soldiers, 743.

^t There is no authority for this, Po-
lidore Virgil (who was the pope's col-
lector of the tax) allows it indeed; but
it is not confirmed by any ancient au-
thor or council.

^u Plebeio cultu amictus inter me-

"dicos consenuit." Higden. Polychron.
p. 248.

^w He was the son of Ethelbald, of
Cynebald, of Cuthwin, of Ceaulin.
Malm. lib. i. p. 15. Huntingd. p. 338.

Ann. Sax.
Huntingd.
lib. iv.

in which Cenric son of Cudred was slain. This action was followed by a civil war, which lasted some time. Ethelun being at the head of the rebels, dared to give his sovereign battle, wherein the king, though not without great danger of being vanquished, gained the victory. During the fight, Ethelun gave such notable proofs of an undaunted courage, and extraordinary conduct, that the king chose rather to receive him into favour, than destroy a subject that might be serviceable to him. And indeed, it was the same Ethelun, that in 752 vanquished Ethelbald king of Mercia, in a battle mentioned in the history of that kingdom.

750.
Bede. Ep.
contin.

753.
Ann. Sax.

Cudred turned his victorious troops against the Britons of Cornwall *, and conquered part of their country, which he united to Wesssex. He died shortly after, and left his crown to his nephew Sigebert.

SIGEBERT.

754.
H. Hunting
lib. iv.
Fl. Wig.

Sigebert, very unlike his predecessor, by his vices and cruelties †, drew on himself the hatred and contempt of his subjects. A certain count ‡ having expostulated with him concerning his conduct, he ordered him to be put to death in his presence. This action made the West-Saxons lose all patience; they publicly depose him, and place on the throne Cenulph, son of Adelard. Sigebert finding he could have no redress, was forced to submit to the sentence of the states, and betake himself to a forest ‡, where he was killed by a swineherd b.

CENULPH.

754.
Ann. Sax.
Malmsb.
H. Hunt.
lib. iv.
R. de Hov.

Cenulph became very famous for his frequent victories over the Britons c.

After he had reigned thirty years, he grew jealous of Cunehard, brother of Sigebert, and perhaps not without reason, Cunehard having notice of the king's suspicions, and knowing

x He and Ethelbald being reconciled, joined their forces against the Britons, Sax. Ann. Hunting.

y Puffed up with his predecessor's victories, he became intolerable to his subjects. Particularly he altered the laws according to his own pleasure. Huntingd. p. 341. Sax. Ann.

z Cumba—"prece totius populi
querimonias eorum [sc. subditorum]

"regi fero intimavit," Hunting. p. 341 Tyr. p. 226.

a The forest of Andredswald. Hunt. p. 242.

b Belonging to the late count Cumbræ. Hunting. p. 342.

c Anno 778, Cenulph fought a battle with Offa, king of Mercia, at Bensington in Oxfordshire; in which Offa got the victory. Brompt. p. 770. Malb. p. 15.

he intended to dispatch him out of the way, resolved to prevent him. To this end, discovering him one day, as he went alone^d to visit a certain lady whom he admired, he followed him, with some of his friends, into the house and attacked him. Cenulph defended himself furiously, and even wounded his enemy, but at last, overpowered with numbers, sunk down with his wounds. The king's officers and domesticks running in at the noise, and finding him dead, fell upon Cunehard and slew him, not regarding the large offers he made them to spare his life, and place him on the throne^e. Brithric, son of Cenulph, succeeded his father.

BRITHRIC.

Brithric, three years after he was on the throne, married 784.
Edburga, daughter of Offa, king of Mercia, and about the 787.
same time banished Egbert the kingdom. Egbert, a prince Flor. Wig.
of the royal family^f, by his noble qualities had gained the affection of the West-Saxons to such a degree, that the king could not help being jealous. This was a sufficient inducement to Brithric to free himself from the uneasiness occasioned by that prince, by removing him from his presence^g. Egbert retired at first to the court of Offa king of Mercia: but he did not meet there with the reception he expected, Offa being unwilling to disoblige his son-in-law Brithric, by harbouring a prince that was hateful to him. Whereupon Egbert resolved to retire into France, where he was very civilly received by Charles the Great, who showed him, on several occasions, marks of his esteem. During Egbert's twelve years abode at this prince's court, he very much improved his natural abilities, and rendered himself capable of executing the grand design of uniting the seven kingdoms of the Anglo-Saxons into one monarchy, as will be seen presently.

During the reign of Brithric, the Danes made their first descent into the kingdom of Wessex^h. They began then to be formidable, not only at sea, but on the coasts of several European kingdoms. As in process of time they did the English incredible damage, it is not without reason that histo-

^d To Merton in Surrey. Hunt. p. 343.
^e Cenulph was buried at Winchester, and Cunehard at Axminster. Hunting. p. 343; or at Repton, according to Malmsh. p. 16.

^f He was the son of Alcmund, Esa, Eoppa, Inigifil, Centred, who was the fourth from Ceaulin.

^g Brithric had formed a design of removing him out of the way; which Egbert being aware of, he fled to Offa; where messengers soon came from Brithric to demand him; but he escaped into France. Malmsh.

^h At Portland. Affer, Ann. Malm.

rians have been very exact in marking the time of their first descent.

799.
or
800.
G. Malm.
lib. ii. c. 2.
Aft. Men.

Brithric, in 799, was poisoned by Edburga his wife^l. The West-Saxons were so provoked at this action, that before they proceeded to the election of a new king, they made a law prohibiting the wives of their future kings from taking the title of Queen, and sitting on the throne with their husbands. And lest the compliance of the kings to their wives might occasion the breaking of this law, it was further enacted, that hereafter, if any king of Wesssex should dispense with the observance of it, he should, ipso facto, be deprived of his royal rights, and his subjects absolved from their oath of allegiance.

This affair being ended, an honorable ambassy was sent by the West-Saxons to Egbert, to offer him the crown, Egbert was then at Rome with Charles the Great, who received there, soon after, the imperial crown. Here he took his leave of that great prince, who had been a father to him, and at his departure gave him fresh marks of his affection.

Queen Edburga having left Wesssex upon poisoning her husband, fled also to Charles the Great, who, in consideration of the friendship between him and her father Offa, gave her a rich abbey, where she might have spent the remainder of her days in peace^k. But that way of life not being agreeable to her constitution, she behaved so ill in it, that being surprized in an intrigue with a young English gentleman, the emperor was forced to send her away. She wandered about from place to place for some time, and at last went and ended her days at Pavia in great want.

EGBERT.

800. Egbert, besides the valour natural to all the Saxon princes, had one qualification that gave him a superiority above the other kings his cotemporaries, which was, his great knowledge in politicks, acquired during his abode at the court of Charles the Great, whose example and instructions, no doubt, had greatly contributed towards it. He was no sooner on the throne of Wesssex, but he perceived himself superior to the

^l He was buried at Wareham in Dorsetshire. Malm. b. p. 16. The poison was designed for another, but the king happened to taste it.

^k At her arrival she made the emperor many great presents; and he bidding her chuse whom she would have

for a husband, himself, or his son, she foolishly chose his son; whereupon the emperor, laughing, said, If thou hadst chosen me, thou shouldst have had my son, but now thou shalt have neither. Asser Annal, S. Dunelm. p. 118.

other kings, and resolved to make the best use of it^l. But like an able politician, he judged it necessary to proceed by degrees in the execution of his projects. Accordingly, he spent the first seven years of his reign in settling the affairs of his kingdom, and in gaining the love and esteem of his own subjects, in which he succeeded to his wish.

The kingdom of Wessex being bounded on the south by the sea, and on the north by the Thames, Egbert must of course begin the extending his borders either eastwards or westwards. To the east lay the kingdom of Kent, which would have been very convenient for him; but as this kingdom was then in subjection to Cenulph, king of Mercia, a prince of distinguished worth, and monarch of the Anglo-Saxons, to begin with Kent would have been the ready way to ruin his designs. And therefore, in expectation of a more favourable juncture, Egbert thought it proper to carry his arms first towards the west, against the Britons of Cornwall. His success was so great, that in the end he reduced all Cornwall to his obedience^m.

899.
Malmsh.

The Welsh intending to assist their brethren in Cornwall, gave Egbert a pretence to attack them. He defeated them several times, and at last subdued the kingdom of Venedocia, one of the three, Wales was then divided into. The struggles of the Welsh afterwards to shake off their yoke, served only to make it the heavier. Egbert re-entering their country, destroyed all with fire and sword, which made them take care how they provoked him a third time to come among them.

810.

811.

112.

813.

At length the death of Cenulph in 819, gave Egbert room seriously to consider of executing his designs. He was immediately invested with the dignity of monarch, to which none had a better claim than himself. His kingdom was in a flourishing condition, whilst the rest, weakened by intestine divisions, daily lost somewhat of their lustre and power. The Heptarchy was reduced to five kingdoms, of which he possessed one of the most considerable. In the other four, the race of their ancient kings being extinct, nothing ensued but quarrels and dissensions among the principal lords, who all thought they had a right to aspire to the crown. And therefore, so far were they from consulting in common the public good, that they regarded only their own interests, and the

819.

^l He took particular care to train up his subjects in that skill in military affairs, which he had learnt at the court of France. Higden, p. 252. Malmsh. p. 36.

^m One of the battles was fought at Camelford in Cornwall; several thousands fell on both sides. Hunting. p. 345. This war lasted some years.

forming of parties to support them in their ambitious pretensions. On the contrary, the kingdom of Wessex became every day more powerful by the weakness of the rest, and the prudent administration of the person that governed it, whose valour was equal to his judgment and ability, to set in motion the springs of the most refined politicks. Wherefore Egbert resolved to hasten the execution of his project of reducing England into one kingdom. Almost all the preceding monarchs had formed the same design, and their not succeeding was entirely owing to unseasonable junctures. But soon after Egbert's being declared monarch, every thing conspired to favour him. Northumberland had been long rent by two factions, who, little attentive to what passed abroad, were only watching opportunities to supplant one another. Mercia was in no better condition. Bernulph, who had deposed Ceolwulph, reigned only by the support of a powerful party, who indeed had interest enough to raise him to the throne, but found it difficult to uphold him, by reason of the envy of the nobles at his advancement. For which cause, though that kingdom was considerably enlarged by the acquisition of East-Anglia, and though the king of Kent was become its tributary, it was far from being so powerful as Wessex. The East-Angles, not yet thoroughly settled in the state of subjection Offa had reduced them to, were waiting for a favourable opportunity to throw off the Mercian yoke, which to them was intolerable. The wars of the kings of Kent with the West-Saxons and Mercians, had brought them so low, that they could not avoid being tributary to the king of Mercia, and consequently were not in condition to stand against Egbert. As for the kingdom of Essex, besides the probability of its being in subjection to Mercia, it had long made but a very inconsiderable figure, and if it was still governed by Swithred, which is uncertain, that prince must have been of an extreme old age.

These considerations inflaming Egbert's ambition, he began his preparations, which raising suspicions in the king of Mercia, he thought betimes of providing for his safety. Though he was ignorant that Egbert intended the conquest of all England, he could hardly doubt but he designed to enlarge his dominions at the expence of his neighbours. And therefore, fearing the storm might suddenly fall on him, he believed, by attacking him before he was ready, he should break his measures, and compel him to be quiet. To this end, he advanced with his army as far as Ellandunum near Salisbury^a, where,

Sax. Ann.
Malmsh.
Hunting.

^a Higden says, that Ellindon (as he p. 252. The annotator upon Camden call. it, was in Hamptunensi provincia, thinks it was Elingdon, near High-worth.

contrary to his expectation, he met his enemy, whom he thought to have surprized unawares. The two armies coming to an engagement, the Mercians were routed with so great loss, that it was not possible for Bernulph ever to retrieve it.

This victory procured Egbert two great advantages. First, as it very much weakened the king of Mercia, who alone was able to withstand him. Secondly, as it opened the way to the conquest of Kent, for which Bernulph himself had given a pretence, by attacking him first. This conquest was absolutely necessary to his becoming master of all the country between the Thames and the sea. Besides, by beginning the execution of his designs with the kingdom of Kent, he was the less apprehensive of alarming the Northumbrians, who were too remote to concern themselves with what was transacting beyond the Thames.

Pursuant to this resolution, Egbert sent his son Ethelwolph with a powerful army into Kent. Baldred, unprepared against an invasion, pressed in vain the king of Mercia to come and assist him. Bernulph was disabled, by his late defeat, from bringing an army so soon into the field. Besides, Egbert had so posted himself, that it was not possible to relieve Kent, without overcoming his army, which as Bernulph could not pretend to attempt, the burden of the war, notwithstanding his weakness, was to be sustained by Baldred alone. However he hazarded a battle; but being vanquished, retired into Mercia, leaving his kingdom to the young West-Saxon prince, who became master of it without any difficulty. Thus the kingdom of Kent was united to those of Wessex and Sussex, and by that means Egbert saw himself in possession of the whole country lying south of the Thames.

This first step being taken, Egbert rendered himself also master of the kingdom of Essex, which is all historians say of it, without mentioning any one circumstance: so imperfect is the history of that kingdom.

Though the conquest of these two kingdoms was a great step towards subduing the rest, yet the most difficult task was still behind; namely, the conquest of Northumberland, Mercia, and East-Anglia. Had these three kingdoms been in their former splendor, each of them in particular would have kept Egbert fully employed. Nay, had they but entered into a strict alliance for their common defence, when they were going to be attacked, they would perhaps have caused that ambitious prince to despair of subduing them. But their divi-

worth. See Camden in Wiltshire. Mr. bable, that it was Ellisfield near Win-
Lambard's supposition is most pro- chester, Diction. Topograph.

sions prevented them from making so necessary an alliance. The East-Angles were waiting for an opportunity to revolt against the king of Mercia. The Northumbrians for some time had lived in a sort of anarchy, which disabled them from taking any measures with regard to foreign affairs. So far were they from any thoughts of assisting their neighbours, that they were wholly intent upon destroying one another, in which they were but too successful. Mercia, indeed, seemed still very powerful; but the Mercians were in no greater union among themselves than the Northumbrians; and besides, the battle of Ellandunum had considerably weakened them: whereas Wessex was grown stronger by the conquest of two kingdoms.

Egbert beholding with pleasure how all things conspired to favour his designs, resolved to invade Mercia in the first place, plainly foreseeing, could he conquer that kingdom, the rest would make no long resistance. Mercia and East-Anglia made but one body ever since their union by Offa. But as this union was not cemented by the mutual affections of the two nations, it was rather destructive than advantageous to the state. The East-Angles looked upon the Mercians as their hateful masters: whilst the Mercians, on their part, treated the East-Angles with haughtiness, as a conquered nation. This being the case, it was much more easy for Egbert to foment their mutual enmity, than for them to reap the benefit of their union. ~~For~~ this reason Egbert, to accomplish his ends with the more ease, increased their animosity to the utmost of his power, not doubting but, could he once bring them to an open rupture, they would so weaken one another, as never more to be able to resist him. It is strange, since this maxim is universally known, "We must divide those whom we would destroy," it should so frequently happen that they against whom it is practised, should attend so little to it. The East-Angles, blinded by their extreme desire of freeing themselves from the Mercian yoke, without a moment's consideration, followed the advice secretly given them by Egbert, of taking up arms for the recovery of their liberty. Their attention to their present interest, prevented them from reflecting, that after they had been subservient to Egbert's design, they would be still less able to withstand him than the Mercians. It is true, Egbert, pretending to have no other view but their interest, caused whatever was most capable to excite them to a revolt, to be laid before them. His emissaries told them, "there never was so favourable an opportunity of recovering their liberty: that the Mercians were so ex-
tremely

“ tremely weakened since the battle of Ellandunum, that
 “ they were hardly able to maintain their tyranny over the
 “ East-Angles: that besides, Egbert was so incensed against
 “ Bernulph that he would readily assist them, having publicly
 “ declared as much.” This was sufficient to induce the East-Angles to revolt. The pleasure of thinking they should be freed from their dependence on the Mercians, banished from their thoughts the fear of becoming subject to the West-Saxons. Thus resolved, they took up arms, and chose a general, whose name historians have neglected to relate. Bernulph informed of their motions, thought he could not be too speedy in putting a stop to an evil that seemed of so dangerous a consequence. With the first troops he could draw together, he marched against the East-Angles; but instead of chastising them, as he vainly hoped, was defeated and slain.

The East-Angles were mightily encouraged by this success, G. Malm., without disheartening however the Mercians, who made fresh attempts to reduce the rebels. They forthwith elect a king, named Ludican, who endeavours to continue the war, whilst the East-Angles are preparing to receive him, in expectation the king of Wessex would not fail them upon occasion, according to his promise, Ludican actually entered East-Anglia with a numerous army; but death prevented him from making any progress, and rendered his preparations for that campaign of no effect. Some say, he was slain in a battle: others affirm, the East-Angles found means to free themselves from the dread of this prince, by causing him to be assassinated.

Whether the Mercians discovered that Egbert privately *Asser. Anna* assisted the East-Angles, or the conquests already made by that prince opened their eyes, they were sensible, at length the maintaining their dominion over East-Anglia was not so much the business of the present war, as the preservation of their own liberties. In this belief, they resolved to exert their utmost, and chuse a king of known valour, without regarding the interests of the several factions, which till then had kept them divided. Their choice fell upon Witglaph, a lord of great merit, whose son had married a daughter of king Cenulph. If the new king had been to deal with the East-Angles, probably he would have ended the war to his advantage. But instead of aiming at the reduction of East-Anglia, he was very much embarrassed to defend his own dominions. Egbert fearing the state of affairs might be changed under a new prince, whose valour he was no stranger to, no longer delayed to declare openly for the East-Angles. Hitherto he had only assisted them privately, at least he had not appeared

as a party in the war, raised by him between them and the Mercians, with the sole aim that they might weaken one another. But as soon as the preparations of the Mercians gave him room to fear the balance would incline too much on their side, he thought himself obliged to take other measures, by publickly assisting the East-Angles, and declaring war with the Mercians. Witglaph used his utmost endeavours to withstand the united forces of the East-Angles and West-Saxons. He even frequently tried the fortune of his arms in skirmishes and conflicts, but always with ill success. At length, having lost a great battle, and finding his case desperate, he fled to the abbey of Croyland, where he lay concealed three months. In the mean time, Egbert pursuing his victory, became master of Mercia, without any opposition. He designed to unite it to the rest of his dominions; but by the mediation of Siward abbot of Croyland, Witglaph was restored to his kingdom, on condition of paying homage, and becoming tributary to the conqueror.

Ingulph.
Sax. Ann.

After the East-Angles had been subservient to Egbert's designs, they were glad to be received into his protection, on almost the same terms with the Mercians; so that all the advantages procured them by the war, was the change of one master for another.

Northumberland alone remained as yet free from the dominion of Egbert. But that kingdom was little able to preserve her liberty, considering the ill situation of her affairs. Andred, who then reigned, was a king in name only. His faction had placed him on the throne, not that he, but themselves might reign in his name. Besides, the kingdom was all along rent by parties, and frequently invaded by the Scots, who had over-run great part of its territories. It was not possible therefore for the Northumbrians to withstand the victorious arms of the king of Wessex, or rather, of all the rest of England, which was in that prince's power. Accordingly, when Egbert approached with an army that had already conquered four kingdoms, Andred and the Northumbrians in great consternation, and unable to make head against him, submitted, and accepted of the same terms granted the Mercians and East-Anglians.

Malmsh.

Thus ended the Heptarchy of the Anglo-Saxons by the reduction of the seven kingdoms, under the dominion of the king of Wessex. Indeed Mercia, East-Anglia, and Northumberland, still preserved a shadow of liberty; but very probably Egbert would not have suffered other kings to be chosen, after the death of those who were then on the throne, if the Danes, who

who shortly after began their invasions, had given him time to take other measures.

The government of the heptarchy, reckoning from the founding of the kingdom of Mercia, the last of the seven Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, held two hundred and forty-three years. But if the time spent by the Saxons in their conquests be added, from the arrival of Hengist to that of Crida, the heptarchy will be found to have lasted three hundred and seventy-eight, from its beginning to its dissolution.

If we enquire into the causes of the dissolution of the heptarchy, they will very readily occur. It is easy to perceive one of the principal was, the great inequality amongst the seven kingdoms, three whereof vastly surpassed the rest in extent and power. Hardly was the heptarchy founded, when the kings of Wessex looked upon Sussex and Kent as extremely convenient for them, and accordingly both the one and the other were subdued by them at different times. The kings of Mercia had all along an eye on the kingdom of Essex. Nay, it appears they were masters of it for some time, and in all likelihood it was not entirely free, when conquered and united to his other dominions by Egbert. East-Anglia was an object that continually inflamed the desires of the Mercians and Northumbrians, the first of whom carried it at length.

Another cause of the dissolution of the heptarchy, was the default of the male heirs in the royal families of all the kingdoms, Wessex excepted. Hence arose those dissensions among the great men, which exceedingly weakened their respective states. We may assign moreover as another cause, the concurrence of various circumstances, which never met but in the time of Egbert. But chiefly this dissolution was owing to the direction of the providence of God, whose good pleasure it was to raise England by degrees, and after several revolutions, to her present height of grandeur and power.

The conquest of Great Britain, and the relinquishing of the same by the Romans, is the subject of the first book of this history. In the second the largest and noblest part of the island is represented struggling with the Anglo-Saxons, and at last obliged to submit to their yoke. In the third. I have related, though in a very general manner, the affairs of the heptarchy of the Anglo-Saxons, their wars, the succession of their kings in each of the seven kingdoms, and have concluded with showing the heptarchy turned into a real monarchy.

It remains now that I speak of the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons to the christian religion, and give a representation of the

THE HISTORY

the church of England in her primitive state, wherein consists the principal part of the English history during the heptarchy.

THE

State of the Church of ENGLAND,

FROM

The Conversion of the ENGLISH, to the Dissolution of the HEPTARCHY.

WE have seen, in the second book, the horrid desolation of the British church, whilst exposed to the barbarity of the Saxons, who thought it their duty to persecute the Christians. We shall now behold these very Saxons from persecutors grown Christians, (by the direction of Divine Providence, which incessantly watches for the welfare of mankind) forming a flourishing church in the same places where they had exercised their cruelties. 'Tis not our business to dive into the reasons of God's assigning different periods to the several nations of the world, for leading them into the way of salvation. It is sufficient for us to know and admire, that when the happy time is come, not only no obstacle can obstruct the execution of his designs, but, on the contrary, every thing helps to accomplish them: nay, the weakest instruments, in the hands of the Almighty, acquire an irresistible force.

In order to have a clear and distinct knowledge of the manner of the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons, and of the most remarkable occurrences from the foundation of their churches, to the dissolution of the heptarchy, England must be considered not, as it is at present, one realm, but as divided into seven distinct kingdoms. These kingdoms being converted at different times, it will be necessary to treat of each of them by itself. And therefore, I am now about to relate how the gospel was received by every one of them in particular, with the most memorable transactions in respect to religions, from their

their conversion to their being reduced under the dominion of Egbert, the first real monarch of England.

The CHURCH of KENT.

AS Kent was first converted, I shall begin with that king-^{The state of the church of Kent.} dom. But because several accidents conspired to this event, it will be proper, in order to have a just notion of the thing, to set them all in one view before the reader.

I have spoken, in the history of Kent, of Ethelbert's power over the rest of the kings of the heptarchy, and intimated, that his neighbourhood to, and alliance with France, did not a little contribute towards it. For this reason he omitted nothing to cultivate a strict friendship with the French, well knowing how much it might turn to his advantage. The means he judged most proper to this end, was the demanding a French princess in marriage; accordingly he cast his eyes on Bertha, daughter of Cherebert, king of Paris. He at first met with some obstacle. Chilperic, who, after his brother Cherebert's death, had been as a father to this princess, would not hear a word of the match, on account of Ethelbert's being an idolater; and this for some time put a stop to the matter. But Ethelbert found means to remove this difficulty, by promising to let Bertha have the free exercise of her religion, and bring over with her a certain number of ecclesiasticks. Upon these terms the princess was given him in marriage. Chilperic, her uncle, was in hopes that as she was thoroughly grounded in her religion, she would be so far from turning heathen herself, that she would contribute to the conversion of the English monarch. And in this his expectations were answered. As soon as they came together, she spared no pains to gain his love and esteem by her affable and condescending behaviour. Ethelbert, charmed with the good qualities of his queen, had all the value and affection for her she could desire. In this agreeable situation Bertha justly hoped to bring the king at length to have favourable thoughts of the christian religion, and therefore took all occasions to display the gospel truths in the most affecting manner. Besides, the conversations Ethelbert had from time to time with Luidhard bishop of Soissons, who came over with the queen, contributed very much to her design. In a short time, Ethelbert was so wrought upon, that if he had not yet respect enough for the christian religion to embrace it, at least he had no aversion to the gospel or those that professed it.

596.

Bede, lib. i.
cap. 22.

In this favourable juncture it was that pope Gregory I. sent missionaries into England, to instruct the English in the knowledge of the gospel. Gildas and Bede reproach the Britons severely for suffering their neighbours to live so long in paganism, without offering them their assistance to free them from their errors. But they blame them without cause. It is easy to see, that whilst the Saxons oppressed the natives with all imaginable cruelties, these were very unfit instruments to instruct their persecutors. Besides, their continual wars gave the Saxons no time to turn their thoughts to religious affairs. But when they came to be settled, assistance was not wanting, and though it came from far, it was no less effectual than if it had flowed from their neighbours. As this here is a very remarkable epocha in the English history, it will be proper to show the secret ways made use of by providence in the execution of its designs in favour of this nation. In order to this, it will be necessary to look back a little to what happened before.

Bede, lib. ii.
cap. 1.

-

Brompton.
G. Malmsh.

About eighteen or twenty years before the arrival of the Roman missionaries, in the reign of Alla king of Deira, some young children were sent from thence to Rome to be sold. That sort of trade was then commonly drove by the English, who made no scruple of selling their children, when overstocked. These young slaves, being exposed to sale in the public market, drew the eyes of vast numbers of people upon them, who could not but admire them. Among the rest, Gregory, archdeacon of Rome, beheld them very attentively. He enquired particularly after the place of their birth, and the religion there professed. As soon as he knew they were English^a, and born of idolatrous parents, he resolved to go and preach the gospel to that nation; and having obtained the pope's license, prepared for his journey. But the Romans, who had a great veneration for him, petitioned the pope not to deprive them of so useful a pastor; and the pope complied with their request. Thus Gregory's design remained unexecuted. The time appointed by God for the conversion of the English was not yet come; and probably, such were then the circumstances of the nation, Gregory's undertaking would have met with great difficulties. All England was troubled with wars and commotions, which broke out afresh conti-

^a Bede has either invented or else heard that pope Gregory made divers Latin allusions upon the answers to his questions concerning those boys. Particularly being told they were Angli, he replied, "B-ne, nam Anglicam ha-

"bent faciem." Hence some have imagined (particularly Verstegan) that the name of Angli comes from Angelus. Whereas it is plain, their being called Angli gave occasion to Gregory's pun.

nually,

nually. Ethelbert had not yet espoused Bertha; his mind as yet was unprepared for the reception of the gospel, and being vassal to Ceaulin, he had but little power to encourage Gregory's design. But afterwards, all circumstances were equally favourable, and helped to promote it. Gregory, now become bishop of Rome, called to mind his former project of converting the English; and though by reason of his dignity, which obliged him to reside at Rome, he could not go in person, he sent those whom he thought capable of inspiring the people with a relish for the gospel. He chose for this purpose forty ^{Thorn.} Benedictine monks, with Austin at their head, in quality of abbot^b. In all appearance, Bertha had acquainted the pope how well affected the king her husband stood with regard to religion, since they were ordered to land in Kent. Austin and his companions^c having passed through France, where they were supplied with interpreters, arrived at the isle of Thanet^d, in the the year of our Lord 597. As soon as they were landed, he sent the king word, that he was come into his dominions with a company of very honest men, to bring him a message of the greatest importance, and instruct him in what would procure him everlasting happiness. Upon this information, Ethelbert ordered them to stay where they were, designing to go himself and hear from their own mouths the occasion of their journey. Some few days after, he went to the isle of Thanet, in company with the queen, who, in all likelihood, was not ignorant of the reason of Austin's coming. As soon as the king arrived, he seated himself in the open air, being apprehensive, as Bede says, of charms or spells, which in the open field, he thought, could have no power over him. Then ordering the strangers to be called before him, he asked them what they had to propose. Austin, who was the speaker, made a long harangue, preaching the gospel in a forcible and zealous manner, says the same historian, though he relates not one word of his sermon. Ethelbert, informed by the interpreters what Austin had said, returned him this answer: "Your proposals are noble, and your promises inviting. But "I cannot resolve upon quitting the religion of my ancestors, "for one that appears to me supported only by the testimony

597.
Bede. lib. i.
cap. 25.

^b He was then abbot of St. Gregory's at Rome. Spelman. Conc. vol. i. p. 92. Rapin.

^c After they were got some way on their journey, reflecting upon the difficulties and dangers of their undertaking, they unanimously resolved to return home. And accordingly sent

Austin to the pope, to desire him to excuse them from so fatiguing and dangerous a journey. But Gregory sent them a letter, wherein he exhorted them to go on, which they accordingly did. Bede, lib. i. c. 23.

^d And landed in a place called Retebourgh. Thorn, p. 1759. X. Script.

“ of persons that are entire strangers to me. However, since,
 “ as I perceive, you have undertaken so long a journey on
 “ purpose to impart to us what you deem most important and
 “ valuable, you shall not be sent away without some satisfac-
 “ tion. I will take care you are treated civilly in my domi-
 “ nions, and supplied with all things necessary and convenient.
 “ And if any of my subjects, convinced by what you shall
 “ say to them, desire to embrace your religion, I shall not be
 “ against it.”

This first step being taken, the queen got leave for the missionaries to settle at Canterbury, the capital of Kent, where she took care to provide them with convenient lodgings, and procure them the liberty of preaching to as many as had the curiosity to hear them. They made so good use of this favourable juncture, that in a short time several of the principal Saxons embraced the christian faith. The swift progress of the gospel at Canterbury, raised the king's curiosity to be more particularly instructed in the nature of the religion those strangers preached. At length, by the persuasions of the queen, and frequent conferences with Austin, he received baptism, about a year after the arrival of the missionaries. The conversion of the king being followed by that of multitudes of his subjects, the queen's chapel, which stood without the city, soon became too little to hold them. And therefore they were obliged to turn one of the heathen temples into a church, which was dedicated to St. Pancrace. Shortly after, several other temples were served in the same manner by Ethelbert's order, and the foundations of Canterbury cathedral were laid; which was dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul, and was afterwards called St. Thomas. Austin began also a monastery, which he had not the satisfaction to see finished. Peter, one of his companions, was the first abbot. It was called the monastery of St. Augustin, from its founder. Ethelbert at length leaving Canterbury to the Italian monks, went and kept his court at Reculver.

Thus began the conversion of the Saxons in England. Austin and his fellow-labourers were the instruments made use of by Divine Providence to turn them from their idolatrous superstitions to the light of the gospel; a blessing their brethren in Germany enjoyed not till two hundred years after, in the reign of Charles the Great. Ethelbert promoted to his utmost the conversion of his subjects, but without using the

^c It was dedicated to St. Martin, and had formerly been a church in the time of the Romans. Bede, lib. i. c. 26.

598.

Bede.
 Flor. Wig.
 Thorn.

Bede, lib. i.
 cap. 33.

Cam. in
 Cant.

least violence or compulsion, having learnt of his instructors, as Bede expressly observes, that God requires none to serve him, but those who do it with a willing mind. It were to be wished, all christian princes would follow his example! The Saxons were so eager to embrace the gospel, that, if historians may be credited, Austin in one day baptized ten thousand in the river Swale, which runs into the Thames. Bede, lib. i. cap. 26. Gregor. Ep. lib. vii. ep. 30.

This swift progress of the gospel in Kent making Austin believe he should meet with the same success every where, he looked upon all England as already converted. Possessed with this notion, he hastened to Arles, to get himself consecrated archbishop of the Saxons, by Etherius [or Vigilius], then archbishop of that place. Had he been contented with the bare title of bishop, one should not have wondered at it^f. But it is really surprizing, that he should aspire to the archiepiscopal dignity, at a time when he had no bishop under his jurisdiction. It is true the pope had promised to make him an archbishop, in case his mission met with success. But, in all appearance, Gregory, by success, meant the conversion of the English nation in general, and not of a part only of one of the least kingdoms in the heptarchy. How great progress soever Austin had made for the time he had been in England, yet was it nothing in comparison of what remained to be done. His haste therefore to be made archbishop and primate of England, when there was but one single church there, does not redound much to his credit. All that can be said in his justification, is, that the progress of Christianity at Canterbury made him imagine the conversion of all England was at hand. And indeed, not long after his return from Arles, he erected an episcopal see at Rochester, of which Justus, one of his companions, was the first bishop. Hence it is plain, the gospel had also been preached in that city, and made some progress there. 603.

Austin must needs have entertained great hopes of his mission, since, fearing he should want labourers in the approaching harvest, he sends Peter and Laurence, with two others of his companions, to Rome, to acquaint the pope with his wants, and inform him how matters stood. He took this opportunity also to desire the pope's resolution of certain questions, which appeared to him difficult, and might, he foresaw, puzzle him in the government of the new church. Bede, lib. i. cap. 27.

^f Bede says, that he was appointed bishop by the German prelates, before Gregory to be only bishop, lib. i. he came over to England. This he c. 23; but afterwards he informs us, grounds on Gregor, Epist. lib. vii. Ep. 30. Which see in Spelman Concil. c. 27. Collier says, he was consecrated vol. i. p. 80.

Greg. Ep.
zv. lib. 11.

Rog. Wen.
M. Westm.
G. Malm.
lib. i. c. 4.

The letters of Austin, and the accounts of those he had sent, inspired Gregory with so high a conceit of this mission, that looking upon the conversion of the English as accomplished, though it was but just begun, he sent the pall^s to Austin, as a mark of distinction and honour to this new apostle. He ordered him also to erect bishops sees in several places, particularly at York, where was to be a metropolitan, with twelve suffragans; and that after the death of one of the two archbishops, the survivor should consecrate another in his place, and have the precedence of him^d. The reason of this preference with regard to York, was, because it had formerly, under the Romans, been an archbishoprick as well as London and Caerleon. As for Caerleon, it being then in the hands of the Britons, and already an archbishop's see, though not under the pope's jurisdiction, there was no occasion to mention it. Gregory's intent, therefore, in making London an archbishoprick, was to restore things to their former state. But, however, he afterwards altered his measures at the instance of Austin, who was desirous of procuring that honour for Canterbury, the metropolis of Kent, where he had begun to exercise his ministerial functions. The pope's view then, was only to put things upon an antient foot, when in his answer to Austin, he told him he meant, that the two archbishops of London and York should be independent of one another; however, that Austin, during life, should have jurisdiction, as well over the archbishop of York, as all the rest of the bishops of Great Britain.

But all the pains Gregory was at, came to nothing for the present, since the christian religion was far from extending to Northumberland. However, the great hopes he had conceived from the letters and messengers of Austin, induced him to give directions concerning the English churches, as if they had been really formed. Besides these general orders, he exhorted

^g The pall is a white piece of woollen cloth, about the breadth of a border, made round, and thrown over the shoulders. Upon this are two others of the same matter and form, one of which falls down on the breast, and the other on the back, with each of them a red cross, several crosses of the same colour being likewise upon the upper part of it about the shoulders. This pall is laid upon St. Peter's tomb by the pope, and then sent away to the respective metropolitans, which till they have received from the see of Rome, they cannot call a council, bless the

chrism, consecrate churches or a bishop, ordain a priest, &c. At the delivery of it they are to swear fealty to the pope. The antient pall, from the Latin pallium, was an entire and magnificent habit, designed to put the bishop in mind that his life should answer up to the dignity of his appearance. Pet. de Marca.

^h His words are "Sit vero inter Londinensis & Eboracensis civitatis episcopus in posterum honoris ista distinctio, ut ipse prior habeatur, qui prius fuerit ordinatus," Bede, lib. i. c. 29.

Austin,

Austin, in a letter, not to be elated at his having received from heaven the gift of miracles, which makes it probable, word had been sent him, that several miracles had been wrought by Austin. He charged him also, not to destroy such idol temples as were fit to be converted into churches, but to consecrate them by sprinkling holy-water, and placing relicks under the altars. And since the Saxons had been accustomed to offer sacrifices to their gods on their festival days, he advises that [upon the anniversary of the saints, whose relicks were lodged there, or upon the return of the day of the church's consecration] they should kill some cattle, and provide an entertainment, to which they were to invite the poor. At the same time he writ to Ethelbert and Bertha, exhorting them to persevere in the true religion, and promote the great work undertaken by Austin. Peter and Laurence, accompanied with Mellitus, Paulinus, Ruffinianus, and some other new missionaries, brought back these letters, together with sacred vessels, and ornaments for the altars, vestments for the priests, relicks, books, and other things necessary for celebrating divine service. Austin received also the resolution of the questions he had sent to the pope, which with their answers, were to this effect.

Greg. Epist.
lib. ix.
ep. 59, 60.

I. Question. How are bishops to behave with respect to their clergy? into how many portions are the offerings at the altar to be divided? and how ought a bishop to act in the church? 601.

Bede.

For satisfaction in the first point, the pope refers him to St. Paul's Epistle to Timothy. To the second he answers, that it was the custom of the church to divide the offerings into four parts; one for the bishop, another for the clergy, a third for the poor, and a fourth for the repairs of the church. As to the last article, which would have been very obscure had not the pope cleared it in his answer, he replies, that Austin being a monk, ought not to live apart from the rest of the clergy, but, according to the practice of the primitive Christians, "should have all things in common." He adds, if there were any clerks not admitted into holy orders, who could not live continently, they were to marry, and receive the stipends at their own houses, according to the words of Scripture, "Distribution was made to each of them according to every one's wants." As for other Christians, he

Acts iv. 32.

i Here in some books is the second question inserted, which runs thus: "must return to a secular life?" See "I desire to know, whether clergymen that cannot contin, may marry; Spelman Conc. vol i. p. 96.

THE HISTORY

says, there was no need to prescribe any rules in relation to their almsgiving, since our Saviour himself says, "Give alms of such things as you have, and behold all things are clean unto you."

II. Question. Since there is but one faith, how comes it that there are different customs in churches, one manner of saying mass in the Roman, and another in the Gallican church?

The pope advises him to select from each church, what he thought most convenient for the church of England.

III. Question. What punishment ought to be inflicted on him that has stole any thing from the church?

Gregory replies, the motives of the theft must be considered, whether it was done out of necessity or covetousness, and the punishment to be proportioned accordingly, with charity and temper. As for restitution, God forbid the church should receive more than she lost.

IV. Question. Whether two brothers may marry two sisters, that are no way related to them?

Gregory answers, this may be done very lawfully.

V. Question. To what degree of consanguinity are marriages forbid?

The pope answers, to the second degree inclusively, and no farther. He would not however have those separated who have married within the prohibited degrees before their conversion, because they did it out of ignorance. But he would have all the new converts charged not to presume to do any such thing; and in case they did, to be debarred the communion.

VI. Question. Whether a single bishop may ordain another, without the assistance of other bishops, when the length of the journey makes it inconvenient for them to meet?

Gregory replies, that since Austin was now the only bishop in England, he might consecrate others without any assistance. But in order to avoid the like inconvenience for the future, he would have him place bishops so, as that they might not be at too great a distance from one another.

VII. Question. How ought I to manage with the bishops of Gaul?

The pope tells him, that he allows him no manner of jurisdiction of them, because he had no design to deprive the archbishop of Arles of the authority he was possessed of.

VIII. Question. Whether a woman with-child ought to be baptized?

The

The pope answers, he saw no inconvenience attending it.

IX. Question. How long after her lying-in, ought a woman to come into the church?

Answer. If she come into the church the minute after her delivery, she sins not.

X. Question. How long after the birth ought the baptizing of an infant to be deferred?

Answer. A child may be baptized the moment he is born.

XI. Question. How long after a lying-in must it be, before a man and his wife come together again?

Gregory is very large in his answer, and takes occasion to blame mothers for not suckling their own children, attributing the rise of so ill a custom to their incontinency. And therefore he decides, that the husband ought not to lie with his wife till the child is weaned^k.

XII. Question. May a woman, during some certain times, come into the church?

The pope says a great deal on this head, and concludes, womens infirmities ought to be no obstacle to their going to church and praying to God.

XIII. Question. May a man that has lain with his wife, come into the church or receive the sacrament, before he has washed himself?

The pope here, as usual, makes a great many distinctions, and concludes, such a man had better abstain from both for some time.

XIV. Question. May a man, after an impure dream, receive the communion; or, if he be a priest, administer it?

The pope's answer is full of distinctions about what is, and what is not sin; and concludes at last, a man in that case ought not to communicate. He gives leave, however, for a priest, in the same case, to administer the sacrament, if there is no other in the way to officiate for him.

These are the difficulties Austin wanted the pope to resolve, which gives us no great idea of the abilities of this famous apostle. However, Gregory thought fit to answer them fully and distinctly, as if they had been of the utmost importance. He had the conversion of the English so much at heart, that instead of discouraging Austin, he highly extolled him.

Austin's care was not confined to the conversion of the Saxons only: he undertook also, what seemed to him no less

Bede, lib. ii.
cap. 6.

^k However, he allows those that together after the usual time of purgation do not suckle their children, to come

worthy of his zeal, the bringing the British bishops to a conformity with the Roman church¹, and the making them acknowledge the pope's jurisdiction. As this is a remarkable circumstance of Austin's life, it will be necessary to enlarge upon it a little. This design of his was not easy to be executed. The Britons thought they could justify their adhering to the rites and customs they had practised ever since the conversion of Britain. Besides, they could not conceive upon what grounds they were obliged to conform to a church so remote, or what advantage the owning the pope's authority would be to them. These difficulties did not discourage Austin: he had, besides his zeal for the see of Rome, another, and perhaps no less powerful motive, to induce him to this undertaking, which was his claim to the primacy of all Britain, by virtue of the pope's grant. Now this he could never hope to attain, whilst the British churches were independent of the pope. He applied therefore all his endeavours to accomplish this enterprize, which cost him more pains and trouble than the conversion of the Saxons, without having, after all, the satisfaction of reaping the fruits of his labour.

The Gospel, as I before observed, was preached in Britain either by the apostles themselves, or by some of their disciples. From those early days the Britons had constantly adhered to the customs and rules prescribed to them by their first teachers. But the church of Rome had made several innovations in the divine service, to which they pretended all other churches ought to conform. The opposition the bishops of Rome every where met with, was not capable to make them drop their pretensions. Although this difference was of no great consequence, it caused however, towards the end of the second century, a most scandalous quarrel between pope Victor I. and the churches of Asia; which rose to that height, that the pope, for no other reason, excommunicated them all. This affair had never been judicially decided; yet for all that the bishops of Rome stuck to their claims, and did all that lay in their power to compass their ends. The western

¹ Vis. about the celebration of Easter, Bede, lib. ii. cap. 2. Huntingd. p. 325. The Britons used, for finding Easter, the cycle of eighty-four years, which was called the Roman Account. But about eighty years after the renting of the Roman empire, the Romans left off the use of that cycle, and took up another of nineteen years; and

when they had used this about eighteen years, coming then to have to do with these northern nations, they would needs have imposed the use of it upon them, as a condition of their communion; and this was what Austin attempted to do. See bishop Lloyd's Histor. Account. p. 67, etc.

churches, as nearest Rome, were more easily prevailed with. Almost all, except the churches of Gaul and Milan, conformed at length to the Roman Ritual. But Britain, being still as it were a separate world, had, since the embassy of Lucius to pope Eleutherius, held very little communication with the bishops of Rome. The Britons considered them only as bishops of a particular diocese, or at most but as patriarchs, on whom the British church had not the least dependance. So far were they from owning the pope's authority, that they did not so much as know he pretended to have any over them. But Austin, out of the abundance of his zeal for the see of Rome, took upon him to bring them to acknowledge the pope as head of the church in general. It is difficult to know how far Austin's designs reached, since it does not appear he had any instructions from Gregory I. who aspired not to that exorbitant power attributed afterwards to his successors. It must however be owned, that Gregory laid claim to a superiority over the British churches, since in his letter to Austin, he put the whole island entirely under the jurisdiction of the new archbishop. Indeed it is not to be supposed Austin would have insisted so much upon that point, had he not been sure of being supported in it. However this be, he used his utmost endeavours to attain his ends.

The best way, as he thought, of proceeding in this affair, was to get the British bishops to meet him in a synod, in order to debate upon what he had to propose to them. This being agreed to, he omitted nothing that might win them to do as he desired. But neither promises nor threats could prevail with the British prelates to admit of the least change in their ancient customs. Bede tells us, that Austin, finding he could not prevail by arguments, caused a Saxon blind man to be brought into the assembly, and when the Britons had tried in vain to cure him, he restored him to his sight by his prayers. But, whether the miracle admitted of some dispute, because the blind man was a Saxon; or Bede, who lived long after the fact, was wrong informed; the Britons stood out against this evidence. All Austin could obtain, was, that they should meet again, and determine the matter in a more numerous synod^m. At this second council were present seven British bishopsⁿ, accompanied with Dinot abbot

602.

Usher de
Prim.
Bede, lib. ii.
cap. 2.

Rog. de Hov.

^m This synod was held at Augustin's Ac, or Oak, on the frontiers of the West-Saxons, very likely in Worcester-shire. Bede, lib. ii. cap. 2. Spelman supposes it was at Adfric (contracted for Austin's Ric) on the borders of

Worcestershire, towards Herefordshire. Concil, vol. i. p. 107.

ⁿ Those of Hereford, Landaff, St. Paterns, Bangor, Clwyd, Worcester, Morgan. See Spelman Conc. vol. i. p. 106, and Camden.

G. Monm.
M. Westm.

of Bangor, who brought several of his monks along with him. Before they came to the synod, they advised with a hermit of great repute among them, how they should behave in this affair. The good old man told them, he saw no reason to admit of any alterations in their divine service upon the bare request of a man to them entirely unknown: but however, as the essence of religion consisted in union and charity, it would not be amiss to comply in some measure with Austin, provided he was a holy man, and one sent from God. Whereupon the bishops desired to be informed how they should know whether he was such a person or not. He replied they should know it by his humility, the most unquestionable mark of a true Christian: and they would see whether he was endued with this virtue, by his respectful rising up to salute them at their coming into the council-room; for if he paid them not that civility, it was a sure token of his pride. Pursuant to this advice, they took care to come last upon the place: and upon Austin's not stirring from his seat to salute them, they conceived an invincible prejudice against him. Thus for a default in point of civility, his whole scheme, that had cost him so much pains and trouble, fell to the ground.

Dinoth's
speech to
Austin.
Spelm Conc.
vol. i.
p. 108.

As Austin in the synod was earnestly pressing the Britons to submit to the pope, and carrying the papal prerogatives to a great height, Dinoth, abbot of Bangor, made him this answer: "You propose to us obedience to the church of Rome; are you ignorant that we already owe a deference to the church of God, to the bishop of Rome, and to all Christians, of love and charity, which obliges us to endeavour by all possible means to assist and do them all the good we can? Other obedience than this to him you call pope, we know not of, and this we are always ready to pay. But for a superior, what need have we to go so far as Rome, when we are governed, under God, by the bishop of Caerleon, who hath authority to take care of our churches and spiritual affairs?" It is said Austin despairing to over-

Bede, lib. ii.
p. 8.

come their obstinacy, after a long dispute, cried out, full of indignation, "Since you refuse peace from your brethren, you shall have war from your enemies: and since you will not join with us in preaching the word of eternal life to your neighbours, you shall receive death at their hands." Hence it appears, that Austin had not only pressed the Britons

o Eman. Schelstrate, and other Romish writers, pretend, that this speech was forged since the reformation. See bishop Nicholson's Histór. Librar. p. 97. and Spelman Conc. vol. i. p. 108, 109.

to a conformity with the church of Rome, and obedience to the papal authority, but also had reproached them for their negligence and want of zeal, in not promoting the conversion of the Saxons. Perhaps he designed to intimate to them, that the conversion of all England wanted only the union he proposed to them. However this be, these words of Austin were looked upon as a prediction of the massacre of the monks of Bangor, mentioned in the history of Northumberland. I leave the reader to judge whether the non-compliance of the abbot of Bangor to Austin's proposal, was a crime of such a nature as to deserve so severe a punishment.

Austin not having the success he expected in this affair, confined himself within the true bounds of his mission, and caused the gospel to be preached to the East-Saxons by Mellitus, one of the missionaries sent him by the pope, of whom I shall speak more fully, when I come to the conversion of that nation.

These, in short, are the transactions of Austin, commonly called the Apostle of the English, during the eight years he lived in England. He arrived in 597, and died in 605, according to the generally-received opinion. Some affirm he died sooner, and others, though without grounds, bring his death down to 613^p. He was buried at Canterbury, near the cathedral, which was not then finished, with this inscription on his tomb^q:

“ Here lies Augustin, the first archbishop of Dorobern, Bede, lib. ii.
 “ who having been sent hither by Gregory, pontiff of Rome, cap. 3.
 “ and supported by the co-operation of God with miracles,
 “ converted king Ethelbert and his nation to the faith; and
 “ having accomplished the days of his ministry, departed this
 “ life the 7th of the calends of June, in the reign of the said
 “ king.”

Austin was succeeded by Laurentius^r, who was as solicitous to reduce the Britons to the obedience of the pope, and a conformity to the Roman church in the celebration of Easter. He wrote very pressing letters to them, wherein he upbraided

^p Bede says he died 604, lib. ii. cap. 3. in 612. See Spelm. Conc. vol. i. p. 63.
^q The inscription put upon his tomb
 M. Westm. in 608. Hoveden in 610. at first, was,
 Trivet and Polyd. Virg. in 611. Malm.

Inclutus Anglorum præful, pius, et decus altum,
 Hic Augustinus requiescit corpore sanctus.

His body was, after the finishing of the cathedral, removed by his successor Laurentius, into the north porch of it, and the other inscription put upon his monument, Bede, lib. ii. cap. 3. Spelm.
Conc. vol. i. p. 93.
^r Whom he had consecrated archbishop before his death. Bede, lib. ii. cap. 3.

them for their obstinacy, complaining that a Scotch bishop, Dagham by name, passing through Canterbury, had refused to eat with him, on account of their difference in opinion concerning Easter-day. But his letters proved fruitless.

Gregory I. pretended not to a jurisdiction over the British churches as universal bishop; a title he was so far from assuming, that he had declaimed against it with great dislike. However, in all appearance, he believed he might, as patriarch of the west, claim the obedience of the British as well as English bishops to his spiritual jurisdiction. But Boniface IV. who not long after Gregory I. was promoted to the see of Rome, being supported by the emperor Phocas, took upon him the title of universal bishop. This was a fresh motive for the missionaries in England to renew their endeavours to bring the Britons to own his authority; but they could not prevail with them: and therefore Mellitus was sent to Rome for instructions from the pope upon this head. But the death of Ethelbert^s, which happened in the mean time, caused them to lay aside all thoughts of this matter, and reduced the Christians to a deplorable condition. Edbald, son and successor of Ethelbert, being turned pagan again, the missionaries lost that powerful protection they had till then so prosperously enjoyed. To complete their misfortunes, Sebert, king of Essex, who had been converted by Mellitus, dying also a little after^t, his three sons, who jointly succeeded him, apostatized from Christianity, and forbade Mellitus, who was come back from Rome, to remain in their dominions. He fled to Laurentius archbishop of Canterbury, as did also Justus bishop of Rochester, the inhabitants of that place having in all appearance abandoned the faith. These three prelates having consulted together, resolved upon going into France, and leaving the reprobate Saxons to themselves. This shows either that the people of Kent and Essex went all back to paganism, or that there were not so many converts as Gregory was made to believe. Mellitus and Justus went away, according to their resolution; but Laurentius staid behind, though with intent to follow them in a short time. When he was ready to depart, it is affirmed, that lying one night in his church, St Peter appeared to him, and scourged him severely, as a punishment for offering to abandon his

Bede, lib. ii.
cap. 6.

^s Rapin places Ethelbert's death several years sooner here, than he did before in the history of Kent. He died in 613, says Bede, lib. ii. cap. 5. Rapin places it above in 616. So doth

Brompton, p. 737, 738.

^t Brompton says, that he died about the same time as king Ethelbert; which, according to him, was A. D. 616, p. 737, 738.

mission.

mission. The day after he went to Edbald, and having shewn him the marks of the scourge, he converted him, and persuaded him to disengage himself from his unlawful marriage, he having taken his father's widow to wife. So far is certain, Edbald was converted; all historians are unanimous in that: but I cannot warrant the truth of St. Peter's apparition. Edbald being thus returned to the faith, recalled Justus and Mellitus, and restored them to their respective dioceses of Rochester and London. But the East-Saxons at London refusing to admit Mellitus, he returned to Kent, where he soon after succeeded Laurentius in the archbishopric of Canterbury^u. He is said by his prayer to have put a stop to a great fire, that in all probability would have reduced the city to ashes; and to have wrought several other miracles, with which I intend not to swell this abridgment. Bede, lib. ii. cap. 7. 619.

Mellitus was succeeded by Justus bishop of Rochester^v, to whom the pope sent the pall. After him came Honorius, whose successor was Deusdedit. After his death, there was a vacancy for four years^x. Egbert and Osway, kings of Kent and Northumberland, having held a conference together about the affairs of the church, resolved to send Wighard, a Kentish priest, to be consecrated archbishop of Canterbury at Rome. Wighard dying there, Vitalian the pope cast his eyes upon Adrian and Andrew, two monks, who both refused the archbishopric, as too great a burden. Theodorus, a Greek, native of Tarsus in Cilicia, to whom it was also offered, not having the same scruples, was consecrated at Rome, and departed for England. The pope ordered Adrian to go with him, lest, says an historian, Theodorus, being a Greek, might introduce customs in Britain contrary to those of the church of Rome. As this prelate was the most famous that in those early times filled the see of Canterbury, it will not be amiss to take a fuller view of him. 624. Bede, lib. ii. cap. 8. 18. Sax. Ann. 668.

Theodorus was a prelate of distinguished worth, as well for learning, as greatness of mind and solidity of judgment. But he was of a warm and imperious temper, a lover of power, and could ill brook any opposition to his will. Whilst he

^u According to Malmsh. Laurentius was archbishop five years, p. 196. So Gervasius also says. But Brompton makes him to have been archbishop sixteen years, p. 739.

^v Mellitus was archbishop five years; Justus three, and, according to others ten; Honorius twenty-six; and Deus-

dedit ten. Malmsh. p. 196. Brompt. Gervas.

^x Frombert king of Kent, who reigned from 642 to 664, ordered Lent to be kept throughout his kingdom; which, as far as appears, was the first institution of it in England. Malmsh. p. 11. Brompt. p. 740.

was archbishop of Canterbury, he had frequent opportunities of extending his jurisdiction over all England, which he never neglected, as we shall see hereafter in the account of the ecclesiastical affairs of the other kingdoms, particularly of Northumberland. I shall only observe here, that during his life, he alone exercised the archiepiscopal functions, which gave him an opportunity of incroaching upon the rights of the see of York; though Gregory I. had ordered, that after the death of Austin, the two archbishops should be independent of each other. As soon as he came into England, he made a visitation of all the churches in his jurisdiction, and brought the people to a thorough conformity in the divine service, to the usage of the church of Rome.

Bede, lib. i.
cap. 29.
669.

As the English were yet very ignorant, Theodorus endeavoured to the utmost of his power to instruct them, by erecting a school or seminary at Crecklade^y, where he and Adrian, besides divinity, taught arithmetic, music, astronomy, Greek and Latin. Bede assures us, he knew several of their scholars, that could express themselves as readily in Greek and Latin, as in their own language. Theodorus was not satisfied with promoting the love of learning among the English, by exhortations and instructions only, but also by the books he brought, and sent for, into England; some of which are still extant in manuscript, as David's Psalms, St. Chrysostom's Homilies, and Homer, all written in a beautiful hand. He composed himself a large work called Pœnitentiale, which remained not long since at Cambridge^z, but it is not to be found there now. In 1677, extracts of it, with some other of his treatises, were published at Paris, with notes by Jacobus Petitus^a.

Bede, lib. iv.
cap. 2.

Journ. des
Scav.

1678.

692.

Bede, lib. v.
c. 9. 24.

731.

Theodorus died in 690; but the see was not filled till two years after, by Berthwald abbot of Reculver^b, who, having been archbishop thirty-eight years^c, gave place by his death to Tatwine, a person of great learning and probity. He exercised his archiepiscopal functions near two years before he received the pall; which is a clear evidence it was not yet thought an absolutely necessary qualification for an archbishop. Tatwine dying in 735, Nothelm, a priest of the diocese of

^y About twenty miles from Oxford, in Wiltshire, from whence that university might be afterwards supplied.

^z In Bennet college library, in Sir Henry Spelman's time. Conc. vol. i. p. 154.

^a Theodore is said to have been the first that divided the province of Canterbury into parishes. See Bede, edit.

Whelock, p. 359. Spelman Conc. vol. i. p. 152.

^b Berthwald was the first Saxon archbishop, all the rest having been sent from Rome. Brompt. p. 742.

^c Malmsh. says, thirty-seven, (p. 196.) and Gervas, thirty seven years and six months, (p. 1640.)

London, succeeded him, and went and received the pall at Rome, where he was consecrated by Gregory III. He died in 741, and the year following, Cuthbert bishop of Hereford, was chosen in his room. To him succeeded Bregwin, of a noble family in Germany. This prelate was exemplary for his religious and holy life, during the two years he held the see. Jambert [or Lambert] abbot of St. Austin's, was his successor. He had the mortification to see the churches of Mercia and East-Anglia wrested from his jurisdiction, by the erecting Lichfield into an archbishop's see, in the reign of Offa. Notwithstanding all his endeavours, he could neither prevent it, nor recover his rights. Athelard, his successor, was more fortunate; for he obtained what his predecessor had sued for in vain. So the churches of Mercia and East-Anglia were again subject to the jurisdiction of the see of Canterbury. Wulfrid, who succeeded him in 804, was living at the time the Heptarchy was reduced to a monarchy.

Before we leave the church of Kent, it will be proper to observe, that Gregory's scheme, who had ordered Canterbury and York should be both archbishoprics, and independent of one another, remained unexecuted, upon several accounts. In the first place, the Northumbrians did not receive the gospel so soon as the pope expected. Again, they all deserted the faith, after the retreat of Paulinus, who had received the pall. Lastly, the troubles Northumberland was continually disturbed with, prevented the first bishops of York from taking advantage of the pope's regulation, which besides they did not much regard. This was the reason Theodorus became possessed of all the authority, as well over the northern as southern churches; and that his successors making him their precedent, laid claim to the primacy of all England, exclusive of the archbishop of York. This proved, in process of time, the ground of great disputes between the two archbishops.

The CHURCH of NORTHUMBERLAND,

HAVING already given an account of Edwin's marriage with Ethelburga of Kent, I shall only add, that Paulinus, who accompanied her into Northumberland as bishop of the Northumbrians, spent a whole year at Edwin's court, without making any great progress among people not yet disposed to receive his instructions. But at length several accidents concurred to encourage his zeal and promote his designs, of which I shall give a particular relation.

Bede, lib. ii.
cap. 9.
Sax. Ann.

Quicelm, one of the kings of Wesssex, bore the yoke of Edwin with that impatience, that he resolved to free himself from it, by means of an assassin, whom he sent to him on some pretence, privately armed with a poisoned dagger. The ruffian being introduced into the presence-chamber, took his opportunity, and made so furious a pass at the king, that he was wounded through the body of Lilla his favourite, who interposed himself, and received the blow. Paulinus being informed of this accident hastily ran into the room, and finding Edwin in a great rage with the king of Wesssex, told him, God, to whom such wretches were an abomination, would not fail to punish so horrid a villainy. It is said that Edwin, whom the queen had hitherto solicited in vain, promised at the same time to renounce idolatry, if the God of the Christians would revenge him of his enemy. At the same instant news was brought him, that the queen, after a hard labour, was brought to bed of a princess, for which he returned thanks to his gods. Paulinus, for his part, having been in great fears for the queen, fell upon his knees, and thanked God for her delivery. The prelate's zeal was so pleasing to the king, that immediately conceiving a favourable opinion of the christian religion, he consented Paulinus should baptize the new-born infant. The young princess, who was named Ansfleda, was the first that received baptism in Northumberland^d.

Edwin, however, not forgetting the perfidiousness of the king of Wesssex, marched with an army into his dominions, and, after defeating him several times, compelled him humbly to sue for peace, and make him ample satisfaction. But tho' he returned with victory according to his wish, he deferred the performance of his promise^e. When the queen and Paulinus pressed him upon that head, he told them, the quitting his religion seemed to him to be of that importance, that he could not resolve upon it without a thorough examination of matters. And indeed he heartily set about it, and frequently conferred with Coifi the pagan high-priest, upon the reasons alledged by Paulinus in favour of Christianity. Coifi, perceiving the king was very near turning Christian, resolved with himself to make his court to him betimes, by conforming to his will. It would not perhaps be impossible in the like case, to find some of this character among the christian clergy.

^d She was baptized on Whitsunday, with twelve other persons belonging to the court. Bede, lib. ii. cap. 9.

^e Bede says, the reason of it was, be-

cause he would not embrace christianity without due and mature deliberation, and without being sufficiently instructed in the grounds of his faith. Ibid.

Mean time, the queen and Paulinus continued to solicit the king to perform his promise; and to give the greater weight to what they said to him, they got the pope to write him a letter. But all would not do; Edwin still demurred, and could not come to a resolution. At last the circumstances of the vision he had formerly seen in the garden of Redowald, being, as it is pretended, revealed to Paulinus, the work was accomplished in an extraordinary way. Bede relates, how that one day as the king was surrounded with a croud of courtiers^f, Paulinus came in suddenly, and laying his hand on Edwin's head, asked him whether he understood the meaning of that token? At these words, Edwin recollecting what had passed between him and the stranger in Redowald's garden, threw himself at Paulinus's feet, who, with an air of authority, said to him thus: "My lord, you have escaped the hands of your enemies, and are become a great king. All that was foretold you is come to pass; it is your duty now to make good your promise." Upon hearing this, Edwin is said to reply, he was fully satisfied, and ready to receive the christian faith. From that moment he strove not only to be better informed himself, but also to prevail with his subjects to follow his example, and embrace the gospel. To that end, he believed the best way would be, before he publicly declared his intent, to gain some of his principal courtiers, whose example, he did not question, would have a great influence on the rest of the nation.

The greatest opposition was most likely to come from Coifi, because it was his interest to keep the people attached to the worship of idols. But the king was agreeably surprized to find, that instead of opposing, he was ready to comply with his desire. One day as the king was discoursing with him upon this subject, the high-priest, like a good courtier, said to him: "I have for a good while been seriously reflecting on our religion, and on the nature of our gods, and must own I am not at all satisfied in these points, neither can I forbear calling in question their goodness, justice, or power. Never, perhaps, did any person serve them with greater zeal, respect and assiduity than myself. You, Sir, are a witness with what devotion and care I have all along performed the functions of my office; and yet I never got any

^f Bede says, he was sitting alone seriously pondering with himself. Rapin.

^g In a general assembly. Habito enim cum sapientibus consilio, seisc-

"tabatur sigillatim ab omnibus, qualis sibi, doctrina hæc eatenus inaudita, & novus divinitatis qui prædicabatur cultus videretur." Bede, lib. ii. c. 13.

"thing by it: neither is there a man in your court but what is better preferred than I am. Now, can I help concluding, that since our gods take so little care of their most sincere worshippers, they must be either unjust, or weak, or rather no gods at all."

Edwin, extremely well pleased with this answer of the high-priest, had a mind likewise to know the sentiments of another priest^h that was next in dignity to Coifi; who, encouraged by the example of his superior, told the king: "Sir, the more we reflect on the nature of our souls, the less we know of it; it is with our soul, as with the little bird that came in the other day at one of the windows in the room where you sat at dinner, and flew out immediately at the other. Whilst it was in the room, we knew something about it; but as soon as it was gone, we could not say whence it came, or whither it was flown. Thus our soul, whilst it animates our body, we may know some of its properties; but when once separated, we know not whither it goes, or from whence it came. Since then Paulinus pretends to give us clear notions of these matters, it is my opinion that we give him the hearing, and laying aside all passion and prejudice, follow that which shall appear most conformable to right reason."

This advice, that agreed so well with the king's intentions, being approved of, it was resolved Paulinus should explain himself upon the subject of religion, in the presence of the pontiff and other priests, which was accordingly done. As soon as Coifi had heard the bishop out, he declared aloud, He could see no manner of reason to doubt of the truth of the Christian religion. Edwin being thus sure of the concurrence of the high-priest and some of his principal courtiers, called a wittenagemot or parliament, to debate, whether the Christian religion should be received or not. But the majority being determined already for the affirmative, it passed without any opposition. Coifi was one of the most forward to attack the pagan worship; and being desirous to show some marks of the sincerity of his conversion, put himself at the head of his priests, and marching toward the heathen temple, darted his javelin against the idol: after which it was broke in pieces by the king's order, and the temple burnt to the groundⁱ. The same day Edwin^j

^h Bede says, it was one of the king's grandees—"alius optimatum regis."
Bede, lib. ii. cap. 13.

ⁱ The temple was a very famous one,

it stood at Godmanham, i. e. a most honorable for gods, in Yorkshire & near it is Wighton, that is, a place of idols. Camden, p. 738.

was baptized^k, with his niece Hilda^l, afterwards abbess of Whitby.

627.
Bede, lib. ii.
cap. 14.

The Northumbrians following the example of their king, Paulinus, who till then had lain idle, on a sudden found himself fully employed, by the prodigious multitudes that daily came in to be taught and baptized^m. But if it be true, as some affirm, that he baptized in one day ten thousand, his instructions must needs have been very conciseⁿ. A church of timber was hastily run up at York for the new converts, who were very numerous. Shortly after, Edwin laid the foundation of a church of free-stone round the former, which stood till the other of stone was built. He had not the satisfaction to finish it, which was done by Oswald his successor. Paulinus is said to have preached also at Lincoln, where he converted Blecca, the Saxon governor.

628.
Bede, lib. ii.
cap. 15.

Thus was Northumberland converted to the faith of Christ. But some time after, Edwin being slain in battle, such desolation ensued, that Paulinus being compelled to leave the kingdom, the Northumbrians fell back again to idolatry. Anfrid and Oric, kings of Deira and Bernicia, followed the example of their subjects, though they had been instructed in the christian religion in Scotland, where they had lived in exile. The apostatizing of these two princes, and the barbarity of Cadwallo after their death, almost quite rooted out christianity in Northumberland. During these calamities, neither priest nor monk had the courage to attempt the restoring the Northumbrians to the faith. James the deacon, whom Paulinus left at York, was not able alone to put a stop to the general revolt^o. Things remained in this sad state, till Oswald ascended the throne, who, as soon as he had restored peace and tranquillity, laboured with all his power to make religion flourish again. To

633.
Id. cap. 20.

634.
Bede, lib. iii.
cap. 1, 3.
S. Dunelm.

^k Which was on Easter-day, April 12. Shortly after his two sons Offrid and Eadfrid, and several of the nobility, were baptized. Paulinus preached six years together in Northumbria. Bede, lib. ii. cap. 14.

^l She was daughter of Hereric, Edwin's nephew. Bede.

^m Bede says, that Paulinus coming one time with the king and queen to a place called Adregrin, spent there thirty-six days from morning till night, in instructing and baptizing (in the river Oleni) the people that flocked to him from all quarters, lib. ii. cap. 14. This Adregrin, as Bede observes, *ibid.* was destroyed in his time: but Camden as-

serts, that it was where Yeverin in Northumberland now stands.

ⁿ The same is said of Austin; and both the rivers are called Swale. Rapin. It may seem incredible, that Paulinus should baptize so many in one day. But this difficulty is removed in an antient fragment quoted by Mr. Camden. "The archbishop, after he had consecrated the river Swale, commanded, by the cryers and principal men, that they should with faith go in two by two, and in the name of the holy Trinity, baptize each other." *Introduct. p. clxvi. 2d edit.*

^o And yet Bede says, that— "mag- nas antiquo hosti preda docendo & baptizando eripuit." lib. ii. cap. 20.

Bede, lib.iii.
cap. 5.

635.

Ed. iii. c. 5.

652.

that end, he desired the king of Scotland to send some persons of learning to instruct his subjects. Accordingly Cormac, a monk of Jona, of whom I have elsewhere spoken, was sent with some others; but he being a man of a rough temper, and disliked by the English, returned to his monastery; and making his report of his mission in a full chapter, Aidan, one of the brotherhood, found by what he said, that he had not used that condescension to the English, their circumstances required; and therefore told him, "It is my opinion, brother, that you have dealt a little too roughly with those you designed to convert; not remembering that the christian religion ought to be infused in the mind, not by violent, but mild and gentle methods." Upon these words, the monks unanimously declared, Aidan was the fittest person to be sent to the Northumbrians. He undertook the affair, and being consecrated bishop, set out for Northumberland. Bede gives Aidan the character of a pious and religious person, but adds, his zeal was without knowledge, because he kept Easter after the manner of the eastern christians, and not according to the custom of the church of Rome. However, as much a schismatic as he was in Bede's opinion, nothing can be added to his commendation of him for holiness of life. He not only (says he) instructed christians in their duty, but also gave them an example of a good life, and fervent charity, which charmed the very heathens, and allured them to the faith. His success was so great among the Northumbrians, that they returned in crowds to the profession of Christ. Oswald, who was extremely desirous of the conversion of his subjects, did all he could to promote the work, even to the becoming Aidan's interpreter, in explaining his discourses to the people. It may, perhaps, seem strange, that Oswald should not recall Paulinus, who was then bishop of Rochester, or make use of the ministry of James who was left by Paulinus in Northumberland. But it must be remembered, that Oswald, having been instructed in the christian religion in Scotland, had an aversion for the Roman missionaries, on account of the difference between the Romanists and Scots about Easter, and the ecclesiastical tonsure. Aidan dying after he had governed the church of Northumberland seventeen years, Finan, another monk of Jona, was sent to supply his place. He fixt the episcopal see in the little island of Lindisfarne^p, contrary to Gregory's

^p Or Holy-Island, on the coast of his predecessor Aidan. What Finan Northumberland. It was not Finan did, was to erect there a cathedral that fixed the episcopal see there, but church; which was built after the Scottish

Gregory's regulation, who ordered that the principal see for the northern parts should be settled at York.

This was not the only thing wherein Finan and the other Scotch ecclesiasticks showed their independance on the church of Rome. Their obstinate refusal to conform to the Roman custom of keeping Easter, was an article of much more importance, at least in the opinion of the Italian priests, by whom it was considered as a principal point. England was then divided into two parties or sects, who firmly adhered to their respective opinions. All the Scotch priests and monks, who were very numerous in Northumberland, and all their converts, followed the Eastern churches; but the French and Italian ecclesiasticks, in that and all other points, adhered to the church of Rome, branding with the name of Schismaticks those who refused to do the like. And therefore they used their utmost endeavours to bring the English churches to a conformity with them, which they thought might easily be done, could they but once gain over Finan to their side. To this end they sent to him a Scotch priest, that had been educated in France to lay before him the reasons alledged by the church of Rome upon that head. But so far was Finan from being prevailed upon, that he became a more professed and open opposer of the Roman customs.

This dispute was then carried on with great vehemence, not only among the clergy, but even among the most ignorant of the laity, as it usually happens in religious differences. As long as Aidan and Finan lived, the Romanists, says Bede, ^{Bede, lib.iii. cap. 23.} on account of the veneration all men had for these two ^{661.} holy bishops, bore with patience this diversity of opinion. But when Colman, another Scotch monk, succeeded Finan in the reign of Oswy, the dispute was renewed with more warmth than ever. The Romanists, desirous of bringing over their adversaries to their opinion at any rate, never left till they had got Oswy to call a synod [in the nunnery of Hilda] at Streanes-halh or Whitby, in order to decide this affair. The synod being met, each party endeavoured to ^{664.} procure as many votes as they could; but, as it appears ^{Bede.} from the accounts of historians, the Romanists were much more active and zealous than the others; and managed so, that Agilbert bishop of Paris formerly bishop of the West-Saxons came to the synod on some pretence, with Agathon

Scottish fashion, not of stone, but of timber, and thatched. Edbert, one of Finan's successors, covered the walls

and roof with lead. Bede, lib. iii. cap. 3. and 25. S. Dunelm, Hunting. p. 333.

THE HISTORY

one of his priests. At the head of the Scotch party were king Oswy, Colman bishop of the Northumbrians, and the rest of the Scotch priests and monks, with all that had received their ordination from them. On the other side appeared Ansfleda, Oswy's queen, Alfred king of Deira. Oswy's natural son; Wilfrid a priest his preceptor, who had studied at Rome, Agilbert bishop of Paris, and Agathon a priest of the same church, Ronan a Scotch priest, James the deacon, and all who had been disciples of the Italian priests and monks.

To see with what eagerness this dispute was managed, one would have thought the very essence of religion had been at stake. And indeed the Romanists were of that opinion, as appears from the words of Bede: "It was not without reason, says he, that this question disturbed the minds of a great number of Christians, who were apprehensive, lest after they had begun the race of salvation, they should be found to have run in vain." However, this historian, though he thought all did run in vain who conformed not to the church of Rome, gives Aidan and Finan, who were of that number, the highest praises for holiness of life. He attributes to them the gift of miracles, which leaves no room to doubt, but that he looked upon them as saints; notwithstanding they were, according to his notion, actually involved in schism. Baronius treads in the steps of Bede. When he mentions the Scots and Britons of those days, he calls them schismatics, for refusing to obey the pope: But when he speaks of Aidan and Finan, he makes no scruple of sainting them, though they strenuously asserted the independancy of their churches. Hence it follows, either these two bishops were not really schismatics. or if they were so, their schism hindered them not from being great saints, from being assisted by God in working miracles, and converting nations. But to return to the synod of Whitby; since the dispute about Easter was the occasion of their meeting, and the cause of great commotions in England, it will not be amiss briefly to relate the first rise of it.

Towards the end of the second century, a controversy arose in the church, concerning the day on which the Easter festival was to be celebrated. The churches of Asia were of opinion, it was to be kept on the fourteenth day of the moon, according to the custom of the Jews, on what day of the week soever it should chance to fall. The western churches, on the contrary, put it off till the Sunday after the fourteenth day, because our Saviour's resurrection was on that day.

day. Several councils were held about this matter, as well in the east as in the west; but neither party would recede from their opinion, each pleading apostolical tradition in their behalf, the eastern bishops from St. John, and the western from St. Peter and St. Paul. Supposing the truth of both these traditions, the inference was plain, that either of them might indifferently be followed, and that it was no material point, since the apostles had not settled it among themselves. And in fact, this diversity of custom, prevented not the two parties from holding communion with each other, till Victor I. bishop of Rome made a rupture, by excommunicating the Quartodecimans, or those that kept Easter on the fourteenth day of the moon. This proceeding of Victor gave so great offence, that Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, though of the same opinion with Victor, severely reprimanded him for breach of charity, on account of a thing of so little moment. He alledged the example of Anicetus, Pius, Hyginus, Telesphorus, Xistus, predecessors of Victor, who, notwithstanding this difference, broke not communion with the churches of Asia. Adding, he would have acted much better in imitating Anicetus, who gave the eucharist with his own hand to Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, though of a different opinion from him in this very point.

Victor's haughty treatment of the churches of Asia, instead of bringing them to his opinion, only made them adhere still more firmly to their own. They believed, they were so much the less obliged to conform to the practice of Rome, as the pope, after all, could produce no authentic proof of his tradition from St. Peter and St. Paul; as the Asiatics, on their part, would have found it as difficult to make out theirs from St. John. What Socrates the historian says upon this subject is very remarkable: "Neither
 " Christ nor his apostles have ordered any thing concerning
 " the paschal feast, as Moses did to the Jews, their design be-
 " ing not to determine circumstances about holy-days, but to
 " instruct Christians in the precepts of piety and a good life.
 " It is my opinion therefore, that as certain customs have
 " been introduced in each country, this of the paschal so-
 " lemnity was one of them, and not built upon the authority
 " of the apostles. The Quartodecimans tell us, the keep-
 " ing the fourteenth day was instituted by St. John. The
 " Romanists maintain, they had their practice from St. Peter
 " and St. Paul: But neither of them have proved by any
 " authentic record their assertion: Whence it is clear, the
 " Easter

THE HISTORY

“Easter festival may be kept in every place according to the custom first introduced there.”

From this passage it is evident, that they who were no lovers of wrangling, looked upon this controversy as of little importance to religion. However, to avoid a diversity even in the smallest matters, the council of Arles in 314, ordered that Easter should every where be kept on the Sunday after the fourteenth day of the moon, which happened next after the vernal equinox or 21st of March. This canon was confirmed by the council of Nice in 325, and the emperor sent orders throughout all the Roman empire to have it put in practice. His letter upon this occasion to the governors and other magistrates, showed that the reasons the council went upon, were, that the Quartodecimans were fewest in number, and stood too near the Jewish custom. Upon the same account it was, that the council ordered, Easter should be the Sunday after the full moon in March. But it is uncertain whether it was meant, people should reckon from the beginning of the fourteenth of the moon, or from the evening and beginning of the fifteenth^q. Pursuant to this determination, all the churches kept Easter-day on a Sunday. One thing however, namely, what was to be done when the full moon fell out on a Sunday, not being settled, caused some diversity. In this case, some churches, among which was that of Scotland, began their Easter that very day, and consequently at the same time with the Jews. But the church of Rome deferred it till the Sunday following. Since that time, there have been some alterations which produced different customs in the churches. Whereas for a long while a cycle of eighty-four years was every where made use of to find the precise time of Easter, the church of Rome invented a cycle of nineteen years, much more proper for that purpose, and obliged all the churches under her jurisdiction to conform to the same. Though doubtless this was the best method, and calculated nearest the truth, yet as it was unknown to the Britons and Scots, who held but little correspondence with Rome, they adhered to their old way.

Bede. lib.iii.
cap. 25.

By these various manners of finding Easter-day, it sometimes happened in Oswy's court, that whilst the king was celebrating the paschal feast, the queen, who followed the custom of the church of Rome, was still keeping Lent. This confusion made Oswy desirous of fixing Easter-day so, as all should keep it at the same time. At the opening of

^q An ecclesiastical day begins at six a-clock the evening before.

the

the council, having made a short speech upon that head, he ordered Colman to alledge what he had to say in defence of the custom of the Scotch church. Colman said, it had been all along the practice of his predecessors, and of those by whom he was ordained in Scotland: That Columba, Aidan, and Finan, had always kept to the old way; but if their authority was not sufficient, he could alledge that of St. John the beloved apostle. After he had enlarged upon this argument, Agilbert, bishop of Paris, was desired to alledge what was to be said against Colman's assertion. But the bishop having excused himself on account of his unskilfulness in the English tongue, requested that Wilfrid might be allowed to speak the sense of the church of Rome. Wilfrid, having the king's permission, answered Colman with great warmth. He explained the manner of fixing Easter practised by the church of Rome, and affirmed that all the churches in the world conformed to it, except the Scots, Picts, and Britons, who still persisted in their foolish obstinacy. Colman replied, talking in that manner very much reflected on the memory of St. John, who would never have established a custom that was chargeable with folly. Wilfrid, being sensible he had spoke a little too freely, endeavoured to justify St. John, by saying, he was obliged to retain something of Judaism, for fear of giving offence to the Asiatic Jews, as St. Paul upon the like account had circumcised Timothy. He concluded with asserting, that the church of Rome exactly followed what was prescribed by St. Peter and St. Paul in this matter.

It appears from the fore-cited passage of Socrates, that it was as difficult for Wilfrid to prove that the custom of the church of Rome had its rose from St. Peter, as for Colman to show, that the practice of the church of Scotland came from St. John. Besides, the cycle of nineteen years then used by the Romanists, was most assuredly invented after the time of St. Peter. But as Colman and the rest of the Scotch party knew little of what passed abroad, and as their aim was not so much to bring the Romanists to their customs, as to persuade them to let them go on peaceably in their own way, they persisted in appealing to the authority of St. John and Columba. But Wilfrid after justifying St. John in the manner above-mentioned, demanded of Colman, with an air of triumph, whether he pretended to compare Columba with St. Peter the prince of the apostles, to whom our Saviour said, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church?" History informs us not what answer Colman made; for it must be remembred, we know nothing of this council,

council, but what we have from the partisans of Rome. However this be, Oswy seemed to be convinced, St. Peter had some prerogative above the other apostles, since he declared at last for the custom established by St. Peter at Rome, before that of St. John. Bede says, he was brought to it by being told, that as St. Peter had the keys of heaven, he would refuse him entrance if he obstinately held out against the apostle's own institution. Oswy's declaration immediately gained a majority of voices for the Romanists. Thus Colman and his party lost their cause in this point.

lib. iii. cap.
25.

In the same synod was debated also the controversy about the ecclesiastical tonsure. The Romanists maintained, that the head ought to be shaved round just in the place where our Saviour wore the crown of thorns, of which it was the emblem. But the Scotch priests shaved the fore-part of the head from ear to ear. Bede does not tell us how this matter was decided; but very probably it was determined in favour of the Romanists.

cap. 25.

The dispute about Easter being thus ended to the disadvantage of the Scots, Colman and all his adherents retired into Scotland, not being able to prevail with themselves to submit to a decision that appeared to them so unjust. Thus is it in matters of religion, things that seem at first perfectly indifferent, become at last of the greatest consequence by the pride and uncharitableness of the clergy. Cedd bishop of the East-Saxons, who had been interpreter to both parties in the synod, was the only one of the Scotch party, that thought it his duty not to leave his flock for a thing of so little moment, though he was of a contrary opinion to the Romanists. Tuda succeeded to Colman's see, and Eatta was made abbot of Lindisfarn in the room of him that went away with Colman.

Bede, lib. iii.
cap. 25.

Thus was the storm, raised by this controversy, appeased at last, to the great satisfaction of the pope and his party, who were very sensible, that their success in this affair would greatly contribute to the establishing the papal authority over the northern churches, as it really did. The church of Northumberland had been governed for thirty years by Aidan, Finan, and Colman, whom their adversaries could charge with nothing, but their firm adherence to the customs of their ancestors in relation to Easter. After Colman's retiring into Scotland, the government of the church of Northumberland was always put into the hands either of Saxons or foreigners bred up in the principles of the church of Rome, the Scots being entirely excluded.

Tuda

Tuda dying soon after, Alfred king of Deira was desirous of having Wilfrid, his preceptor, made bishop of York, the see whereof was then at Lindisfarn. To that end he ordered him to go into France to be consecrated by Agilbert bishop of Paris. But Wilfrid making a long stay in France, Chad then abbot of Lessingham, was made bishop of the Northumbrians¹. Chad being gone into Kent to be consecrated by Deusdedit archbishop of Canterbury, and finding he was lately dead, applied to Wina, bishop of Winchester, for consecration, and then returned into Northumberland. Bede tells us, he was a very religious person, without pride or ambition, and one that accepted of the episcopal dignity purely in obedience to the king's order.

Eddius.
Bede.
S. Dunelm.
Malmsh.

Mean while, Wilfrid being returned into England, remained some time at Canterbury, to take care of that diocese till the arrival of Theodorus, whom the pope had made archbishop. After a few months stay at Canterbury, he went on to Northumberland, where finding Chad was made bishop of Lindisfarn, and not daring to complain of the inconsistency of the king of Deira, he retired to his monastery at Rippon². Some time after, Theodorus in his visitation of all the churches in England, coming to York, severely reprimanded Chad for being consecrated by the bishop of Winchester. Chad humbly submitted to his censure, and without endeavouring to justify himself, did all the archbishop required of him. Theodorus, charmed with his modest behaviour, consecrated him anew; but ordered him to return to his monastery³, and make room for Wilfrid whom the two kings of Northumberland had designed for the bishoprick of York or Lindisfarn. Though Bede does not say for what reason Chad was sent back to his monastery after his second consecration, yet it is plain Theodorus was galled by the two kings who were for Wilfrid. And indeed there seems to be no reason for deposing of Chad, since all the defects of his former ordination, supposing there were any, were removed by the latter.

Wilfrid was a man of a very proud and haughty temper, one of those that are for domineering where-ever they come, and cannot bring themselves to use towards others that condescension they expect from all the world. His pride for some time was supported by his interest with the two kings

Malmsh.
G. Pontif.
lib. iii.
p. 262.

¹ Eddius says, he was made bishop. Eddius, p. 58.

at the request of the Quartodecimans, ² Malmshury says, that he retired to

cap. 14. Malmsh. p. 259. ³ Lichfield. De Pontif. p. 261.

³ Where he remained three years.

the north. For that purpose probably it was that he deposed Wilfrid, from whose temper and character he expected opposition; that he divided York into three bishopricks, on pretence it would be more convenient for the people; and lastly, that he deposed Thumbert, who had openly censured his usurpations.

685. The same council that deposed Thumbert, chose in his room Cuthbert a monk of Lindisfarn, who was the only person that opposed his own election, out of an excess of modesty and humility. The bishops, who all judged him worthy of the episcopal character, found it very difficult to bring him to a compliance; and at last were forced to consent he should remain at Lindisfarn, where he had lived a long time; for which reason Eatta was translated to Hagulstad.

- Some time after, Theodorus being grown old, and finding he had not long to live, was touched with remorse for what he had done to Wilfrid, and wanted to be reconciled to him. To this purpose he interceded for him so earnestly with Alfred, successor to Egfrid, that he was recalled. The bishoprick of Lindisfarn being then vacant, by the voluntary resignation of Cuthbert, Bosa was translated thither, and Wilfrid restored to York.

687. Cuthbert, being returned to his monastery at Lindisfarn, died soon after. In process of time, his body being removed to Durham, became so famous for miracles, that among all the English saints he had the greatest veneration paid him.

- Wilfrid was no sooner settled in his see, but he undertook the annulling all that had been done during his disgrace. He attempted the uniting again to York the bishoprick of Hagulstad, and claimed the revenues that had been taken from his church, and appropriated to that bishoprick. In fine, he pretended that all the regulations of Theodorus were null and void; and perhaps he was in the right; but his haughty way of proceeding made him meet with opposition from all quarters. Even Alfred, his pupil and sovereign, not being able to bear any longer his imperious temper, drove him once more from his church. Thus this restless prelate was reduced to seek for shelter from Ethelred, king of Mercia, formerly his enemy, but now his friend. Mercia being then divided into four bishopricks, and Leicester, one of them, happening to be vacant, Ethelred promoted Wilfrid to that see, which however he enjoyed but a very little while. His haughty temper was so displeasing to the king of Mercia, that he dispossessed him of it in a few months. Not content with incurring the displeasure of the kings of Mercia and Northumberland, he took

took occasion also to fall out with Berthwald, archbishop of Canterbury, and by that means forfeited his protection, which he then stood in great need of. The two kings his enemies laid hold of this opportunity to humble him. They requested Berthwald to call a council, in order to examine into the life and actions of Wilfrid. The archbishop, as matters stood between him and Wilfrid, readily complied with their desire. Accordingly a council was held at Onestresfield in Northum-^{Eddies, vi.}berland, where Wilfrid was obliged to appear, and was charged ^{Wilf. c. 49.}with crimes that deserved degradation. However, the bishops, unwilling to carry matters to that extremity, endeavoured, by intreaties and threats, to induce him to resign his bishoprick of his own accord. But nothing could bring him to that: he told them, it was great ingratitude in the English to use him in that manner, after all the services he had done the church. The services he boasted of were, his contributing the most of any towards fixing Easter-day, according to the usage of Rome, his introducing the Roman ritual into the churches of the north, and his bringing the Scotch monks to conform to the rules of the order of St. Benedict. Upon these accounts, "said he, you ought to reward me, instead of threatening to depose me unjustly for imaginary crimes. But if you will dare to go on, know I'll appeal to the pope against your proceedings. None other has power to condemn me, and he it is alone I acknowledge for my judge." The council, not regarding his appeal, unanimously deposed him. However, this did not in the least humble him. Though he was seventy years of age, he resolved to go to Rome for redress. The pope, always favourable to those that appealed to him, convened a synod of the neighbouring bishops, wherein Wilfrid, upon his single representation of matters, was fully acquitted. After which, the pope gave him commendatory letters to Berthwald, and the kings of Mercia and Northumberland, requiring them to restore Wilfrid, in pursuance to the decree of the synod.

As soon as Wilfrid was returned to England, he waited on the archbishop, who finding he came with the pope's recommendation, began to relent, and promise his friendship. On the other hand, Ethelred king of Mercia, who was now turned monk, promised Wilfrid his intercession. But Alfred at first seemed inflexible. He said he could see no manner of reason for restoring, upon the pope's letter, and the sentence of a foreign council that knew but little of the matter, a man that had caused so many disturbances, and after having been banished several times, had at length been lawfully deposed by

a synod. But he was not long of this mind. Soon after falling sick, it was infused into him, that his distemper was a punishment from God, for his disobedience to the pope's orders; and this made so deep an impression upon him, that he vowed to restore Wilfrid, in case he recovered. Death prevented him from performing his vow; however, he ordered Brithric, whom he left guardian to his son Osred, to see it performed out of hand.

Although Alfred had been positively promised the affair of Wilfrid should be soon ended, it was not possible to think of it immediately, by reason of a civil war raised by Edulph, who had usurped the crown. Wilfrid behaved upon this occasion in such a manner, as seemed to deprive him of all hopes of ever being restored. As he did not doubt but Edulph, who was then besieging the king and Brithric in Bamborough-castle, would succeed in his designs, he went in all haste to him, in order to make him his friend, and secure his protection. This proceeding had like to have proved his ruin. Edulph, knowing he was hated by the Northumbrians, to do them a pleasure, gave him a very ill reception, forbidding him ever to appear in his presence. On the other side, Brithric informed of Wilfrid's conduct, lost all kindness for him. However, after the war was ended by the death of the usurper, Brithric was prevailed upon, though with some difficulty, to consent Wilfrid should be restored. To this end a council was held near the river Nydd, where it was agreed, Wilfrid should be bishop of Hagulfstad, with which he was obliged to be satisfied. John, then bishop of that see, was removed to York, vacant by the death of Bosa.

Fddius,
c. 58.

708.

Bede, lib. v.
cap. 16.

lib. v. c. 21.

Thus Wilfrid's affair, after many difficulties, was at length determined. John in 721 resigned his bishoprick, and retired to the monastery of Beverly, of which he was abbot. He was canonized after his death, and became very famous, by the name of St. John of Beverly. He was succeeded in the see of York by Wilfrid the Younger, his chaplain. To Wilfrid the Elder succeeded, in his see of Hagulfstad, Acca, one of the priests that had attended him in his journey to Rome, where he became a great proficient in church-musick, which, says Bede, it was impracticable for him to learn in his own country. Wilfrid the Younger was succeeded in the see of York by Egbert, brother to Edbert king of Northumberland.

It was necessary to be thus particular about the establishment of the northern bishopricks, the succession of the first bishops, and the alterations occasioned by Wilfrid; without all which, it would be difficult to give a distinct notion of the churches of these

these parts. Hence also may be seen, how the archbishop of Canterbury had opportunity of exercising his jurisdiction over all England, contrary to the regulation of Gregory I. To which the enterprising genius of Theodorus, and the deposing of Wilfrid, likewise contributed. Had Wilfrid continued in the see of York, he would doubtless have obtained the pall, and by that means put a stop to Theodorus's proceedings.

The dignity of archbishop of York, and metropolitan of the north, vanished with Paulinus. After that prelate left Northumberland, and the Northumbrians deserted the faith, the monks, sent for from Scotland by Oswald to instruct the people, were contented with the bare title of bishop, without applying to the pope for the pall, whose jurisdiction they did not acknowledge. Afterwards Wilfrid, successor to Colman, having been deposed, the bishoprick of the Northumbrians was divided into four, namely, York, Whithern, Lindisfarne, and Hagulfstad. This division was a fresh obstacle to the bishop of York's desiring the pall, his see being so considerably lessened. Besides, Bosa, John and Wilfrid the Younger, who were successively bishops of York, were pious and good men, who thought of nothing less than aspiring to more honourable titles. But Egbert, who was bishop of York, whilst his brother sat on the throne of Northumberland, having more ambition than his predecessors, improved the respect they had for him at Rome on account of his birth, and procured the pall with the archiepiscopal dignity: by which means he acquired a jurisdiction over the three other northern bishops, who became his suffragans. From that time the archbishops of York began to be upon a level with those of Canterbury, and to insist on Gregory's regulation, whereby it was ordered, there should be an entire equality and independency between the two archbishops. On the other hand, the archbishops of Canterbury pleaded the jurisdiction exercised by Theodorus over the north, and all the rest of England. Hence arose a contest between the two metropolitans, which was not decided till many ages after. Alcuinus gives Egbert, whom he calls his master, the character of an able and learned prelate, and takes notice of his building a library at York, and furnishing it with a noble collection of books. Eanbald, who succeeded Egbert, was living at the time of the dissolution of the Heptarchy.

O. Malm.
lib. i. cap. 2.

744

The CHURCH of WESSEX.

IT does not appear, that Austín sent any of his companions to preach the gospel in the kingdom of Wessex. It was not till forty years after his arrival in Britain that the West-Saxons were converted by the ministry of Birinus. This priest, zealous for the advancement of the kingdom of Christ, being informed there were still in England nations to whom the gospel was not preached, desired pope Honorius to send him thither *. His request being granted, he received the episcopal character, and set out for England, not knowing for certain on what nation providence would throw him, or on whom in particular he should bestow his charitable care. He accidentally arrived in the kingdom of Wessex; and finding the inhabitants idolaters, resolved to stay among them, and endeavour their conversion. After some time he had the satisfaction to baptize Cinigisil the king, and Quicelm his brother †. Soon after Birinus found his audience very numerous, multitudes following the example of their kings. He continued for fourteen years to edify his converts by his discourses and example, and at length, after a considerable progress, died at Dorchester, where he had built a church, and fixed his episcopal see.

634.
Bede, lib. iii.
cap. 7.

635.
After. Ann.
636.
Bede, lib. iii.
cap. 7.

After Birinus's death, Wessex was involved in fresh troubles, Cenowald, who succeeded his father Cinigisil, being as yet a pagan, was no favourer of the christians. But what was still worse, Penda king of Mercia became master of the kingdom, and kept it three years, Cenowald being forced to fly into East-Anglia. It may be easily judged, christianity, during these three years, made no great progress. Besides Penda's being an idolater, it is unlikely religion should flourish in the midst of wars and commotions. Cenowald had the good fortune to be converted during his retreat in East-Anglia, and afterwards to be restored to his dominions. The peaceable times that ensued, afforded him means to promote religion again in Wessex, where, after Birinus's death, none had been very forward to go and strengthen the new christians. Whilst the king was looking out for some fit person to preach to his subjects, Agilbert a Frenchman, who was just come from his

630.

w Bede says, he undertook their conversion by the advice of pope Honorius, lib. iii. c. 7.

* Higden relates from some ancient chronicles, that king Cinigisil gave all

the lands seven miles round Winchester for the erecting an episcopal see in that city, and for the maintenance of the persons that were to officiate in the cathedral, p. 232.

studies

studies in Ireland, passed through Winchester in his way home. Cenowalch having seen him, invited him to stay with him, and instruct the people. Agilbert complied with his request, and being consecrated bishop, went and resided at Dorchester. But as he had not the gift of languages, he made but little progress. Cenowalch perceiving, he could not learn the English tongue, and that it was impossible his subjects should edify by the instructions of one who spoke to them in a foreign dialect, began to grow weary of him, At length he divided his kingdom into two dioceses, and leaving Agilbert at Dorchester, made one Wina, a Saxon, that had been bred and consecrated in France, bishop of Winchester¹. Agilbert could not bear the king should make this partition without consulting him, much less that he should give the preference to the new bishop by placing him in his capital. His complaints upon this occasion not being much regarded, he took his leave and retired into France, where he was made bishop of Paris. He returned afterwards into England, to assist at the council of Whitby. In the mean time, Cenowalch not agreeing with Wina, dismissed him also. 660.

Wessex remaining thus without a bishop, and ecclesiasticks fit for such an employment not being very common in England, Cenowalch would have recalled Agilbert, who did not think proper to quit Paris for Winchester. However, he made an offer to the king of his nephew Eleutherius, a priest, whom he recommended as well qualified for the episcopal function. Eleutherius being accepted of, and consecrated by Theodorus, became sole bishop of the West-Saxons. 670.

After the death of Cenowalch, Wessex was troubled with civil wars for ten years. Eleutherius dying during the troubles, was succeeded by Heda; after whose death, the number of Christians being very much increased in Wessex, it was found necessary to divide the kingdom again into two dioceses, the sees whereof were fixed at Winchester and Sherborn. Daniel was made bishop of the first, and Aldhelm of the last, who was nephew to king Ina, and the first Englishman that wrote in Latin, a language he was better skilled in than any of his countrymen before him. When he was promoted to his bishoprick, he was abbot of the monastery of Malmesbury, so named from Maidulph a Scotchman the first abbot, and Aldhelm, his successor². Forthere, who, according to Bede, Bede, lib. v. cap. 19.

¹ Where Cenowalch built a fine cathedral. W. Malm.b., p. 13.

² Maidulph-Aldhelm-bury, by contraction Malmesbury, i. e. the tomb of

Maidulph and Aldhelm. Rapin. Aldhelm was alive in Bede's time, lib. v. c. 19.

was well versed in the holy Scriptures, was bishop of Sherborn after Aldhelm, and to Daniel succeeded Almund in the bishopric of Winchester. From that time to the dissolution of the Heptarchy, I meet with nothing in the ecclesiastical history of Wessex worth notice.

The CHURCH of MERCIA.

IT was above fifty years after the conversion of Kent, that the Mercians embraced the Christian faith. Penda, who sat on the throne of Mercia above thirty years, was of a too haughty and turbulent spirit to embrace a religion so contrary to his temper and character. However, Divine Providence ^{Bede, lib. iii. cap. 21.} so ordered matters, that this prince was induced, though not to profess, yet at least to tolerate the Christian religion in his dominions. Peda, his eldest son, whom he had made king of Leicester, being gone to Northumberland, to demand Alflæda, king Oswy's daughter in marriage, could obtain her upon no other terms but his turning Christian^a. Whether the young prince was apprehensive of the same obstruction to his marriage in all the other kingdoms, which were already converted, or had a favourable opinion of Christianity, he received baptism before he left Northumberland. At his return he brought with him four priests, Cedda, Adda, Beti, and Diuna, to preach the Gospel to the Mercians; which the king his father opposed not, either out of complaisance to his son, or because all religions were indifferent to him^b. Diuna, who was a Scotchman, and the only bishop of the four, governed the Mercian church prosperously for some years; he and his companions having met with a plentiful harvest in Mercia, the largest of the seven kingdoms, and the last that was converted. Cellach succeeded Diuna.

644. After the death of Penda, Mercia was subject three years to Oswy, king of Northumberland; but he being a Christian, religion received no detriment from that revolution. But 659. when Wulfer ascended the throne, being yet an idolater, he was carried by a false zeal to persecute his Christian subjects,

^a Bede says, that upon his having preached to him the doctrines of a Heavenly Kingdom, of a Resurrection, and future immortality, he declared he would embrace the Christian religion, even though he were not to have the young prince's in marriage. Bede, lib. v. cap. 21.

^b He seems to have acted upon

another principle, if what Bede relates be true, that he hated and despised those, who, after they had embraced Christianity, lived in a manner unbecoming their profession; saying, they were despicable wretches, who would not obey their God, in whom they believed. lib. iii. cap. 21.

even to the putting to death two of his own sons, who refused to renounce their faith, if they may be credited who relate this fact, which does not seem to be well supported. Happily for the Christians, this storm was soon blown over, Wulfer being converted presently after.

During the persecution, Cellach retired into Scotland: so Rob. de Swapham. that Mercia being without a bishop when Wulfer embraced the Gospel, he sent for an English priest, named Trumhere, who had been educated in Scotland, and caused him to be consecrated bishop of Mercia. To him succeeded Jaruman, 664. who had the honour of replanting the Christian religion in the kingdom of Essex, as will be related hereafter. Upon Bede, lib. iii. cap. 28. 30. and lib. iv. cap. 3. Jaruman's death, Wulfer desired Theodorus to send him a bishop. Theodorus gladly complied with his request, as giving him a good opportunity of promoting Chad, whom he had deprived of the see of York, in the manner before related in the history of the church of Northumberland. Chad being 669. come to Mercia, fixed his see at Lichfield^c, where he died, after he had governed the church prudently and happily for many years. I am persuaded it will not be taken amiss, that I refer those to Bede's Ecclesiastical History, who are desirous of seeing a list of St. Chad's miracles, and the hymns the angels sung in the air over his house, when he lay a dying.

Upon the death of Chad, Theodorus promoted to the see 675. of Lichfield Winifrid a priest, whom he deposed soon after, Bede, lib. iv. cap. 6. for daring to expostulate with him for assuming too great authority over the other bishops. He had served another in the same manner in Northumberland, upon the like account. Saxulph, abbot of Medes-hamsted^d, was made bishop in Winifrid's room. But as the Christians daily increased in Mercia, Ethelred, successor to Wulfer, finding one bishop was not sufficient for so large a flock, divided his kingdom into four dioceses, the sees whereof were established at Lichfield, Worcester, Hereford, and Leicester^e. Saxulph continued at Lichfield; Faddric was sent to Worcester, but dying before he was consecrated, Boselus was put in his place; Cuthwin was bishop of Leicester; and Putta of Hereford. After Cuthwin's death, Leicester was united to Lichfield; but some time after they were separated again upon Wilfrid's account, who was dispossessed of the see of York, and held

^c This was a very large diocese, king Wulfer's dominions extended, comprehending the country of the Mercians, Middle-Angles, and what was afterwards called Lincoln; for so far Bede, lib. iv. cap. 3.
^d Afterwards Peterborough.
^e Or rather Chester.

not this long. Hedda succeeded Saxulph in the bishopric of Lichfield ^f.

I pass over in silence the particulars of no moment relating to the Mercian churches, with the succession of their bishops, to come at the change that happened in the reign of Offa, by the erecting of Lichfield into an archbishopric. Offa, jealous of the authority exercised by the archbishop of Canterbury over the churches of Mercia, and having moreover a particular quarrel to Lambert, who then filled the archiepiscopal see, resolved to withdraw the churches of Mercia from his jurisdiction. To this end he privately solicited pope Adrian I. to make the bishop of Lichfield an archbishop, and the bishops of Mercia and East-Anglia his suffragans.

Spelm. Con.
vol. i. p. 291.

784.

784.

The pope willingly consented to his request, as glad of the opportunity, by obliging this prince, to extend over the church of England his jurisdiction, which was not yet thoroughly submitted to, or at least not to that degree he desired. With this view he sent Gregory, bishop of Ostia, and Theophylact, bishop of Todi, with the character of legates, to transact this affair. To prevent Lambert from taking measures to avoid the impending blow, the sending of these legates was pretended to be on account of calling synods in England, for confirming the churches in the faith. Upon the arrival of the legates, Theophylact stayed some time with Offa, to concert measures how to accomplish their designs, whilst Gregory went on to Northumberland, where he convened a synod, of which I shall speak in another place. At his return to Mercia, the two legates summoned a national council of the seven kingdoms, at Calcuith, where king Offa was present. After ratifying the canons of the Northumberland-synod, the erecting of Lichfield into an archiepiscopal see was proposed: Lambert opposed it to the utmost of his power, but all in vain. The matter having been settled beforehand, the authority of Offa and the legates bore down all opposition. Higbert, then bishop of Lichfield, was declared an archbishop, and the bishops of Mercia and East-Anglia were made his suffragans ^g. He was prevented by death from receiving the pall, but Adulph, his successor, had that honour from the pope, who ratified what the council had done. Some are of opinion Offa purchased this favour with the tax of the Peter-

^f Ethelbald, king of Mercia, discharged all the monasteries and churches of his kingdom from all public taxes, impositions, etc. except pontage, and the tax for building of forts, Ingulph, p. 5. Spelman Conc. vol. i. p. 257.

^g Viz. the bishops of Worcester, Leicester, Sinscester, Hereford, Helmham. Dommu. Vit. Offæ apud Mat. Paris. See also Spelman Conc. vol. i. p. 302. and Camden.

pence,

pence, levied on Mercia and East-Anglia; but this is a groundless conjecture. Lichfield enjoyed the title of an archbishopric not above fourteen years. After the death of Offa and Egfrid his son, Cenulph was so far prevailed upon by the pressing instances of the archbishops of Canterbury and York, who represented to him, that according to the regulation of Gregory I. there ought to be but two archbishops in England, that he wrote to the pope with his own hand, to desire him to put things upon the ancient foot again. Adelard, archbishop of Canterbury, took upon him the management of this affair at Rome, where (after a nine years solicitation) he obtained of pope Leo III. that Mercia and East-Anglia should again be under the jurisdiction of the see of Canterbury. From that time to the reign of Egbert, nothing remarkable relating to the church happened in Mercia, except the councils, of which I intend to speak elsewhere. 800.

The CHURCH of ESSEX.

MELLITUS, one of the Missionaries sent over to Austin, was the first that preached the Gospel to the East-Saxons, particularly at London. As far as can be judged, he made no great progress among the people. Probably, what success he met with was entirely owing to the authority of Sebert, king of Essex, and Ethelbert, king of Kent^b; since, upon their deaths, all the East-Saxon Christians fell back to paganism, and expelled Mellitus^c, without ever admitting him any more. The conversion therefore of the East-Saxons is not properly to be dated from this time, but rather from the reign of Sigebert the Good. This prince living in strict friendship with Oswy, king of Northumberland, and paying him frequent visits, had the good fortune to be instructed in the knowledge of the Gospel at his court, where he was baptized. He brought home with him Cedd, a Northumbrian priest, of whom I have spoken before, and who being consecrated bishop, heartily set about instructing the East-Saxons, among whom in a short time he made a very great progress^d. 640.

Bede, lib. i. cap. 29. and lib. ii. cap. 3, 5, 6. 614.

^b This king Ethelbert founded the cathedral church of St. Paul's, about the year 610. Bede, lib. ii. cap. 3. Malm. p. 235. Though others say, it was done by king Sebert. See Higden Polychron. p. 227, 228.

^c In the year 634, Mellitus, with the assistance of king Ethelbert, founded a church and monastery near Lon-

don, in a place called Thorney; which he dedicated to St. Peter: as it lay west of London, it came afterwards to be called Westminster. Malm. p. 235. See Stow's Survey, lib. 6.

^d He built several churches. Bede, lib. iii. cap. 22. He taught and baptized chiefly at Ithancester, near the river Pent, supposed to be about St. Peter's.

He was the only Scotchman that, after the council of Whitby, was unwilling to leave his flock, though the controversy about Easter was decided contrary to his opinion: nay, he went so far as to blame Colman, and the rest of his countrymen for deserting their flocks for a matter of so little moment. His strict adherence to ecclesiastical discipline was the occasion of Sigebert's death, or at least was pretended to be so, as was said in the history of the kingdom of Essex. As Cedd went often to Northumberland, where he had spent great part of his life, Adelwalt, king of Deira, made him a present of certain lands, lying near Lestingham, where he founded a monastery. Thither he used to retire, and practise the greatest austerities. Here also it was that he died of the plague, after he had governed the church of Essex several years. Bede, who gives Cedd great encomiums, and mentions his austere way of living, takes occasion from thence to say, that fasting was religiously practised by all who pretended to any thing of a regular life; and adds, that some fasted every Wednesday and Friday till three o'clock in the afternoon. The Saxon Homilies also most earnestly recommend fasting; but withal take care to warn Christians against over-acting their part in this respect, as some did, and talk very rationally upon this article.

- Id. cap. 23.** After the death of Sigebert the Good, and Swithelm his brother, it happened that in the reign of Sebba and Siger, the plague raged terribly in the kingdom of Essex, particularly at London. Siger being persuaded that the plague was sent upon the East-Saxons as a punishment from the gods, for abandoning the religion of their ancestors, returned to idolatry, and drew after him those of his subjects who had not been thoroughly converted. But Sebba steadfastly adhered to the Christian religion. Wulfer king of Mercia, on whom these two princes were then in dependence, having been informed of what passed in Essex, sent thither Jaruman, his bishop, to endeavour to restore the East-Saxons to the way of truth. Jaruman's pains were crowned with so good success, that the people at length returned to the faith. Shortly after, Wulfer, who acted as he pleased in the kingdom of Essex, gave the first instance of simony in England, by selling the bishopric of London to Wina, who had been driven from Winchester: he governed the church of Essex
- 664.**
- 666.** *Malmsb. G. Pontif. lib. ii.*

Peter's on the Wall, in Dengy-hundred; and at Tilaburg, or Tilbury, near the Thames. One may infer from Bede's words, that he erected some kinds of monasteries, or rather schools, there. See Bede, lib. iii. cap. 22. Camden, in Essex. Huntingd. p. 333. Brompton, etc.

till

till his death in 657. His successor was Erkenwald, famous for his great affection to the city of London, as well as for the holiness of his life, on account of which he was enrolled in the catalogue of the saints. After his death a great contest arose between the canons of St. Paul's at London, and the monks of Barking, who should bury him: the first carried their point, and interred him in their cathedral, where it is affirmed he wrought several miracles¹. It would be needless to carry down the succession of the bishops of London to the dissolution of the Heptarchy, since nothing remarkable happened concerning them.

THE CHURCH of EAST-ANGLIA.

THE first conversion of the East-Angles is said to be in the reign of Redowald; but by whom it is not known. There is reason to believe, that during this prince's life the Christian religion made no great progress in East-Anglia: all that can be probably conjectured is, that Redowald, out of respect to Ethelbert, king of Kent (at whose court some say he was baptized) gave leave to some of Austin's companions to preach in his dominions, and did not persecute those who had a mind to embrace the Gospel. What is said of his suffering the true God and the pagan deities to be worshipped in the same temple, seems to infer that he was not himself a Christian^m, and that the number of converts in East-Anglia was very inconsiderable. Thus much at least is certain, Christianity flourished not in that kingdom in his or his son Erpwald's reignⁿ. And therefore we cannot be greatly mistaken in placing the conversion of the East-Angles in the reign of Sigebert, successor to Erpwald.

Sigebert, who had spent great part of his time in France, where he had been baptized, was thoroughly instructed in the Christian religion. When he returned to England, to take possession of the crown, he brought along with him a Burgundian priest, named Felix, whom he got to be consecrated bishop of Canterbury. Felix, upon his arrival in East-Anglia,

¹ In regard of the miracles wrought at his tomb (as was generally believed) the corpse was enclosed in a very rich shrine, and a great many offerings of value made at it. In the year 1386, Robert Braybrooke, bishop of London, made a constitution for the revival of St. Erkenwald's holyday, which of late had been neglected. This solemnity

was kept upon the last day of April. Dugdale's Hist. of St. Paul's, p. 20. 181.

^m Some say he was baptized in the court of Ethelbert, king of Kent. Rapin.

ⁿ Erpwald embraced Christianity at the persuasion of king Edwin. Bede, lib. ii, cap 15.

Bede, lib. ii, cap. 15.

Bede, lib. ii, cap. 18.

used his utmost endeavours to bring back to the right way such as were gone astray, and instruct those that had not yet any knowledge of the truth. His endeavours met with such success, that in a short time he had the pleasure to see the East-Angles come in crowds to be baptized. In the mean time, Sigebert knowing nothing would make more for the benefit of his subjects, than permanent and continual instructions to confirm them in the faith, erected schools, after the manner of those he had seen in France. Some will have it that the university of Cambridge owes its original to these schools; but this opinion seems not to be well grounded ^o.

Whilst Sigebert was thus employed in works of piety, he received farther assistance from one Furseus, an Irish monk, who preached to the East-Angles with good success. Bede gives ^{Ab. iii. c. 10.} him an extraordinary commendation, attributes several miracles to him, and assures us he was, like St. Paul, "rapt up into heaven." This same Furseus built a monastery at Cnoverburgh ^r, which was largely endowed at several times by the kings of East-Anglia. The troubles that arose after Sigebert's resigning the crown, obliged Furseus to retire into France, where he founded the monastery of Eagny, in the jurisdiction of Meaux.

^{Malmsh.}
^{G. Pontif.}

Felix was bishop of the East-Angles seventeen years; his see was fixed at Dummoc, a little town by the sea-side, now called Dunwich ^q. Here it was he had the satisfaction to convert and baptize Cenowalch, king of Wessex, who had fled for refuge into East-Anglia. Felix was succeeded by Thomas, a deacon of his church: after him came Berchtiglus, surnamed Boniface, whom Bisus succeeded. Bisus being grown old and infirm, Becca and Badwin were made his assistants, and East-Anglia divided into two dioceses: Becca resided at Dummoc, and Badwin at Elmham, a poor village now in Norfolk. These two bishoprics continued in being till the Danes becoming masters of East-Anglia, they both lay vacant for above one hundred years. After which the diocese of Dummoc was united to that of Elmham; from whence the episcopal see was removed to Thetford ^r, and afterwards to Norwich ^s, where it remains to this day.

^o Polydore Virgil, Leland, Bayle, etc. are of this opinion: but their authority is much weakened by the silence of Bede, Florence of Worcester, Malmshury, and Huntingdon, who make no mention of Cambridge.

^p Now Bugh castle, in Suffolk,

^q It is in Suffolk, and is said to have had fifty churches. Camden.

^r Theodford, i. e. the Ford of the people, in Norfolk.

^s Norwich, i. e. the North Castle; Wic signifying, among other things, a Castle.

The CHURCH of SUSSEX.

IT is no wonder the kingdom of Suffex continued so long Bede, lib. iv. after the rest in an idolatrous state, since it was in sub-cap. 13.jection to Wesssex, where the gospel was not preached till forty years, after the arrival of Austin. If we may credit the author Eddius. of the life of Wilfrid bishop of York, the conversion of the South-Saxons about the year 686, was owing to the disgrace of that prelate, who fled for refuge into their country. Adelswalch king of Suffex, who received him into his protection, had already attempted the conversion of his subjects, by founding a monastery in his little kingdom^s; but his endeavours answered not expectation. Perhaps Wilfrid himself would have found it very difficult to have made any impression upon them, had not a favourable juncture unexpectedly paved the way for him. Not long after his arrival, the country being Bede, lib. iv. miserably distressed for want of provisions, he taught the inha-cap. 13.bitants the art of fishing in the sea, their skill before going no farther than the catching of eels. This improvement greatly 686. relieving them, wrought so upon their minds, that they listened with the same attention to his instructions about their spiritual, as they had before to those of their bodily wants. But to compleat the matter, seasonable showers, after a three years drought, restoring to the earth its former fruitfulness, they were thoroughly convinced that Wilfrid was an extraordinary person, and highly favoured by heaven. At least this is what the writer of his life would fain make us believe. Wilfrid perceiving the christians daily to increase, established his episcopal see at Selsey^t, a small peninsula given him by Adelswalch. He founded there a monastery also, which he furnished with the monks he had brought with him from Northumberland. Here he usually resided during the time of his banishment. At length, being recalled into his own country, Malm. sb. G. Pont. lib. ii. Selsey remained a long while without a bishop, because the South-Saxons, after their becoming subject to the king of Wesssex, were put under the jurisdiction of the bishop of the West-Saxons. Some time after Wesssex being divided into two dioceses, Suffex was annexed to the see of Winchester; where it continued till a synod held in Wesssex, in the time of

^s At Bosenharn, where Bede says, one Dicul, a Scotsman, with five or six monks lived, but could not prevail with the South Saxons to turn christians.

^t i. e. Seals. The ruins of this city are to be seen at low-water. It contained, when it was given to Wilfrid, eighty-seven families. Bede, lib. iv. cap. 13.

Daniel,

THE HISTORY

Daniel, decreed Suffex should be a distinct diocese again, and the see fixed at Selsey as formerly. Edbert was the first bishop. His successors resided at the same place, down to the year 1070, when the see was removed to Chichester^u, where it continues to this day.

As for the isle of Wight, after it was converted by the furious zeal of Cedwalla, it remained all along under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Winchester.

After this account of the most remarkable particulars relating to the conversion of the seven kingdoms, it will be necessary to take a general view of the councils held in England, during those early times of the church.

COUNCILS.

I Have already spoken of the two synods convened upon Austin's request, in order to endeavour to bring the Britons to the obedience of the pope. Though these were not properly English, but rather British councils, I shall not however pass them over without making this one observation. Bede, in his ecclesiastical history, tells us, that Austin required of the British bishops these four things^w: that they would celebrate the paschal feast the same day with the Romanists: that they would conform to the ceremonies practised by the church of Rome in administering baptism: that they would assist the Roman missionaries in converting the Saxons: that they would submit to the papal authority. Had Austin equally insisted on these four articles, Bede would naturally have related the sentiments of the British, concerning the three first, and yet we find he speaks only of the last. Hence we may conclude, that this was the main point, and what Austin chiefly dwelt upon. For the same reason also the abbot of Bangor answered only to this point, being very sensible, that was the principal thing in dispute.

^{lib. ii. c. 2.} There is no occasion to add any thing to what has already been said of the council of Whitby or Straneas-hall, and the other synods that were held upon Wilfrid's account.

^{673.} In 673, Theodorus, archbishop of Canterbury, convened a national synod at Hertford, at which were present all the English bishops, with a great number of other ecclesiastics. The archbishop, who was president, put the question to the

The council
of Hertford.
673.
Spelm Conc.
vol. i.
p. 152.

^u Cissan Cester, i. e. the city of Cissa, the son of Ella, first king of Suffex, hence, that Bede relates only the answer that was given to the fourth article, by those bishops. See Bede, lib. ii. cap. 2.

bishops,

bishops, whether they were willing, the church of England should be governed by the canons of the antient councils. To which they all having agreed, he produced a list of the canons, and selecting ten of them, ordered them to be read before the council, and asked their consent to each of them.

I. That the festival of Easter might be uniformly kept in Bede, lib. iv. all the English churches, on the first Sunday after the full moon ^{cap. 5} in March.

II. That no bishop should encroach upon the jurisdiction of another.

III. That bishops should not meddle with the temporal concerns of the monasteries.

IV. That no monk should have the liberty to quit his monastery without leave from the abbot.

V. That it should not be lawful for any of the clergy to abandon their diocese, without the bishop's leave, and that they should not be received into another diocese, without a recommendation under the bishop's own hand.

VI. That bishops and clergy, who are out of their diocese, ought not to exercise any part of their function, but should be contented with an hospitable reception.

VII. That a synod should be convened twice a year.

(This canon was altered to once a year.)

VIII. That the bishops should take their places at councils according to their seniority.

IX. That new sees should be erected, as the number of christians increased. (This was thrown out.)

X. That no marriage would be annulled but on account of adultery. That if a man put away his wife, he ought not to marry another, but either be reconciled, or live single.

Nine of these canons being agreed to, the council denounced excommunication and degradation upon all that should infringe them, and then broke up.

Baronius pretends, this council was convened by the pope's order, and that Theodorus presided as legate of the holy see. But when we examine the grounds of his assertion, we find he builds it only upon Theodorus's saying in his harangue, at the opening of the council, that he was consecrated by the pope^x, as if that were equivalent to his being made legate. Bede, Malmesbury, Florence of Worcester, who speaks of this council, says not a word to support the cardinal's notion.

Theodorus summoned another council or synod at Hatfield ^{The council} in 680, at the request of the pope, who wanted to know the ^{of Hatfield.}

680.

x "Ego quidem Theodorus, quam- " natus Dorovernenfis ecclesie episco-
" via indignus, ab apostolica sede desti- " pus,"—are Bede's words, lib. iv. c. 5.
senti-

Bede, lib. iv. c. 17 & 18. Spelman vol. i. p. 168. sentiments of the church of England with reference to the heresy of the Monothelites¹, which then made a great noise in the world. The pope had all the satisfaction he desired, the English being entirely free from that error. This synod received the first five general councils², together with the synod held just before at Rome, against the Monothelites.

The council of Beccanfeld 694. Id. p. 189. The next council was convened at Beccanfeld in 694³, by Withered king of Kent, who presided himself, the council being composed of the clergy and nobility. The constitutions were all drawn up in the form of a charter, wherein the king granted several privileges to the church, particularly an exemption from the payment of taxes and other services and incumbrances incident to a lay-fee. He declares moreover, that the church has power to govern her own body, the prerogative royal not reaching to religious matters. This article has given occasion to some to call in question the genuineness of this council⁴. They object, for instance, that the five abbesses, who subscribed this charter, not only signed before all the priests, but also before Botred, a bishop, contrary to all precedent. On the other hand, others⁵ are as zealous in the defence of it, as making for the independency of the church. It would carry me too far from my present design to examine the reasons pro and con. It is sufficient to acquaint the reader there is such a dispute.

The council of Berghamsted 679. Spelman vol. i. p. 194. The next year the synod of Berghamsted⁶ was held in the reign of the same king. It was composed, like the foregoing one, of the clergy and laity. Its canons related chiefly to the sin of adultery, and the privileges of the clergy. As for adultery, it was enacted, that the offender should be put under penance; and if he refused to submit to that discipline, he should be excommunicated. If he was a stranger, he was to forfeit one hundred shillings.

As for the clergy, it was decreed, that the church should be free and enjoy all her privileges.

That the breach of the church's peace should be punished with a fine of fifty shillings⁷.

¹ They held that Christ had but one will.

² The council of Nice in 325, of Constantinople in 381, of Ephesus in 431, of Chalcedon in 451, and of Constantinople in 553.

³ Supposed to be Beckenham in Kent. See Tyr. vol. i. p. 209.

⁴ Dr. Wake has wrote against it.

State of the Church, &c. p. 149.

⁵ Collier defends it, p. 114. Eccl. Hist.

⁶ This was not Berkhamsted in Hertfordshire, as some have imagined, but Berghamsted, a place in Kent. See Tyr. vol. i. p. 210. and Spelman Conc. vol. i. p. 194.

⁷ The same as the king's. See Spelman.

That the bare affirmation of the king or a bishop should be equivalent to their oath.

That if a bishop, abbot, or deacon, is charged with any crime, and being brought to the altar, he declares solemnly he speaks the truth: this declaration shall be the same as his oath.

That if any clergyman should be prosecuted, the cognisance of the cause belongs to the church.

Thus by degrees the clergy obtained their privileges, which they have but too often abused ^f.

The two councils that are pretended to be held at London and Alne ^g in 714, being looked upon by the best authors as forged, it would be lost time to say any thing of them.

In 747 was held at Cloveshoo, or Cliff ^h, in the kingdom of Kent, a national synod, at which Ethelbald king of Mercia was present, with twelve bishops, and a great number of lords. Cuthbert archbishop of Canterbury, who was president, read pope Zachary's letter, wherein the pope admonished the English to reform their lives, and threatened those with excommunication that continued in their wicked courses. They made twenty-eight canons, most of them relating to ecclesiastical discipline, the government of monasteries, the duties of bishops and other clergymen, the public service, singing psalms, keeping the sabbath, and other holidays. I shall mention the three following ones, as containing something particular.

The Xth orders the priests to be thoroughly acquainted with the doctrines of christianity, and to teach the people the Apostles Creed, and the Lord's Prayer in English. Agreeable to this was Bede's advice to Egbert archbishop of York; that it was absolutely necessary christians should know what they said when they prayed to God; and that they should be instructed in their own native tongue, and therefore that he himself had translated the Creed and the Lord's Prayer into English for the benefit of those that did not understand Latin.

f Xth, XXVth, and XXVIIIth articles, having something particular in them, it will not be amiss to lay them before the reader. The Xth runs thus: if on Saturday evening, after sun-set; or Sunday evening after the same time, a servant or slave (Servus) shall do any servile work, let his master be fined eighty shillings.

XXVth. If a lay-man kill a thief, let him lie without any Wiregild, that is, without any satisfaction being made to the thief's relations.

XXVIIIth. If a stranger wanders about, and does neither hollow nor found

a born, he is to be accounted as a thief, and to be either slain or banished. Spelman Con. tom. i. p. 194—197.

g Supposed to be Aulcoster in Worcestershire. See Spelman Conc. vol. i. p. 272.

h Cliff at Hoo, is a town on a rock near Rochester. But the presence of the king of Mercia at this, and some other councils, held at Cloveshoo, makes it supposed that it is the same with Abington in Berkshire, about the middle of the nation, antiently written Shewesham by mistake for Clovesham, or Cloveshoo.

The synod of Cloveshoo.

747. Malm. de G. Pontif. lib. iv. Spelm. Con. vol. i. p. 248

Bede, Ep. 2d Egb.

The XXVth warns christians from vainly imagining that by giving alms they can compound for their sins, or dispense with the discipline of the church.

The XXVIIth was made upon the account of a rich layman, who having been excommunicated, requested to be admitted again into the church, upon his having procured several persons to fast in his stead; alledging, that the penance they had undergone in his name, was more than he could have done himself in three hundred years. The canon declares with great indignation against this intolerable presumption, since at that rate, the rich might much more easily get to heaven than the poor, contrary to the express declaration of our Saviour.

Spelman,
p. 253.

In this canon we have the form of a prayer for the dead, which runs thus: "O Lord, we beseech thee, grant that the soul of such a person may be secured in a state of repose, and admitted, with the rest of thy saints, into the regions of light and bliss."

The council
of Calcuith.

785.
Spelman,
vol. i. p. 291

The council of Calcuith, or Calchite, held in 785, or according to others in 787, on account of erecting Litchfield into an archbishopric, ratified the canons of a synod that had been convened just before in Northumberland. Gregory and Theophylact, who presided as the pope's legates, acknowledged in their letter to the pope, that they were the first that had been sent into England with that character. These are some of the canons of the synod of Northumberland, ratified by the council of Calcuith.

I. That all in holy orders strictly adhere to the council of Nice.

II. That baptism is only to be administered at Easter and Whitsonide, unless in case of necessity. That it is the duty of godfathers to teach their godchildren the Creed and the Lord's Prayer, both which all christians are obliged to have by heart.

VII. The antient privileges of the church are carefully to be observed.

(This was a never-failing canon in all the councils.)

IX. The priests are not to eat in private, unless indisposed. (By this one would think the clergy were not dispersed in parishes, but lived all in the capital of the diocese in common.)

The Xth forbids the clergy to perform the divine service without stockings, and to use a chalice or patten of horn.

The XIth exhorts princes to govern their kingdoms by the directions of the bishops, to whom the power of binding and loosing is delivered.

The

The XIIth excludes bastards from succeeding to the crown.

The XVth condemns marriages within the prohibited degrees.

The XVIth makes bastards, particularly the children of nuns, incapable of inheriting.

The XVIIth urges the payment of tithes from the authority of the law of Moses.

The XVIIIth presses a strict performance of vows.

Some irregularities in the subscription list in the several copies of the canons of this council¹, have caused the council itself to be called in question. But I doubt whether these irregularities are sufficient to render the whole questionable².

In 798 a synod was held at Finchale in Northumberland¹, The synod of Finchale, by Eanbald archbishop of York. The design of this meeting was to make some regulations with regard to discipline: but here occasionally the archbishop ordered the canons of the first five general councils to be read, which were unanimously received. Spelman, p. 304, 316.

The council held at Cloveshoo, or Cliff, in 800, under Adelard archbishop of Canterbury, was convened for the recovery of certain church-lands, usurped by the kings of Mercia. The synod of Cloveshoo 800.

Three years after, another council was held at the same place, wherein, according to pope Leo's constitution, and with the consent of Cenulph king of Mercia, the archbishopric of Litchfield was reduced to a bishopric, as formerly. Id. p. 318. Another at the same place. 803.

In 816, Wilfrid archbishop of Canterbury, summoned a council at Calcuith, at which Cenulph king of Mercia and monarch, was present, with all the English bishops except those of Northumberland. There are eleven canons made by this synod, whereof the II^d and Vth seem to be the most remarkable. Id. p. 324. The council of Calcuith. 816. Id. p. 327.

The II^d orders all churches to be consecrated by the bishop of the diocese, with the following formalities. The bishop shall bless the holy water, and sprinkle the church with it, according to the directions of the ritual. Then having consecrated the eucharist, he shall put it in a box with some relics to be laid up in the church. In case there are no relics, the consecrated elements, being the body and blood of our Lord;

i Dilberch bishop Augustadenis (or Hagulfadenis) ecclesiarum, signs before Eanbald his metropolitan of York.

k About the year 757, the monks of Lindisfarn, who, from the first time of their institution, were allowed to drink nothing but milk or water, obtained (through the means of king Ceolwulf,

who was become a monk of that house) permission to drink wine or beer. S. Dunelm, p. 139. Spelman Conc. vol. I. p. 280.

l Now called Finckley, in the bishopric of Durham. Spelman Conc. vol. I. p. 305.

shall be sufficient. Every bishop shall be obliged to have drawn upon the altar, or upon the wall, the figure of the saint to whom the church is dedicated.

The Vth declares against allowing all Scotchmen to baptize, or read the divine service in England.

Spelman,
P. 332, 334.

There is mention of two councils more convened in Mercia in the reign of Bernulph, one in 821, and the other in 824. Probably the first is a forgery; but they are both of so little consequence, as not to be worth notice.

REFLECTIONS

ON THE

Primitive State of the English Church.

I Shall close my account of the primitive state of the English church, with a few remarks that may serve to give a just notion of the thing. It is a great mistake to imagine; the primitive church of the English corresponded in all points with the church founded by the apostles immediately after our Saviour's death. The christian church, in her infancy, was perfect, without spot or wrinkle; but in process of time, she lost by degrees something of her primitive purity. From the days of the apostles to the VIIth century, errors and abuses crept in, which strangely disfigured her, and which daily increased during the VIIIth and IXth centuries, so that true religion by little and little degenerated into superstition. Our idea therefore of the primitive church of England must be conformable to the state of the christian church at that time. I shall not here undertake to show wherein those innovations in the doctrines and services of the church consisted; but content myself with observing the christian church, at the time of the conversion of the English, was far gone from its original purity. It can't, for instance, be denied, that the monks, who were grown very numerous all over Christendom, had introduced several religious practices that were not of divine or apostolical institution, as if our Saviour and his apostles had
forgot

forgot or neglected to give mankind full instructions in these matters. These voluntary acts of devotion, though introduced with a good intent, were now carried to so great a height, that the generality of Christians looked upon them as the life and soul of religion. I shall not insist any farther on this subject, since I have no design to enter into the controversy, but only to make this observation, That the English converted in the VIIth century, are to be considered as in the same state with the rest of the christian world at that time, seeing it was not in their power to know more than their masters taught them.

Austin and his companions were the first that preached the gospel to the Anglo-Saxons. However, the honour of their conversion ought not to be ascribed to them alone. The Scotch monks of St. Columba had at least as great a share in it as the Italians. For after these last had begun to make converts, the new Christians being sunk again into idolatry, the Scotch monks were the persons that set them right again, or rather that converted them anew. This was the case in the kingdoms of Essex, Northumberland, and East-Anglia, as hath been related. As for the conversion of the Mercians, the Italian missionaries had no hand in it at all. And yet Austin has had the honour of converting the English, when in the main the progress he made was not very considerable. 'Tis true he preached to the Saxons of Kent, as Mellitus did to those of Essex, and that with good success. But then very probably this work was already begun, and even in great forwardness, when Austin arrived in England. It is hard to conceive how these monks, who were forced to make use of interpreters, could possibly have converted such numbers of pagans, even to the baptizing ten thousand in one day, in a few months after their arrival, if the Saxons had not been prepared beforehand. This conjecture is farther confirmed by the letters of Gregory^I. to Theodoric king of Austrasia, to Theodobert his brother, and to queen Brunichild, to desire them to assist Austin in his journey to England. The pope tells them he was informed for certain, that the English earnestly desired to turn Christians. Now is it not evident, that, if they had a strong desire to embrace the gospel, they were as good as half converted? There is great reason to presume, king Ethelbert had already some liking to the christian religion infused into him by his queen, and especially by Luidhard, bishop of Soissons, who had attended her into England. This is what the author of the history of St. Austin's monastery positively affirms; and Malmesbury says little less, when he tells us, that

Ethelbert was very desirous to hear what Austín had to propose. Besides, if the person, character and conduct of Austín, are considered, it will be hard to believe, he made the progress ascribed to him. Bede, who does not seem willing to lessen his reputation, says nothing that is very apt to raise in us an esteem for his preaching. Instead of embellishing his history with the heads of Austín's first discourse before Ethelbert, he is contented with relating only the king's answer. This gives occasion to suspect, he was not over-satisfied with that barangue. Moreover, the questions which Austín wanted the pope to solve, do not much redound to his honour. This, no doubt, was the reason why Bede abridged them as much as possible, even to the rendering them sometimes so obscure, that the meaning of the question must be learnt by the answer.

To these considerations may be added, that Austín in the height of his success, for which he is so greatly honoured, established but two bishops only, Justus at Rochester, and Mellitus at London, though the pope had expressly ordered him to settle bishops where-ever there should be occasion. This is a clear evidence, that the progress ascribed to him was not so considerable as Gregory imagines. But what can one think of this same Austín, who the very first year deserts his mission, and goes to Arles to get himself consecrated archbishop, when as yet there was but a handful of Christians in England, or rather in the alone kingdom of Kent? To what end the title of archbishop and primate, at a time when there was not so much as one bishop in being? What can one think moreover of the pope's answer to him concerning the bishops of Gaul, "That he allows him no manner of jurisdiction over them?" May it not be presumed, that Austín, not content with the primacy of Great Britain, wherewith the pope had honoured him, wanted to extend his jurisdiction over Gaul too? In fine, what can one think of Gregory's letter to him, exhorting him not be elated at the gift of miracles, God had bestowed on him, unless Austín had sent him word he had wrought several? But what were these miracles? Would Bede, who has carefully related those of Aidan, Finan, Furseus, and the other Scotch monks, whom he looked upon as schismatics, have omitted those of Austín? And yet he gives us only one, and that of a later date than Gregory's letter, and the most suspicious that ever was, since, by his own confession, it was wrought in order to bring the Britons to the obedience of the pope? What opinion can one have of Austín, when it is considered with what zeal he laboured to reduce the Britons under the jurisdiction of the see of Rome, whilst five
Saxon

Saxon kingdoms were suffered to grovel in darkness and idolatry? To what purpose did he complain to the pope of the want of labourers in so plentiful an harvest, if he did not employ those he already had? And if he did employ them, where are the fruits of their labours? What were their names? Where did they preach the gospel? No historian says a word of these things; and except Justus and Mellitus, who preached at Rochester and London, it is not known where he sent his companions, who according to the general opinion, were forty in number.

Again, the converts made by these Italian monks were not, 'tis to be feared, well grounded in their religion. This is a natural inference from the apostacy of the people of Essex, East-Anglia, Northumberland, and Kent itself, at a time when, had they been true Christians, they would have given marks of the highest zeal. This makes one think, their conversion was without any previous instruction, and rather the effect of fear or complaisance to their kings, than of a thorough persuasion and knowledge of the truth. It is therefore surprisingly strange, that the conversion of the English should be ascribed to Austin, rather than to Aidan, to Finan, to Colman, to Cedd, to Diuma, and the other Scotch monks, who undoubtedly laboured much more abundantly than he. But here lies the case. These last had not their orders from Rome, and therefore must not be allowed any share in the glory of this work.

Let us now reflect a little on the manner of the conversion of the English. In the beginning of Christianity, and even for the first three hundred years, the converts generally consisted of people of the lowest rank, and we hear of nothing but persecution and death from the princes and magistrates. Whereas in England, the kings were the first that embraced the faith, and by their authority and example induced their subjects to do the same. In the beginning of the church of England, we meet with no martyrs, except the two sons of Wulpher king of Mercia, whose story is of very doubtful authority. Whence could proceed this difference between the church founded by the apostles themselves, in so many parts of the world, and that founded in England in the VIIth century? What is the reason the Devil less vigorously obstructed the conversion of the English, than that of so many other nations, during the life and after the death of the apostles? These things afford matter for many reflections, which I shall not here enter into, but leave to the consideration of the reader. I shall only remark, that the ease wherewith the conversion of

the English was wrought, extremely weakens the force of the argument drawn in favour of the christian religion, from the persecutions of the Roman emperors.

Penfets de
Paich.

"Let a man consider, says a famous writer, the establishment of Christianity, that a religion so contrary to nature", "should make its way in the world, by such mild and gentle means, without any violence or constraint, and yet should be so firmly rooted withal, that it was not in the power of the most barbarous torments to compel the martyrs to renounce their faith; and that all this should be done not only without the assistance of any prince, but in direct opposition to all the kings of the earth," &c. It is easy to see this argument loses much of its strength, when applied to the conversion of the English.

What still affords further matter of wonder is this: the ecclesiastical history speaks of several saints in different parts of the world, but withal tells us, that scarce one of them escaped being terribly persecuted, or even losing his life in the cause of truth. Whereas in England alone, we find in the space of two hundred years an incredible number of men and women saints, who never knew what persecution meant. Moreover, if historians may be credited, these saints, for the most part, were endued with the gift of miracles, though the swift progress of the gospel seemed to render them of little use. But what is more, a considerable number of these saints were kings, queens, princes, princesses, or persons of the highest birth and stations. In the period abovementioned we have seven kings and seven queens, together with eight princes, and sixteen princesses, distinguished with the title of saints: besides ten kings and eleven queens, who resigned their crowns to turn monks, and who, according to the notions of those days, might well be ranked in the number of saints. If it be asked, whence is it that in the VIIth and VIIIth centuries it was so easy for the great to procure a saintship, I can alledge no other reason, but that sanctity consisted then in enriching the churches and monasteries, which the rich were much better able to do than the poor.

The English were no sooner converted, but innumerable miracles were wrought among them. They were so much in vogue during the two forementioned centuries, that one or

m. Th's by the way supposes the christian religion in its primitive state to be clogged with all those absurdities it now labours under, particularly among the Romanists. For surely nothing worse can be said of revealed religion, than that it is contrary to nature, sense or reason.

other

other happened (if I may so say) every day. Bede's ecclesiastical history is full of them, for he was very credulous in such matters, as well as Gregory I. whose foible in that respect is visible in his works. It is no wonder therefore the missionaries he sent into England should take after him, or that the English should be as easy of belief as their teachers. The Benedictine monks were the persons that set all these miracles on foot: some out of pure simplicity, others with design to attract to the monasteries the liberalities both of high and low. Before the Benedictines were spread over the island, the monks of St. Columba, less given to gain and worldly views, attended wholly to the service of God in the places where they lived in common. But the Benedictines never rested till they had procured great numbers of monasteries with large revenues, and caused the papal authority to be recognized throughout the seven kingdoms.

It was not however without great difficulty that the popes extended their jurisdiction over the Northumbrians, Picts and Scots, though the Roman priests and monks laboured at it incessantly. The northern nations could not conceive the necessity of owning the bishop of Rome for universal bishop; and it is certain, before the synod of Whitby, the Britons, Picts, Scots, Irish and Northumbrians, unanimously declared against the pope's authority. Bede says as much, when he tells us, speaking of king Oswy; "He was at length convinced, that the church of Rome was the true catholic and apostolical church, though he had been educated in Scotland." As soon as this prince was prevailed with, he did all he could to establish the papal authority in his dominions, and Scotland at last was carried away with the torrent, after Egbert an English priest had gained the monks of Jona.

Upon the English submitting to the jurisdiction of the pope, all imaginable care was taken to keep them from falling off. One of the most effectual means for that purpose, was, the not admitting into the government of the church any but Italian priests or monks, or English ones educated at Rome or in France. This is evident from the Vth canon of the second council of Calcuith, which forbids the allowing any Scotchman to perform divine service in England. Bede plainly discovers the policy of Rome when he says, the pope ordered abbot Adrian to attend Theodorus into England, that he might have an eye over him, for fear that prelate, being a native of Cilicia, should introduce into the church of England any thing contrary to the customs of Rome.

I have

I have but one more remark to make relating to the doctrine of the church of England in the VIIth and VIIIth centuries, and the beginning of the IXth. It is a great mistake to think the articles of faith in the English church were the same with those in the Roman at this day. For instance, it would be very wrong to imagine the English believed, at that time, the absolute necessity of baptism, as the Romans do at this present. If this doctrine had been received among them, the council of Calcuith would not have ordered that sacrament to be administered only at Easter and Whitsontide. As far from the truth is it to believe the English worshipped images. The contrary is evident from a letter the famous Alcuin an Englishman wrote to Charles the Great, concerning the second council of Nice, where image-worship was carried to a monstrous height. The necessity of priests living single is also a doctrine unknown to the church of England in those days, since it was not received there till at least five hundred years after their conversion. To these I might add several other instances; but as they are not peculiar to England, I shall only observe in general, that all the innovations in the doctrines of the church of England, from the conversion of the English to the Reformation, owe their original to Rome.

I don't find the church of England was concerned in the controversies that were on foot in the church during the VIIth and VIIIth centuries. Among all the councils convened in England within that space, not one decreed any thing relating to the doctrines of religion, except the synod of Calcuith, where the condemnation of the Monothelites was ratified. Their way was to read the canons of the general councils, and agree to them. Thus during these two centuries, it does not appear that the church of England was troubled with heresies or disputes on the fundamental doctrines of religion. In those days, the bishops, priests and monks, were more intent upon the ways and means of augmenting their revenues, than upon the study of divinity. There were some also that were distinguished for holiness of life, or for zeal in propagating the gospel. I have already mentioned some few; but as I had not an opportunity of making them all known, I shall here subjoin a brief account of three or four that make a considerable figure in the ecclesiastical history of England.

Egbert.

716.

Bede, lib. iii.

cap. 27.

lb. v. c. 10.

Egbert, an English priest, retiring into Ireland to follow his studies, passed some time after into Scotland, where he prevailed with the monks of Jona to receive the rules of the order of St. Benedict, and acknowledge the papal authority. Perhaps to

this

this service done the see of Rome, a good part of the *encomiums* bestowed upon him are owing. However this be, it is said that having a design to go and preach the gospel to the German Saxons, he was diverted from his purpose by an express order from heaven. But, as he had the conversion of that nation very much at heart, he sent Wilbrod in his place.

Wilbrod being arrived in Germany, Pipin, mayor of the palace of France, sent him into Friesland, which he had lately subdued, to preach the gospel. After Wilbrod had made some stay there, he took a journey to Rome, where he was consecrated by pope Sergius I. bishop of the Frielanders. He fixed his see at Utrecht, of which he was the first bishop.

Winfrid, an English Benedictine monk, was sent into Germany, where he assumed the name of Boniface. His preaching having met with great success, he was made the first archbishop of Mentz, and the pope's legate for all Germany. It is said he was the son of a cartwright, and that the archbishops of Mentz for that reason bear wheels in their arms. Boniface was barbarously murdered by the pagans in Friesland in 754ⁿ.

Guthlack^o was the first anchorite in England. He made choice, for his retirement, of a fenny-place in Mercia called Croyland, where the famous monastery of that name was afterwards built^p.

ⁿ Pit says he was of royal extraction. There is a collection of his letters extant, particularly his letter to Ethelred king of Mercia, published at Mentz by Serrarius. Du Pin. Cent. VIII.

^o He had been a soldier seven years, and out of humanity used to return the enemy a third part of the plunder taken from them.

^p As the translator designs to take notice of all the historians omitted by Rapin, he begins with

Nennius, abbot of Bangor, supposed to be one of the fifty monks that escaped, when twelve hundred of their brethren were slain by Adelfrid king of Northumberland. He flourished about the year 620^f though it is said in the best copies of his book, that he wrote in 850, in 24 Mervini regis. There is nothing published of his but his *Historia Britonum*.

Next after him comes Bede, who wrote an ecclesiastical history of Eng-

land, from Julius Cæsar's invasion, to the year of our Lord 731, at the request of Ceolulph king of Northumberland, to whom it was dedicated. He was born in 673, in the precincts of the monastery of Jarrow, near the mouth of the Tyne in Northumberland. He was bred up from his childhood in the said monastery, where he lived all his life. He was ordained at nineteen a deacon, and at thirty a priest; from which time till the fifty-ninth of his age he never ceased writing. His works are printed in eight tomes, besides his *Opuscula*. He died in 735, aged sixty-two. His body was removed from Jarrow to Durham, and placed in the same coffin with St. Cuthbert's.

Cotemporary with Bede lived Stephen Eddi, Heddi, or Eddius, in the reign of Osric king of Northumberland; he died in 720. Bede says, he was the best singer in the North; on which account he was invited to York by Wilfrid the bishop, whose life he wrote in

Latin,

692.
Wilbrod.
Bede, lib. v.
cap. 11.

754.
Guthlack,
714.
Ingulph.

Malmsh.

Latin, in somewhat a better stile than could be expected from that age. This treatise, which contains several material passages relating to ecclesiastical as well as civil state, having continued in manuscript in the library of Sir John Cotton, and also in that of Salisbury, was published by Dr. Gale in his last volume of English writers.

In the VIIIth century lived Alcuin, or Albin, a famous Northumbrian. He was bred a Benedictine, and was made

abbot of St. Augustin's Canterbury. He was discip'le to Egbert archbishop of York. Being sent ambassador by Offa to Charles the Great, that prince got leave for him to stay at his court, and was taught by him logic, astronomy, and mathematics. By his persuasion the emperor founded the university of Paris and likewise of Pavia. He wrote a great many books, as says Pit. He died in 804.



THE
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND.

BOOK IV.

Origin of the DANES. Their continual irruptions from the reign of EGBERT to EDWARD the martyr, with whose reign this book concludes. A particular and curious account of the laws and customs introduced by ALFRED the GREAT, which are the basis of the present laws of ENGLAND. The state of the church and religion, from EGBERT to EDWARD the martyr inclusive.

ENGLAND now grown more powerful by the union of the seven kingdoms, seemed to be better secured than ever from foreign invasions. And yet, presently after this union it was, that the Danes began their descents with a fury, equal to that wherewith the English themselves had formerly attacked the Britons. For above two hundred years these new enemies were so obstinately bent upon the ruin of the island, that it cannot be conceived either how their country could supply them with troops sufficient for so long and bloody a war, or the English hold out against

H. Hunting
lib. v.

against so many repeated attacks. This war is to be the chief subject of our fourth book; and of great part of the fifth. But before I enter upon particulars, it will be necessary to premise some account of these Danes, who in the IXth century became so formidable to all Europe, and especially to England.

Origin of
the Danes.

Scandia, or Scandinavia ^a, situated in the north of Europe, contains a tract of land in length from north to south about four hundred leagues, and in breadth from east to west about one hundred and fifty. If the northern historians are to be credited in what they say of the origin of their ancestors, this country was peopled soon after the flood, by two nations, or rather two branches of the same nation, I mean, the Goths and Swedes, who founded two large kingdoms in this part of the world. From these two nations, who were sometimes united and sometimes divided, sprung, as they say, all those colonies which after the decline of the Roman empire, over-ran the rest of Europe. But without staying to examine whether all they advance concerning the conquests of these adventurers is authentic, I shall take them for guides in what they say of those that remained in the northern countries.

Janus
Kelding.

In the reign of Eric the sixth king of the Goths ^b, Gothland was become so very populous, that the country was unable to maintain its inhabitants. To remedy this inconvenience, which daily increased, Eric was compelled to send away part of his subjects to seek their fortune in the neighbouring isles ^c. These colonies at length not only peopled the islands, but also Jutland on the continent, formerly known by the name of Cimbricia Chersonesus. The people thus spread over the isles and the Chersonese, acknowledged above seven hundred years the kings of Gothland for their sovereigns. Humel, the sixteenth king of the Goths, first made them independent, by letting them have for their king Dan his son, from whom Denmark received its name ^d. Norway also very probably was peopled by Gothic colonies, since it remained a long while under the dominion of the kings of Gothland. In process of time, and after many revolutions, Norway was governed by judges independent of Gothland,

Suaningius
Chron. Dan.

^a It contained Norway, with as much of Sweden as lay west of the Gulf of Bothnia. It was also called Baltia, whence the Baltic sea.

^b They pretend he was cotemporary with Terah, Abraham's father. Rapiu

^c As in those days none had a permanent interest in land, which was cantoned out to the people to be pos-

sessed for one year only, it was decided by lot, who were to leave their country in quest of new habitations. Cæf. de Bel. Gal. lib. vi. cap. 20. & P. Warnfrid. de Oestis Longobard. cap. 2.

^d Dan, according to northern historians, was cotemporary with Gideon. Rapiu,

till

till about the end of the IXth century, when it became subject to a king.

The Danes and Norwegians, being thus separated from their ancestors the Goths and Swedes, became so powerful as to be in condition to make head against them both in several wars. The situation of their country, and the great plenty of all things necessary for building and equipping a fleet, soon made them superior at sea to all their neighbours. In time, they employed all their naval forces in plundering of ships, and ravaging the coasts of Europe. France, England, and the Low-Countries, were most exposed to their robberies. For above one hundred and fifty years the sea was covered with Danish pyrates. They were grown so powerful, that Charles the Great could never subdue the Saxons, whilst assisted by the Danes. History observes, that this emperor having sent his son Pepin to make war upon the Saxons, this prince was prevented in his designs by Gothric king of Denmark's sending a reinforcement of Danes on board three hundred vessels. A northern historian affirms, that Charles the Great was never better pleased than at the news of Gothric's death, having despaired of accomplishing his ends, as long as that prince was alive.

Meurfus
Hist. Dan.

Jo. Magnus,
lib. xvii.
cap. 1.

As people encrease and multiply exceedingly in cold countries, it often happened that Denmark and Norway were over-stocked with inhabitants, and therefore forced, in order to make room for the rest, to send away large colonies. Their natural inclination to a sea-faring life made these colonies readily abandon their country, as it procured them greater liberty of roving and playing the pirate, on pretence of looking out new habitations. This was chiefly the rise of those pyracies committed by the Danes and Norwegians, in the IXth century, in France, England, the Low-Countries, and Germany. The great booty the first adventurers brought off, tempted the richest and most powerful of their countrymen to try their fortune in the same manner. They entered into associations, and fitted out large fleets to go and ravage foreign countries. These associations were much of the same nature with those entered into now a-days in time of war, by the inhabitants of the sea-port towns in France and Flanders, and always by the corsairs of Barbary. In short, they were so used to this gainful way of trading, that very considerable fleets were put to sea. They had the authority of their kings for what they did, who, having always a share in the spoils, provided them with admirals and generals, and when a considerable booty was in view, made no scruple even to command

mand them in person. These are the fleets that made such devastations in several parts of Europe, and caused the inhabitants of France, England, and the Low-Countries, to make sad lamentation for the miseries brought upon them by the northern nations*. They were called in France, Normans, that is to say, men of the north; but in England, they were generally stiled Danes or Goths. There is no doubt but the Swedes and Goths very often joined with the Danes, in order to share in the booty. Nay, it appears that the Frieslanders were concerned with the Danes in ravaging the coasts of France and England. This doubtless is the reason, the English historians call them indifferently, Getae, Goths, Jutes, Norwegians, Dacians, Danes, Swedes, Vandals, Frieslanders, their armies being composed of these several nations.

Rog. de
Hov.

It is easy to see, from what has been said of the Danes, that their intent, when first they invaded the coasts of England, was only to plunder. And therefore they made war, not like regular troops, with some fixed and settled design; but like pyrates, sacking and destroying what they could not carry away. As they were divided into several independent bands, it frequently happened that no sooner was one gone, but another came, by which means the inhabitants had scarce any respite from their incursions. This way of making war was very inconvenient for the English, it obliging them to be upon their guard at all times, and in all places, since the island was liable to be attacked on every side. On the other hand, their enemies, whose numbers were continually encreasing, being headed by leaders who had no authority over each other, there was no entering into treaty with them, one band not looking upon itself bound by what another did. Thus the English having nothing to gain, but much to lose, were at a loss what measures to take against these enemies, who carried desolation wherever they came. I am very sensible the Danish historians set these matters in quite another light. They express the advantages the Danes had over the English in their first incursions by the name of conquests, and stile the struggles of the English to free themselves from oppression, so many revolts. But notwithstanding their giving things these specious names, their advantages are to be considered as before represented, at least for the first hundred years after they began their ravages.

Sax. Gram.
Magnus.
Meursius.
Pontanus.

* A furore Normanorum libera nos, Domine. Rapin.

Before

Before I leave this subject, it will be proper to observe, that the English and Danish historians give very contradictory accounts of these wars. Each endeavours to the utmost of his power, to magnify the advantages of his own nation, and lessen those of the opposite party. However, it is but too visible that the Danes could not have got such footing in England, had not victory generally inclined to their side. But this is not all wherein historians disagree. They differ chiefly in chronological matters, and in the names of the persons of whom they are speaking, which must of necessity breed the greatest confusion in history.

Through all these difficulties I am obliged to steer my course, with all imaginable circumspection and wariness, lest I should be put to a stand by the obstacles that every moment occur. If the readers do not find that connection, and those other embellishments they could wish for, it must be remembered, that the narration of a war carried on for the sake of plunder only, is hardly capable of connection or embellishment.

After these remarks, which seemed to me necessary for the better understanding of the sequel, it is time to return to the reign of Egbert, which was left unfinished in the foregoing book, where he appeared only as king of Wessex. He is now to make his appearance as king of all England, and as real monarch of the seven kingdoms of the Heptarchy.

EGBERT, the first king of ENGLAND.

EGBERT, who began his reign over the West-Saxons in 800, finished not his conquests till 827, or 828, from which time his title of king of England is to be dated. But to avoid mistakes, it must be remembered, that the kingdom this prince was in actual possession of, consisted of the ancient kingdoms of Wessex, Sussex, Kent, and Essex, that were peopled by Saxons and Jutes. As for the other three kingdoms, whose inhabitants were Angles, he was contented with reserving the sovereignty over them, permitting them to be governed by kings who were his vassals and tributaries.

It

^a It is to be observed, he was not perfectly absolute, though he became monarch of England; for some, if not all the petty kings, notwithstanding they were tributaries, held their titles for many years, and some successions

It has been seen how this prince, before he turned his arms against his countrymen, attacked and subdued the Britons of Cornwall and Wales. Though his power after that was greatly encreased, yet the Welsh by their proceedings plainly shewed they designed to shake off his yoke. Egbert, informed of their intent, gave them no time to pursue it. He marched into their country with so numerous an army, that they were forced to submit, without offering to come to a battle.

The Danes
make a
descent.

833.

Sax. Ann.
Malm. lib.
ii.

Egbert
worsted by
the Danes.

Whilst Egbert was enjoying the fruits of his victories, the Danes, who had before made two descents on England^b, arrived at Charmouth^c, with thirty-five vessels. As they met with no opposition, they landed and ravaged the country. Egbert upon the first news of this descent, marched against them with what troops he could hastily draw together, verily believing at his approach they would repair to their ships, which though he found they did not do, but on the contrary firmly stood their ground, he resolved to attack them. But he soon experienced, he had to deal with much more formidable enemies than he imagined. After a long and bloody battle^d, he had the vexation to see them victorious, and his own army entirely routed. Nay, he found himself so very hard pressed that he was forced at length to follow his flying troops, being indebted to the darkness of the night for his very life. This mortification, very grievous to a prince hitherto always victorious, caused him to take other measures for his defence against these new invaders. Meantime the Danes, having no design to make conquests, were satisfied with plundering the country, and returned to their ships.

The Danes
make another
descent

835.

Sax. Annal.

Two years after, another band of Danish pyrates, having been informed by their spies that the Cornish Britons^e were extremely desirous of throwing off the yoke of the English, went and landed in their territories, where they were gladly received. Being reinforced with some British troops, they began their march in order to give the English monarch battle. They were in hopes to surprize him, but were themselves

of monarchs after him: as Witlaf, king of Mercia, under Egbert; and Bertulph under Ethelwulf his son, Beorred king of Mercia, and Edmund king of the East-Angles; and so they continued, at least until Edward the Elder. See Ingulph, p. 8, 11, &c. Brady, p. 114.

^b Viz. in 789, at Portland; and in 832, in the isle of Shepey, which they laid waste. Aſter. Ann. p. 154.

Sax. Ann. Huntingd.

^c In Dorsetshire.

^d There were slain in this battle, among others, the two bishops of Winchester and Sherborn, Hereferth and Wigferth, and the two earls Dudda and Osmond. Hunting. p. 345. Sax. Ann.

^e For they still inhabited Cornwall, paying tribute to Egbert. Rapin.

astonished

astonished to hear he was marching directly towards them with the same intent. His former misfortune having made him more cautious, he had kept his army in readiness to march upon the first notice of their arrival. Accordingly being informed, they were landed in the west, he hastened thither with all his forces. He engaged them near Hengistdun^f in Cornwall, and obtained a signal victory, which quite defaced the dishonour of his former defeat.

Egbert gains a great victory.

After this fortunate blow, which delivered the English for a short space from the Danish invasions, we find but one remarkable particular in Egbert's reign. It is said, that this prince, by a public edict, approved by the general assembly of the nation, ordered, that for the future the name of England should be given to that part of Great Britain, conquered by the Anglo-Saxons, and erected into seven kingdoms^g. But it is much more likely, he only confirmed or revived this name, which certainly is more ancient than the reign of Egbert. We find in Bede's Ecclesiastical History, that before that time the three nations settled in Great Britain, are indifferently called Angli or English. And indeed Bede himself, who wrote long before Egbert, gives his history the title of the Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation, though it much more relates to the churches of Kent, Wessex, Sussex, and Essex, than to those of Mercia, Northumberland, and East-Anglia. I have already said, that the change of the name of Britain into that of England, ought to be referred to the year 585, or 586. In confirmation of which, and to shew the improbability of Egbert's being the author of this change, I shall alledge the following proofs, which to me seem very strong. In the first place, Egbert had no reason to call the seven kingdoms England, since he himself was a Saxon, and the provinces, his own kingdom consisted of, were peopled with Saxons and Jutes. Besides the Angles or English

Egbert confirms the changing the name of Britain into that of England.

Proofs of his not being the first author of that change.

^f Now called Hengston-hill. Rapin.
^g The whole account of this matter is thus; "Egbert having subdued the six Saxon kingdoms, and forced them to submit to his dominion, called a great council at Winchester, where to were summoned all the great men of the whole kingdom; and there, by the general consent of the clergy and laity, Egbert was crowned king of Great Britain: and at the same time, he enacted, That it should be for ever after called England; and that those who before were named Jutes or Saxons,

"should now be filed Englishmen." Annals of the cathedral church of Westminster, in Monast. Anglican. vol. i. p. 32. R. ce Diceto, p. 449. Chronol. St. Austn's Monast. Cant. in X. Script. 2238; and after them in all our modern chroniclers. Egbert may indeed have published an edict for the confirming or reviving of that name; but that it was in use long before this time, is evident (as Rapin observes) from the laws of king Ina; from Bede's Ecclesiastical History; from Mat. Westm. p. 200, &c.

inhabiting Mercia, East-Anglia, and Northumberland, were his vassals and tributaries. Now is it at all likely, that the conqueror should impose on his victorious subjects the name of those they had subdued? This might indeed be done by degrees, but it is not probable a conqueror should enjoin it by an edict: But as this amounts to no more than conjecture,

Jo. Sarish.

I shall proceed to more substantial proofs. An historian positively affirms, that a little after the founding of the seven kingdoms, the name of England was given to Britain by the unanimous consent of the seven kings. But this can by no means be applied to the time of Egbert (above two hundred and fifty years after) since that prince could not have published his edict till after the dissolution of the Heptarchy. Besides, how came Bede, who lived one hundred and fifty years before Egbert, to call the three nations settled in Britain, Englishmen, if that monarch was the author of that name? But what is still convincing, though the subjects of Ina, king of Wessex, were Saxons or Jutes, that prince however, in his laws enacted for the West-Saxons, only styles them Englishmen. If an Englishman, says he, commits theft.—Again, If a Welsh slave shall kill an Englishman.—Is it not plain that unless this name had been common to the three nations, Ina would not have called his subjects Englishmen, but Saxons? In short, it is not at all strange that immediately after founding the seven kingdoms, the Anglo-Saxons should term their conquest England, since the Angles were in possession of a larger and more considerable tract of land than both the Saxons and Jutes. But it was not natural this name should be introduced in the reign of Egbert, when the three kingdoms of the Angles were gone to decay, and the kingdom of the West-Saxons in a flourishing state.

Brompt.
Leges Ina.
lib. xvi. lex
78.

The death
of Egbert.
838.

Sax. Ann.

J. Beaver.

Egbert died in 838^h, after he had reigned thirty-seven years, twenty years as king of Wessex only, seven years with the dignity of monarch, and ten years as real sovereign of all England. Redburg his spouse had never assumed the title and port of a queen, because of the law made in Wessex, on account of the death of Brithric. She is said to have persuaded the king to forbid the Welsh, on pain of death, to come beyond Offa's Dike, the boundary of Mercia and Wales.

Egbert left but one son, named Ethelwulph, who succeeded him both as king of Wessex, Essex, Kent, and Su^{flex}.

^h Some place his death in 836 or 837. Rapin. He was buried at Winchester. Malmsh. p. 37 Brompt.

and

and as sovereign of the other three kingdoms. Egbert had doubtless another son, since this was designed for the church. A modern author gives the name of Ethelbert to Egbert's eldest son; but I know not whence he had his information. Some say he had also a daughter called Edgith, who founded the abbey of Polleworth¹, but this is uncertain.

By all that has been said of Egbert, it is easy to see this prince had all the qualifications of a great warrior. He accomplished his ends, not by such methods as Hengist and Offa had taken, but by way of arms, which though no less criminal, tarnishes not the reputation of those that make use of it, especially when crowned with success. It is a sad thing that ambition, by which princes are led to invade the property of others, should pass in the world for a virtue, and that a historian, by reason of mens depraved notions, should not dare to represent it in its true colours, since, generally speaking, they are your ambitious princes that are honoured with the surname of Great.

2. ETHELWULPH.

ETHELWULPH, Egbert's only son, came to the crown after his father's death. Some say he was forced to have a dispensation from the pope, because he was in holy orders. But it is not very likely, that after the death of his elder brother, Egbert would suffer him to be bred a church-man, since he had no other son to succeed him^a.

Ethelwulph was hardly warm in his throne, when a fleet of Danes appeared near Southampton. After they had hovered up and down for some time, they landed and ravaged the flat country. Ethelwulph, a lover of peace and his ease, sent Wulfherd his general against them, who beat them back to their ships. But the king had not reason long to rejoice at this victory. Before his army returned, news was brought him that more Danish forces, having landed at Portland, were plundering and destroying the country. Tho' he had no cause to be displeased with Wulfherd^b, he sent

ⁱ In Warwickshire.

^a Brompton and Huntingdon say, that he had been consecrated bishop of Winchester; but upon his father's death, other heirs failing, he took upon him the

reins of the government, p. 302, 348.

^b Wulfherd was probably then dead; for he died in 837, according to the Saxon Annals, which place Egbert's death in 836.

earl Ethelhelm to command the army, who was shamefully beaten and put to flight^c. Herbert the succeeding general, was still more unfortunate, for he was not only vanquished, but lost his life in the battle. These two victories gave the Danes opportunity to over-run several counties, particularly Kent and Middlesex^d. Canterbury, Rochester, and London were great sufferers on this occasion, the enemy committing unheard-of cruelties before they returned to their ships.

839. Some make Witglaph, king of Mercia, die this year, 839. Others place his death two years sooner, in 837. But this difference is of little moment, this prince making but a very mean figure after he became vassal to the king of Wessex^e. Berthulph, his brother succeeded him.

Berthulph
king of
Mercia.

840.
Affer, Ang.
Huntingd.

The next year Ethelwulph, not at all satisfied with his two last generals, was resolved to go in person against a body of Danes, that were arrived in thirty-five ships, and landed on the coast of Wessex. The two armies engaging at Charmouth, the English were worsted, and thought themselves happy, that the enemy, after their victory, were contented with carrying off their booty, the only end of these Danish expeditions.

Destruction
of the Picts.

This year (or as some say the year before) was very remarkable for the entire destruction of the Picts. After a long war with the Scots their neighbours, they lost two successive battles, which disabled them from making any farther resistance. Kenneth II. king of Scotland, exasperated against them for having slain his father, and inhumanly mangling his corpse, told the Scots, they ought not to lose the present opportunity of rooting out a nation that had been their perpetual enemies. His advice was approved of, and executed with such a barbarous fury, that from that time nothing remains but the bare memory of that miserable nation, which had so long flourished in Great Britain. It is chiefly owing to his extirpating the Picts, that Kenneth II. was looked upon by the Scots as an illustrious prince, and one of the founders of their monarchy.

Puehan.
Boeth.
Hollinshed.

Ethelwulph
resigns part
of his domi-
nions to his
natural son.

The Danes continuing their incursions, Ethelwulph, who was naturally indolent, thought himself unable to govern alone all his dominions, exposed as they were to the perpetual insults of foreigners. This consideration, and perhaps ten-

^c In this battle earl Ethelhelm was slain. Sax. Annal. H. Huntingd. p. 307. in Lindsey, East Anglia, and Kent. Sax. Ann. Huntingd. p. 347.

^e He was buried at Repentune, or Repton in Derbyshire. Flor. Wigorn. der

der affection for Athelstan his natural son^f, made him resolve to resign to him the kingdoms of Kent, Essex, and Suffex^g, with the title of king of Kent, reserving to himself the sovereignty of all England, with the kingdom of Wessex.

ETHELWULPH, ATHELSTAN,
in Wessex. in Kent.

Andred, king of Northumberland, died in 841, and was succeeded by Ethelred, his son.

Roderic, surnamed Mawr, i. e. the Great, was then king 841.
of Wales. This prince, to whom the British historians give Ethelred
the highest commendations, attacked Berthulph, king of Mer- king of
cia, with great success. As little inclined to war as Ethel- Northum-
wulph was, he was obliged to march in person into Mercia, berland.
to stop the progress of the Welsh prince. He easily saw the S. Dunelm.
dangerous consequence of suffering the Welsh to recover any M. Westm.
part of the country taken from them by the English: and therefore without staying to be solicited, he went and joined forces with the king of Mercia. Whilst Roderic had to Ann. Sax.
deal with Berthulph alone, he imagined he was powerful enough to dispossess him, if not of the whole, yet at least of good part of his kingdom. But when he found Ethelwulph engaged in the quarrel, he desisted from his enterprize, and sued for peace, which he obtained without any difficulty, both the sovereign and his vassal desiring only to live in peace and quiet. Roderic left three sons, among whom he shared his dominions, which by that means were divided into the three kingdoms of Venedotia, Demetia, and Powis.

Ethelred, who ascended the throne of Northumberland in Ethelred
841, was driven out of the country three years after, by one king of
of the factions that for a long time prevailed by turns in that Northum-
kingdom, and Redowald put in his place. The new king berland ex-
being slain shortly after by the Danes, in a descent made on pelled and
Northumberland, Ethelred was recalled by his party, who restored.
were now become powerful enough to support him in the M. West.
throne.

The Danes never failed to visit England once a year, purely 845.
ly for the sake of plunder. In 845, the earls Enulph and

^f The Saxon Annals, W. Malmbury, and Ethelwerd, call him only the son of Athelwulph, p. 37, and 841. Chron. de Mailros styles him Ethelwulph's brother, p. 37. and M. Westm.

says, that he was his natural son, p. 301. So little agreement is there between the ancient historians in this and other matters.

^g Together with Surry. Sax. Ann.

The Danes defeated. Osric, with bishop Alftan, gave them battle near the river Parret^h and obtained a signal victory, which probably was the reason the English remained unmolested for some years.

848. The king of Northumberland reigned but three years after his restoration. The opposite party having put him to death, a lord, named Osbert, was placed on the throne. The troubles and divisions in that kingdom, gave the Danes opportunity of making frequent incursions. Whenever they came, they were sure of being welcome to the weakest party: neither of the factions scrupling to join with the Danes in order to be superior.

851. Whilst the Danes were thus employed in the north, the southern provinces enjoyed some tranquillity. But at length, in 851, they landed on the coast of Welfex, where they committed unspeakable cruelties. After ravaging the country, they were met, as they were returning to their ships, with their booty, by earl Ceorle, Ethelwulph's generalⁱ, who waited for them at Wenbury^k: being encumbered with their spoils, they fought in such disorder, that they were entirely routed. Some time after king Athelstan going on board his fleet, fought the Danes near Sandwich, and took nine of their ships. He could not however prevent another band from wintering in the island of Shepey.

852. The ill success of the Danes did not in the least discourage them. The next spring they came up the Thames with three hundred sail, and nothing being able to oppose them, landed near London, where they began their usual ravages. The two kings not expecting this sudden invasion, did not dare to take the field till they had an army capable of withstanding them, which they endeavoured to raise with all possible expedition.

Whilst the two princes were making preparations, the Danes made use of their time to plunder. They were not content with ravaging the country, but attacked the towns, which, for the most part, being unable to resist, were forced to open their gates to their enemies. London and Canterbury were great sufferers on this occasion. Having pillaged these two cities, they marched into Mercia, and overthrew an army led against them by Berthulph, in defence of his country. Nothing more opposing their progress, they would have over-run all England, if the news that Ethelwulph and

Another descent of the Danes. Affer. Huntingd.

^h In Somersetshire.
ⁱ He was earl of Danmonium, or Devonshire. Sax. Ann. Affer. S. Dunelm. Dugdale's Baron, vol. i.

^k In Devonshire, not far from Plymouth. It is called in Saxon, Wic-ganbeorhe. See Sax. Annal. and Camden.

Athelstan designed to intercept them in their return, had not made them halt. They repassed the Thames, with design to give the two kings battle, now encamped at Okely in Surrey. They committed in their march such barbarities, that the very mention of them would strike one with horror. In short, they engaged the two kings in the very place where they had encamped in expectation of the enemy. Here a bloody battle was fought, wherein the English at length were victorious, and made so terrible a slaughter of the Danes, that very few escaped.

Berthulph, king of Mercia, died this year, and was succeeded by Buthred, with the consent of Ethelwulph, whose daughter he had married.

After the battle of Okely, we hear no more of Athelstan, and therefore presume he did not long survive that great victory, to which his valour greatly contributed. Although Ethelwulph had several sons born in wedlock, that were old enough to assist him in the administration of affairs, yet he would not give Ethelbald, his eldest, Athelstan's kingdom. Besides his having no great affection for him, he dreaded his restless and turbulent spirit. The young prince, who thought himself no less worthy of a crown than Athelstan, his bastard-brother, was very much disgusted at this pretended injustice.

ETHELWULPH, alone.

Ethelwulph was extremely addicted to religion, both by temper and education. He would willingly, if permitted, have spent whole days together in conversation with the monks, whilst the Danes were ransacking his kingdom in a merciless manner. The victory of Okely procuring him some respite from these formidable enemies, he was at liberty to follow his natural inclination. He had two favourites who equally shared his affection and confidence: they were both bishops, but of very different characters, the first named Swithin, bishop of Winchester, was continually entertaining the king upon the vanity of all worldly glory, and the joys of heaven. The second, called Alstan, bishop of Sherborn, was not at all pleased with the king's giving himself up wholly to his devotions. He could have wished he would have exerted himself more vigorously in repulsing the Danes, and employed his time in making preparations against their next return. To that end he never ceased animating him, by laying before him the glorious deeds of his ancestors, particularly those of his father Egbert, in which he was most nearly

nearly concerned. He was not satisfied with exciting him by lively exhortations, but furnished him also with money to hasten his warlike preparations.

These two prelates bore an absolute sway over the king, who was naturally of a slothful and indolent temper: the one had the ascendant in peace, the other in war. Alstan kept his ground a long while, by reason of the frequent invasions of the Danes, which robbed the king of great part of the time he would have employed in his devotions. But as soon as he found he was likely to enjoy some quiet, he was entirely guided by the bishop of Winchester. This prelate taking advantage of the king's religious disposition, so engrossed him to himself, that Alstan, whose advice was not so conformable to the king's inclinations, found his credit by degrees to diminish. Swithin, who now ruled the king, confirmed him more and more in his natural bias to a religious life: above all he instilled into him an extreme affection for the church and clergy, wherein the main of religion was then made to consist. By his advice it was, that this prince, as it is pretended, granted to the church the tithes of all his dominions¹. Hitherto the revenues of the church were not very considerable; but by this new grant they were increased to that degree, that Ethelwulph's successors had frequent occasion to wish he had left the clergy in their former state. To this zeal for religion it was owing also that he sent to Rome his youngest son Alfred, then about five years of age. As he was very fond of this child, he imagined, no doubt, the pope's blessing would be ratified in heaven, and procure him great happiness. If we may believe certain historians, Leo IV. did not only bless the young prince, but gave him also the ceremony of the royal unction^m. But this appears to have no foundation, unless it is pretended the pope knew by revelation that Alfred would one day come to the crown, though the youngest of four brothers. Besides, Alfred had not the title of king till long after, when the crown was devolved to him by the death of his three elder brothers. There are some, who, on supposition of this same unction, maintain that the pope only anointed him with chrism at the ceremony of his confirmation, which gave occasion for

A grant of the tithes to the clergy. Ingulph. p. 17. G. Malmsh. Huntingd.

853. Alfred sent to Rome. Fl. Wigorn. Affer.

Tyrrel.

1 In the laws of Ina and Offa, tithes are settled on the clergy. But in all likelihood these laws were not observed, or perhaps Ethelwulph extended the law all over England. Rapin. This charter is at length in the State of the Church.

m The words of the historian are, "Leo — infantem ordinans unxit in regem, et in filium adoptionis sibi — met accipiens confirmavit." S. Dunelm. p. 120. Affer. Vit. Ælfr. Sax. Huntingd. etc.

some to imagine that Alfred received the royal unction beforehand, because he was one day to ascend the throne of England^a.

Ethelwulph's great zeal for religion would not let him be easy, without the satisfaction of paying a visit to the pope in person, and receiving his benediction. As England was then in profound peace, he resolved upon going to Rome, and accordingly did so in 855°. At his arrival, Leo gave him an honourable reception, and in return met with all the respect and submission that could be expected from so devout a prince. During his stay at Rome, he diligently visited the churches, chapels, holy relics, and every thing capable of feeding his devotion. The English college, founded by Ina, and enlarged by Offa, having been burnt down [the year before] he caused it to be rebuilt in a more magnificent manner than before; and desiring to endow the college with greater revenues than his predecessors had done, extended the tax of Peter-pence all over his dominions, which till then had been levied only in Wesssex and Mercia. He obliged himself moreover to send to Rome yearly the sum of three hundred mancuses [or marks]^p, two hundred whereof were to be expended in wax-tapers for the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul, and the remaining hundred for the pope's private use. These were the liberalities that gave occasion to certain historians to assert, that Ethelwulph made his kingdom tributary to the holy see. But what wrong uses soever might be made of them in time, it is certain they were no more originally than charitable donations to the churches and English college.

Ethelwulph having satisfied his devotion and curiosity by a twelve month's stay at Rome, returned home through France, where he married Judith, the daughter of Charles the Bald, a young princess of twelve years of age^q. This unsuitable as well as unseasonable match, he having already several chil-

n This same year, 853, earl Alcher with the inhabitants of Kent, and earl Hu'a with those of Surry, fought with an army of Danes in the Isle of Thanet; the English got at first some advantage, but great numbers were killed and drowned on both sides; and the two English generals at length lost their lives. Sax. Annal. After. S. Dunelm. p. 120. Huntingd. p. 348. The next year they wintered, for the first time, in the Isle of Shepey. Sax. Annal.

o Carrying his son Alfred along with

him. After Vit. Alfr. p. 2

p John Brompton is mistaken in calling them three hundred talents, p. 82. Rapin.

q This does not appear from our English historians. R. Higden says, that he married her in the twelfth year of his reign, p. 253. Ethelwulph's first wife was Osburga, the daughter of Oslac his cup-bearer, who was descended from Stuff and Withgar. After. Vit. Alfr. p. 1.

dren, was made another pretence for the conspiracy forming against him in England.

Ethelbald
conspires
against his
father.
After vitt.
Ælfr.
G. Malm.
lib. ii. c. 2.

Whilst Ethelwulph was employed at Rome in Acts of devotion, Alstan, bishop of Sherborn, formerly his favourite, but, since the loss of his credit, his enemy, took advantage of his absence to seduce Ethelbald, his eldest son, by way of revenge. This young prince being of an evil disposition, was already very angry with his father for not investing him with the kingdom of Kent after Athelstan's death; and therefore very readily closed with Alstan's pernicious counsels. The prelate represented to him, that Ethelwulph lived more like a monk than a king; and by his negligence would, it was to be feared, expose his kingdom to dangers and ruin; that since he delighted so much in conversing with the monks, it was fit he should pass the residue of his days in a monastery, and leave his kingdom to a son, more capable than himself of governing it. The young prince, burning with desire and impatience to enjoy the crown, was shaken with this discourse. As his heart was not sound, there was no need of repeating it often in order to gain him. The news of Ethelwulph's marriage coming at that very time, put the finishing stroke to the matter. He thought he had reason to fear that, if there should be any children by this second marriage, they would be able to dispute with him the succession to the crown, by help of the king of France. These considerations moved him to cabal with the nobles how to prevent the king's return. Alstan, author of the plot, did all that lay in his power to gain the nobles and people to the prince's interest, and it was not long before he formed a powerful party in his favour. Ethelwulph, informed of these proceedings, immediately left France, and arrived in England, before his son had taken all necessary measures to hinder his landing. However, Ethelbald pursued his design, and openly declared his intent to dethrone his father. As Ethelwulph had dignified his new wife with the title of Queen, in consideration of her illustrious birth, Ethelbald made use of that pretence to give some colour to his revolt. He alledged, that by the express terms of the law made upon the account of Brithric's murder, the West-Saxons were absolved from their oath of allegiance to the king. All things now tended to a civil war, which could not but prove fatal to England, since, besides other mischief, it would undoubtedly bring on fresh invasions from the Danes. But some of the wisest of the nobility of both parties, foreseeing the calamities that might ensue, by their mediation endeavoured to bring matters to an accommodation

The king
returns.

Ethelbald
pursues his
revolt.
Selden,
Titles of
Honour,
cap. vi.
p. 83.
G. Malm.
lib. ii. c. 2.

commodation. Though right and justice were entirely on the king's side, yet he consented to peaceable measures. But as he was old and easy-natured, and his son highly threatened his opposers, the balance very much inclined to Ethelbald's side. By the treaty, which was managed by the umpires, Ethelwulph was obliged to resign to his son the ancient kingdom of Wessex, and to sit down contented with that of Kent for himself, under which were comprised also Essex and Suffex. Some of his courtiers advised him not to sign so partial and unequal a treaty; but he would not hearken to them. He told them, he did not set so high a value on the dominions allotted to his son, as to purchase them at the price of a civil war; and though it might be in his power to recover them, yet his death would soon put his son in possession again.

ETHELWULPH
in Kent.

ETHELBALD
in Wessex.

One would think Ethelwulph foresaw his death, since he ^{Ethelbald's} lived this partition but two years, which he spent in a ^{character.} manner worthy of a christian prince, in doing acts of charity, administering justice to his subjects, and endeavouring, by the force of his example, to induce them to lead lives conformable to the precepts of the gospel. Ethelbald, on the contrary, depending upon many years to come, thought only of spending his days in licentiousness and debauchery.

The Saxon Annals tell us, that about this time, Edmund a ^{Edmund} youth of fifteen years of age, was crowned king of East-^{king of} Anglia. He was son to Alcmund, a prince of the royal ^{East-Angls.} blood, who fled into Germany when Offa seized upon East-^{Sax. Ann.} Anglia. It is not said whether this was done with the consent ^{Flor. Wig.} of Ethelwulph and Ethelbald, or whether taking advantage of ^{J. Tinmonth} the dissension between the father and son, the East-Angles resolved to have a king of their own. Edmund was guided, during his youth, by the advice of bishop Humbert, who took care to form him to a virtuous life, and instil into him sentiments of justice and equity, of which his subjects reaped the benefit. I pass over in silence all the miracles that are said to attend his birth, and shall speak elsewhere of his tragical end, honoured with the name of martyrdom.

Ethelwulph, finding death approaching, made his will ^{Ethel-} wherein he disposed of his dominions to Ethelbert his second ^{wulph's} ^{last will.} ^{Affer. vit.} ^{Ælfr.}

r Hereditariam, immo commendatoriam, scribere imperavit epistolam—
Affer. vit. Alf. p. 4.

son,

Malsb.
M. Westm.
His death.
857.

son, and after his decease to Ethelred his third son, and after him to Alfred his youngest. I am not sure, whether it was customary then for the kings to dispose of their dominions by will, or whether Ethelwulph was the first that did so. However this be, it is certain Ethelwulph's sons succeeded one another by virtue of this will. Wherein he also ordered his heirs to maintain one poor person for every tithing in his hereditary lands. He died soon after in 857, having reigned twenty years^s, leaving behind him four sons and one daughter, who was married to Buthred king of Mercia, and died at Pavia in 888. Ethelbald, eldest son of Ethelwulph, being already in possession of the kingdom of Wessex, Ethelbert his brother had only for his share Kent, Essex, Surrey and Suffex, comprised under the name of the kingdom of Kent. As for Ethelred and Alfred^t, his other sons, they were at first but ill provided for; but in the end they mounted the throne also. Besides Athelstan spoken of before, some give Ethelwulph another natural son called Neot, who was afterwards professor at Oxford. But I very much doubt whether Neot, was his son. It is more likely he was only his relation, of the blood-royal of Wessex.

3. ETHELBALD in Wessex.

ETHELBERT in Kent.

Malmab.
lib.ii. cap. 3.
Affer. Ann.
Ingulph.

ETHELBALD's reign was remarkable neither for any event of moment, nor for any action of his own, worth recording. All historians agree, that he was a prince of little merit, and of an evil disposition. He is said by the English historians to make no scruple of marrying Judith of France, his father's widow. But the French writers mention not this marriage. They tell us her marriage with Ethelwulph not

^s The Saxon Annals allow Ethelwulph to have reigned but eighteen years, and yet tell us his father began to reign in 800, and that he reigned thirty-seven years seven months, and that Ethelwulph died in 857. Rapin. The Saxon Annals say he reigned eighteen years and a half. He was buried at Winchester with his father Egbert, Sax. Ann. Affer. in the life of Al-

fred, says he was buried at Stemrugan; and in his Annals, he calls the place Steningham, which Mr. Camden takes to be Stening in Suffex, p. 205.

^t Here the Saxon Annals inform us, that when the pope heard of Ethelwulph's death, he anointed Alfred king, and presented him to a bishop to be confirmed, as his father, when he sent him thither, had ordered, p. 77.

being

being consummated by reason of her youth, she returned to France, from whence she was carried away by Baldwin Iron-hand earl of Flanders. Perhaps they knew nothing of her second marriage, or, it may be, did not think proper to mention it, as reflecting on the family of Charles the Great. Be this as it will, the English historians speak of it as certain. And one of them adds ^u, Ethelbald was brought to a sense of his fault, by Swithin bishop of Winchester, and underwent a severe penance for it: This penance, which probably consisted in some grants or donations to the monasteries, made an historian ^w say, his death, which happened in 860, was much lamented. He had reigned two years in Wessex during his father's life, and about two years and a half after his decease. Ethelbert his brother, already in possession of the kingdom of Kent, succeeding to Wessex by virtue of their father's will, re-united the two kingdoms.

ETHELBERT alone.

The Danes, having left England for some years unmolested, immediately after Ethelbert's coronation renewed their invasions. As they had not been heard of for some time, they were almost forgotten, and consequently no preparations were made to repulse their attacks. This neglect gave them great advantages, and helped them to penetrate as far as Winchester, the metropolis of Wessex, which they reduced to ashes. They would have proceeded to much greater mischiefs, had not Osric and Ethelwulph, two West-Saxon earls, with troops drawn together in haste, beat them back to their ships.

Another time they came in autumn, and landed in the isle of Thanet, where they wintered, in order to begin their incursions in the spring. Ethelbert, very uneasy at their being so near him, but not knowing how to help it, offered them a sum of money to go off quietly ^x. They accepted of his offer; but when they had received the money, they rushed into Kent, and destroyed all ^y with fire and sword, Ethelbert not being in condition to be revenged of them. However, having learnt by this treachery, that nothing but force could free him from his enemies, he set about levying an army, to

^u Thomas Rudbourne in his history of Winchester.---M. and also Matthew of Westminster. But Aſer, who lived in those days, says no such thing.

^w Huntingdon, who tells us he was buried at Sherborn. See Sax. Ann.

Malsb. p. 42.

^x The Sax. Ann. say, it was the Kentish men that offered them money, and made a peace with them.

^y All the eastern part of Kent.

The Danes return to England. Sax. Ann. They burn Winchester.

They are repulsed.

Another descent.

Ethelbert gives them money to go off, which they take, and fall to plundering. Sax. Ann. Malsb. Huntingd.

intercept them in their retreat, and prevent them from carrying off their booty. The dread of these preparations made them embark with their plunder so hastily, that it was not possible to hinder them.

He dies in
866.

Ethelbert's reign, which lasted but six years, affords little matter for history. He died in 866², leaving two sons, Adhelm and Ethelward, who did not succeed him, his younger brother Ethelred ascending the throne by virtue of Ethelwulph's will.

5. ETHELRED. I.

THE reign of Ethelred was short and troublesome. From his coronation to his death, he had one continued conflict with the Danes. They began with attacking Northumberland, which at length they became masters of. They proceeded next to East-Anglia, which they also subdued. And after extorting money from the Mercians, they entered Wessex. Notwithstanding the valour of Ethelred, and the many battles he fought, he had the vexation at his death to leave them in the heart of his kingdom, and in condition of soon completing the conquest of the whole. These are the principal event during this reign, the most remarkable circumstances whereof I am going to relate.

Malmsh.
lib.ii. cap.3.

The authority reserved by Egbert over the kingdoms of Mercia, East-Anglia, and Northumberland, and enjoyed also by his son Ethelwulph, was now much weakened by reason of the frequent invasions of the Danes. Whilst the kings of Wessex were employed in the defence of their own dominions, it was hardly possible for them to think of improving their sovereignty over the three kingdoms of the Angles, to whom Egbert was willing to leave a shadow of liberty. And therefore, by degrees, the Northumbrians, as most remote from Wessex, had freed themselves from servitude. The factions that had long reigned among them were grown cooler, and so far agreed at last, as with unanimous consent to place Osbert on the throne. This happy union would have restored Northumberland to its ancient splendor, if an unexpected accident had not revived their dissensions, and plunged the

The Northumbrians shake off the yoke of the king of Wessex. Fresh troubles there, which draw the Danes thither.

² And was buried at Sherborn. Malmsh. p. 42.

country into a gulph of remediless misery. The occasion of these new troubles, which proved not only destructive of Northumberland, but fatal to all England, was this *.

Osbert, who kept his court at York, returning one day from hunting, had a mind to refresh himself at the house of a certain earl named Bruern-Bocard, guardian of the coasts against the irruptions of the Danes. The earl happening to be from home, his lady, to whose charming beauty was joined the most engaging behaviour, entertained her sovereign with the respect due to his quality. Osbert, ravished at the sight of so much beauty, became in an instant desperately in love with her, and resolved, let the consequence be what it would, to gratify his passion without delay. Accordingly, on pretence of having some matters of importance to communicate to her, in the absence of the earl, he led her into a private room, where after several attempts to bring her to comply by fair means, he fell at length to downright force. Entreaties, tears, cries, reproaches, were ineffectual to put a stop to his raging passions. After the commission of this infamous deed, he left the countess in that excess of grief and vexation, that it was not possible for her to hide the cause from her husband. So outrageous an affront is hardly ever forgiven. Though Osbert was king, and earl Bruern his subject, he resented so highly this injury, that he resolved at any rate to be revenged. He had a great interest with the Northumbrians, and the base action of Osbert was naturally apt to alienate the minds of his subjects from him. Accordingly, by the management of the

The cause
of these
troubles.

a Tho' Rapin, is the most probable opinion, makes Osbert's ravishing earl Bruern's lady the occasion of the Danes coming to Northumberland, there is also another reason given of that, and the barbarous murder of Edmund. The story goes, that Lodebroch king of Denmark going a hawking in a boat, was driven out at sea by a storm, and cast upon the English coast near Yarmouth. He was seized and brought to Edmund's court, then king of East-Anglia, who finding him a great sportsman, was pleased with his company. Bern, the king's falconer, perceiving himself outdone in his own business by this stranger, drew him into a wood, on pretence of showing him game, and barbarously murdered him. Lodebroch's dog, almost starved, comes to the palace, and being fed, goes away again. The dog doing this several times, made the king's

servants follow him, and thus were brought to a sight of the corpse. Bern was tried for the murder, and being found guilty, was condemned to be put into Lodebroch's boat, and committed to the mercy of the sea, without tackling or provision. He had the good fortune to be carried to the Danish shore. The boat being known, Bern was apprehended and examined about Lodebroch. He told them, that being cast on the coast of East-Anglia, he was put to death by king Edmund's order. Upon which, Ivar and Hubba, Lodebroch's sons, sailed for East-Anglia, with a numerous army, but were forced by bad weather into Northumberland. Brompton. M. West. Ingulph only says, that they slew him upon account of the faith of Christ, and for his standing up in the defence of his country,

p. 24.

Ella chof:n
king of Ber-
nicia.
Sax. Ann.

earl, the Bernicians in a little time revolted; and looking upon Osbert as unworthy to govern them, elected another king named Ella, whom they placed on the throne, with resolution to support him in it. Thus the old divisions, which seemed to be quite extinguished, were kindled afresh; and Northumberland once more divided between two kings and two factions, who continually aiming at each other's destruction, were but too successful in their endeavours.

A civil war was the fatal consequence of this discord. The two kings frequently strove to decide their quarrel by arms; but the equality of their forces preventing the scale from inclining to either side, they both maintained themselves in the throne. The injured earl, one would think, should have been satisfied with Osbert's losing half his dominions. But his revenge seemed to him incomplete, whilst he saw him on the throne of Deira. Mean while, deeming it very difficult to carry it any farther, without a foreign aid, he fatally resolved to go and procure the assistance of the Danes. This was not the first time the like injury had produced the like effect. Spain, under the dominion of the Moors, felt at that very time the mischiefs an affair of this nature had occasioned.

Earl Bruern
brings the
Danes into
England.

As soon as the earl arrived in Denmark, he immediately applied to king Ivar [or Hinguar]^b, and giving him a particular account of the distracted state of Northumberland, intimated to him, that if he would improve the present juncture, he might with ease become master of the kingdom. Ivar very readily came into an enterprize, to which he was prompted by the desire of revenge as well as ambition. Regnerus, his father, having been taken prisoner in England, was thrown into a ditch full of serpents, where he miserably perished. So barbarous a treatment having inspired Iva with a furious hatred against the English, he embraced, without hesitation, the present opportunity of being revenged. With this view

Ivar makes
a descent on
Northum-
berland.
S. Dunelm.

he concerted with earl Bruern all the necessary measures to execute their design. In the spring he entered the Humber with a numerous fleet, which spread a terror over all England. He was conducted by Bruern, and attended by his brother Hubba, the most valiant person of his time. As the Northumbrians had received no intelligence of this invasion, they were in no readiness to dispute his landing. So Ivar, without any difficulty, became master of the northern side of

^b Pontanus, in his history of Denmark, places not Ivar among the kings of that country: but Meursius assures us, that this prince was crowned in

836, wherein he agrees not in his chronology with the English historians. Rapin.

the Humber ^c, from whence he marched directly ^d to York, where Osbert was preparing an army to oppose him.

In this great extremity Osbert applied to Ella, though his enemy, for assistance. Ella, conscious of his cruel treatment of Iva's father, and dreading the son's revenge, very willingly agreed to suspend their private quarrel, and join their forces against the common enemy. Accordingly, he proceeded with all possible expedition to bring him a powerful reinforcement. If Osbert could have resolved to stay in York till Ella's arrival, who was upon the march, he would doubtless have embarrassed the king of Denmark, who by that means would have been forced to oppose the enemy in two places at once. But his great courage would not suffer him to take so good a resolution. Perhaps it was with regret that he saw himself constrained to have recourse to his enemy, or it may be, was afraid of some treachery. However this be, without expecting Ella's approach, he sallied out of York, and attacked the Danes so vigorously, that they could hardly stand the shock, and were very near being put into disorder. But their obstinate resistance having at length cooled the ardour of their enemies, they pressed them in their turn, and compelled them at last to retire in confusion into the town ^e. Osbert enraged to see a certain victory, as he thought, snatched out of his hands, used his utmost endeavours to rally his troops, but was slain in the retreat, with abundance of his men.

This victory having opened the gates of York to the Danes, they entered the town to refresh themselves, whilst Ella was advancing in hopes to repair the loss occasioned by Osbert's precipitation. Ivar having just triumphed over one of the kings, and not believing the other to be more formidable, saved him some trouble, by going to meet him. This battle was no less bloody than the first, nor less fatal to the English. Ella lost his life, and his army was entirely routed. Some say, this prince was not slain in battle; but being taken prisoner, Iva ordered him to be held alive, in revenge for his father's death. The field of battle was called Ellefscroft, that is, Ella's Overthrow.

^c They came over the Autumn before, and wintered in East-Anglia. (Sax. Ann. After. vit. Alfr. S. Dunelm.) Entering into a treaty with the East-Angles, they got horses from them; which put them in a capacity to over-run the neighbouring counties. Hunting. p. 348. Sax. Ann.

^d By all the accounts of the ancient historians, it appears, that in the spring

of the year 867, Ivar marching from East-Anglia, passed the Humber, and ravaged all the country northwards, &c. See Sax. Ann. Huntingd. S. Dunelm. Hoved. Flor. Wig. M. Westm. &c.

^e Into which the English shut themselves up; but the Danes setting that city on fire, most of the English perished in the flames. Malm'sb. p. 42.

868.

Ivar enters
Mercia.
Sax. Ann.
Huntingd.

Ethelred
aids the
king of
Mercia.

Buthred
buys the
Danes off
with a sum
of money.

Sax. Annal.
S. Dunelm.
Ingulph.

M. West.
Monastery
of Colding-
ham de-
stroyed.

870.

Ivar sub-
dues East-
Anglia.

After those two signal victories, Ivar, without any difficulty, took possession of all Northumberland. But this not satisfying his ambition, he marched into Mercia, plundering and ravaging without mercy, whatever came in his way. Butfred king of Mercia, having had time to prepare, had called to his assistance Ethelred his brother-in-law, who was come to join him with all the forces of Wessex. Ivar was now advanced as far as Nottingham^f, in expectation to surprize the king of Mercia; but when he was informed Ethelred had joined him, he stopped short, surprized himself to find his forces inferior to those of the English prince. The two armies stood near one another for some time, expecting every moment to engage. But the consequence of a battle, which in all appearance would determine the fate of both sides, kept them in suspense. At last, having faced one another a good while, they parted without fighting. Butfred chose rather to bribe the enemy to retire, than hazard a battle, the success whereof was doubtful. Besides, he was sensible there was nothing to be got by the Danes, though fortune should favour him, whereas all his was at stake in case of a defeat^g.

Ivar, from the time he arrived in England, had cruelly ravaged all the places wherever he came, particularly the monasteries, where the English endeavoured to conceal the most valuable effects. It may be easily conceived, the idolatrous Danes had no great regard for the nuns, and that multitudes of them were exposed to their brutal lusts. We have a remarkable story upon this subject: the abbess of Coldingham^h, upon the approach of the Danish army, prevailed with her nuns, to cut off their noses and upper-lips, in order to screen themselves from the outrages they were threatened with. This notable expedient, it is true, preserved their honour, but cost them their lives. The soldiers beholding, contrary to their expectations, such monstrous visages, set fire to the monastery, causing them in the flames to complete the sacrifice of their persons, which they had already begun offering to God.

Ivar not having all the success he expected in Mercia, turned his arms another way, where in all likelihood he should meet with less opposition. He left Hubba, his brother, in

^f Where the Danes took up their quarters, and wintered: here they were besieged by the English, but neither side being very forward to come to an engagement, they struck up a peace. Sax. Ann. Asser. Ingulph. &c.

^g After the conclusion of the peace, the Danes went back to York, where they remained one year. Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm, p. 124.

^h A famous nunnery in the county of March in Scotland.

Northumberland, and embarking with the flower of his troops, made a descent on East-Anglia^l, where Edmund was king, of whom I have already spoken. This young prince, more used to acts of devotion than to the exercise of arms, having given the Danes battle, was easily overthrown, and compelled to save himself by flight. He thought of concealing himself in a church, but being discovered, was brought before Ivar at Hegilsdon^k. The conqueror offered to leave him in possession of his kingdom, provided he would acknowledge him for sovereign, and pay him tribute. Edmund refusing these terms, Ivar ordered him to be tied to a tree, and shot at with arrows, and then to have his head cut off. Humbert bishop of the East-Angles, was also put to death by Ivar's order. Edmund's head being found some time after, was interred with his body at St. Edmund's-Bury, so called from him. Whilst the Roman catholic religion flourished in England, great numbers of miracles were pretended to be wrought at his tomb. I do not know by what accident his corpse came to be at Toulouse, where it is said to have been discovered in 1667.

Asfr.
Annal.

An.deToul.
de la Faille.

Ivar being thus master of East-Anglia, appointed a Danish captain named Godrim, or Gothurn, governor of it. Afterwards, having recalled his brother Hubba from Northumberland, to be near his person, he made Egbert, by birth an Englishman, but entirely at his devotion, king of that kingdom.

Inguiph.
Brompt.

The good success the Danes had met with, during this war, inspiring them with hopes of becoming masters of all England, they began to form new projects. Ivar, having perfect information of the state of the island, found he must begin with Wessex, in order to accomplish his design. He was in hopes, could he once subdue that kingdom, the rest would follow of course. On the other hand, he was sensible that all his conquests elsewhere, would be unsecure, as long

871.

Ivar invadit
Wessex.
Sax. Ann.
Asfr. Ann.

ⁱ The Danes passed through Mercia, and wintered at Thetford. Sax. Ann. Huntingd. p. 349. But the fullest account of this and other matters within this period, being given by Inguiph, it will not be improper to give an abstract of his relation. In the spring of the year 869, the Danish army putting out to sea, landed at Humberston, and destroyed the whole country, and Bardney monastery in particular, killing every one of the monks. Then, about Michaelmas, they passed into Kesteven, and there destroyed every thing that came in their way. About a year after, earl Algar, and some others, as-

sembled an army, and coming to an engagement with the heathens, defeated them, and slew three of their kings [or chiefs] but Algar himself was soon after slain. Whereupon the Danes continued their ravages, and plundered and burnt the monasteries of Croyland, Peterburgh, and Ely; killing every person they met there. From thence passing into East-Anglia, they cut off, with all his forces, earl Ulfketull, who was come out against them, and so taking possession of that kingdom, wintered there. Inguiph. p. 14—24. Brompt. p. 807.

^k Now called Hoxon in Suffolk.

as the king of Wessex was in condition to assist his neighbours. These considerations having determined him to attack Ethelred, he embarked his troops and sailed for the coast of Wessex, where landing his army, he advanced as far as Reading. Ethelred, who had foreseen his design, marched his army towards that quarter, accompanied by Alfred his brother. It would be tedious, and perhaps impracticable, to relate the particulars of this war¹. It is sufficient to say in a few words, that within the compass of one year, Ethelred fought nine pitched battles, and upon all occasions gave signal proofs of his courage and conduct, though fortune did not always prove favourable. In the last battle, which was fought near Wittingham, he received a mortal wound, whereof he died in 872^m, after a reign of five yearsⁿ.

Malmsh.
lib. ii. c. 3.
Asser. Ann.
Sax. Ann.

872.
Ethelred's
death.
Brompton.

Ethelred seems not to be entirely free from blame, for suffering the Danes to over-run Northumberland and East-Anglia, without endeavouring to stop their progress. But probably this prince, surprized at the defeat of the two kings of Northumberland, and the swift progress of Iva's arms, did not think himself in a condition to repair the misfortunes caused by the dissensions of the Northumbrians. Besides, he did not care, doubtless, to expose in the defence of Northumberland and East-Anglia, the forces he foresaw he should want for the preservation of his own kingdom. It may farther be said in his justification, that the terror, spread over all England, put it out of his power perhaps, to dispose of his army as he could have wished. This terror was so great, that it was no easy matter to prevail with the English to march against

1 The particulars, delivered by Huntingdon and the Saxon Annals, are as follow:—The first battle in these parts, between the English and Danes, (three days after the coming of these) was fought at Inglefield in Berkshire, in which the English got the victory, Sax. Ann. Huntingd. p. 349. Four days after, there was another fight at Reading, in which Ethelred and Alfred were overcome. But, four days after, they defeated the Danes at Aton near Wallingford; and Eafrege, the two Sidrocs, and several thousands of Danes were then slain. A fortnight after, the English were beat at Basing in Hampshire; and again, two months after, at Marden in Wiltshire, in which last battle Ethelred received his death's wound. Sax. Ann. Huntingd. p. 349. Spelman's Life of Alfred, p. 43.

After the battle of Basing, there came a fresh army of Danes from beyond sea, and joined those that were already in England. Asser. vit. Alfr. p. 7.

m The Sax. Ann. place his death under the year 871, after Easter. Neither they, nor Asser, Ingulph, or S. Dunelm, mention of what death he died.

n He lies buried at Winburn in Dorsetshire, where this inscription was formerly to be read on his tomb: "In hoc loco quiescit corpus S. Ethelredi regis West-Saxonum, martyris, qui anno Domini DCCCCLXXII. xxiii. Aprilis per manus Danorum paganorum decubuit." Camb. This inscription was taken away in the civil wars. See Spelman's life of Alfr. p. 43. note. Some call this epitaph in question, and say he died of the plague which happened at this time.

so formidable enemies, till compelled to it in their own necessary defence.

Though Ethelred was noted for his great bravery, yet his piety is said to surpass even his valour. An historian tells us, ^{piety.} that being at prayers on a day of battle, he resolved not to ^{After.} move till the service was over, though the fight was begun, and the Danes had some advantage. He adds, God rewarded his piety with a signal victory that day.

Ethelred left several children, of whom Alfred, the great grandfather of Ethelwerd the historian, was one. Some say also he had a daughter called Thyra, married to Trotho VI. king of Denmark. Ethelred's sons were deprived of the crown for the same reasons the sons of his elder brother Ethelbert were set aside, I mean, Ethelwulph's will. After his death, Alfred his brother was placed on the throne, without any one's questioning his title.

During Ethelred's reign, the Danes demolished the famous monasteries of Croyland, Ely, Peterborough or Medeshamsted, besides that of Coldingham before-mentioned. It is chiefly on the description of what befel the abbies that historians have enlarged, whilst, doubtless, they omitted events more remarkable, and more worthy the notice of a curious reader. Several monasteries destroyed. Ingulph. S. Dunelm.

6. ALFRED the GREAT.

ALFRED was no less infested with the Danes than his predecessor. This prince, as well as his brother Ethelred, had frequent occasion of exercising his valour, firmness, and all the other virtues heaven had adorned him with. Their fortune however was different; as Ethelred was never reduced to so deplorable a condition as Alfred, so on the other hand, he was never raised to that height of glory. Divine providence seems to have shown in the person of Alfred, with what ease God casts down and sets up princes, according to his good pleasure. This is what I am going to show in the life of Alfred, taking for my principal guide a celebrated historian, who has given an exact account of his actions. Alfred the Great. Spelman.

Ethelred had left the affairs of his kingdom in a deplorable condition. The Danes, already masters of Northumberland The state of the kingdom.

o The battle of Aton just now mentioned. This thing is also mentioned by S. Dunelm, p. 125, 126. Brompt. p. 808, 809. Higden, p. 255.

The battle of Wilton, wherein Alfred is worsted. Sax. Ann. Affr.

He makes a treaty with the Danes. Affr.

872.

The Danes enter Mercia, and are bought off with money; Sax. Ann. Affr.

and East-Anglia, were in the very heart of the kingdom of Wessex. Notwithstanding the many battles Ethelred had given them, they were in possession of several towns, and not only kept their footing in the country, but had reason to hope they should soon accomplish the conquest of it. Alfred had scarce been a month on the throne^p, when he found himself obliged to take the field^q against these formidable enemies, who were advanced as far as Wilton^r. Thither it was that he marched to attack them the first time, after his brother's death^s. He flattered himself for some time that victory would incline to his side; but the scene changing on a sudden in favour of the Danes, he was forced at length to leave them masters of the field of battle. However, his loss was not so considerable, as to make him despair of being revenged. As the Danes had also lost many of their men, he laboured incessantly to put his army in condition to give them battle again, before they should be reinforced. They were astonished at his expedition, and though victorious, sued for peace, finding they were unable to continue the war. How much soever Alfred confided in his troops, who appeared eager to engage, he thought proper to embrace the opportunity of getting rid of his enemies, without hazarding a second battle. As they offered to march out of his dominions, on condition he would molest them in no other part of England, he gladly accepted their offer, deeming it very advantageous, in his present circumstances. And indeed, this treaty gave him time to prepare against a fresh invasion, which he had great reason to expect. But had he engaged again and lost the day, his whole kingdom would infallibly have fallen into the hands of his enemies.

The Danes quitting Wessex retired to London^t, which they had taken during the war. Ivar was gone back to Denmark, having left the command of his army to his brother Hubba, who being tied up from attacking Wessex, turned his arms against Mercia. Buthred knowing he was unable to

^p Spelman says, that Alfred (who had been crowned at Rome, as related above) was crowned a second time at Winchester. Life of Alfr. p. 45.

^q He marched against them with too few forces, and that bore no manner of proportion to those of the enemy; which undoubtedly was the cause of his overthrow. Affr. Ann. p. 164, & vit. Alfr. p. 7. S. Dunelm. p. 127.

^r Brompton says Walton in Suffex, p. 809.

^s Ethelwerd seems to intimate that Alfred was not in this battle in person, being busied about his brother's funeral, lib. iv. cap. 3.

^t Though London lay within the precincts of the kingdom of Essex, yet it was then in subjection to Mercia, where it has continued ever since as part of Middlesex.

refist,

resist, since Alfred was bound not to send him any succours^u, thought it was his wisest course to buy off the Danes with a sum of money, and save his country from their depredations. Upon the receipt of the money, they marched towards Northumberland, designing to take up their quarters with their countrymen. But provisions running short, by reason of the devastations themselves had made there, they were under a sort of necessity to return into Mercia^v. Before they left Northumberland; they deposed Egbert, whom they had placed on the throne, and put Ricfige, a Danish earl, in his room. Buthred finding they were come again into his dominions, complained of their breach of faith; but without regarding his complaints, they obliged him to give them another considerable sum to save his country from the impending destruction. No sooner was the money paid, but they fell to plundering and ravaging, and let Buthred know that even his own person was in danger. The fear of falling into their hands, obliged him to abandon his kingdom, and retire to Rome, where he spent the residue of his days in the English college. Mercia being thus left without a king, and Alfred under an obligation to send no assistance, the Danes without difficulty became masters of that spacious kingdom. However, not to frighten the Mercians too much, they set over them for king Ceoluph, one of Buthred's domestics. Though the new king was an Englishman, yet holding the kingdom in trust only, till his masters should otherwise dispose of it, he resolved to make use of his time to fill his coffers; so that the Mercians suffered as much by the continual extortions of their countryman, as they would perhaps have done by the hands of a foreigner.

Though the Danes were masters of Mercia, East-Anglia, and Northumberland, they were not contented. They could not forbear looking upon Wesssex, which contained the other four kingdoms, with a greedy eye. But as they had always met there with princes that disputed every inch of ground with them, they were fain to make an alliance with Alfred till a favourable opportunity presented itself of executing their designs upon that kingdom. Mean while, they fell to manuring the lands, and began to consider the country they had so

^u After affirms that Buthred applied to king Alfred for succours; who accordingly sent him a very considerable army, that went and besieged the Danes in Nottingham, and forced them to make peace. vit. Alfr. p. 6.

^v They wintered at Yorksey in Lin-

colnshire; which, according to Spelman, was within the kingdom of Northumbria. Spelman, p. 46. Sax. Ann. Huntingd. The next year, 874, they wintered at Hreopedun, or Repton in Derbyshire. Sax. Ann. After. Huntingd. S. Dunelm. Ingulph.

873. Sax. Ann. After. but return again.

Sim. Dun.

Buthred flies his country, and goes to Rome. After.

Sax. Ann.

Ingulph.

The Danes masters of half England.

often and so terribly laid waste as their own. England being thus divided between the English and Danes, peace and tranquillity seemed to be going at last to be restored. The Danes appeared satisfied with their lot, and Alfred thought himself happy in the preservation of his paternal dominions. But the calamities of England were far from being at an end.

Halfden arrives in East-Anglia.

875.

Affr. H. Hunting. lib. v.

Takes Warham.

Whilst Alfred flattered himself with the enjoyment of some quiet, new troubles were preparing for him in Denmark. Halfden, a Danish general, had fitted out a fleet, with which he made a descent on East-Anglia^x. The season being far advanced, he lay still all the winter, expecting the spring in order to invade Wessex. The arrival of Halfden, with fresh Danish troops, ought to have put Alfred upon his guard, since it was but too plain they were designed against him. However, trusting to the treaty he had lately made with the Danes, he remained unconcerned, of which Halfden did not fail to take the advantage. In the beginning of the spring he put to sea, and went and took by surprise Warham-castle^y, the strongest place in all Wessex. The English hitherto seemed not to know what sort of enemies they had to deal with: they considered the Danish irruptions as a regular war, wherein the whole nation was concerned. Accordingly they imagined that a treaty concluded with one band or party, was obligatory to all the rest. But the Danes had other thoughts of these matters. They entered, with the consent of their kings, into private associations to man out fleets and go shares in what booty they could get in England and other countries. For this reason, the several bands were independent one of another, each thinking themselves bound by no other treaty but what they entered into themselves. Alfred had made an agreement with Hubba; but Halfden did not look upon himself as included in it. However, the English considering the surprize of Warham as a real treachery, called heaven and earth to witness the violation of the treaty. But

^x This does not appear from the ancient historians: on the contrary they affirm, that anno 875, the Danes left Repton, and dividing themselves into two bands, one part went along with Halfden to Northumberland, and wintered there near the Tyne: these plundered the Picts, and Strechedenses, i. e. the inhabitants of Galway; and Halfden making himself master of Northumberland, divided it among his followers, who began to cultivate it. The other body of Danes, with their three gene-

rals Godrun, Ofcytel, and Anand, went and wintered at Cambridge, where they staid about a twelve-month; and the next year went out privately from Cambridge, and seized Warham-castle; without any mention of Halfden's being concerned in that expedition. See Sax. Annal. Affr. Huntingd. p. 345. S. Dunelm. What Rapin says here of Halfden, Huntingdon relates it of Halfden's brother, p. 350.
^y In Dorset shire.

Halfden,

Halfden, regardless of their complaints, was about to penetrate farther into Wessex, had not Alfred prevented him by entering into a particular treaty with him². The author of his Life says, the Danes swore by the holy relics of the church, that they would never set foot again in Wessex³. In all appearance it cost the king dear to bring them to these terms. It is something strange, that Alfred should insist upon mens swearing by the holy relics, who, being yet pagans, could not think themselves more strongly bound by this, than their usual oath, their bracelets. Perhaps his reason was, that in case they should break their oath, he thought heaven would the more assuredly punish them for it. However this be, they made no more conscience of this than of their former oaths, but broke it even before they were out of Wessex. As they were marching towards Mercia, they met a body of English horse who were riding in a careless manner, by reason of the treaty's being concluded, and unexpectedly setting upon them, slew the greatest part of them. The horses they took were of service to carry them with more speed towards the western parts of Wessex, where they laid siege to Exeter⁴.

Alfred finding it was in vain to conclude treaties with such perfidious people, resolved to take more effectual measures to secure himself from their treachery. To this purpose he convened a general assembly, and in a pathetic speech plainly showed them they had nothing to trust to but their valour and courage to deliver them from their miseries; that upon so urgent an occasion there was a necessity of venturing their lives in defence of their country, and of sacrificing part of their estates to preserve the rest: in fine, that a generous resolution was the only means left to avoid the calamities their neighbours were fallen under. These remonstrances having produced the desired effect, an army was levied, with which he engaged the enemy seven times in one campaign. But as

² Affer and Huntingdon say, this treaty was made with the Danish army, Vit. Alfr. p. 8. Huntingd. p. 350. and the Sax. Annal. that it was with the heathens, without the least mention of Halfden.

³ The most solemn manner of swearing among the Danes, and other northern nations, was, "By their arms" Olaus Mag. lib. viii cap. 2.

⁴ Hunting. and the Sax. Ann. tell us, that they who had horses, breaking the treaty, rode to Exeter in the night; by

which it seems probable it was only the Danish cavalry that went and seized Exeter, where they wintered. The next year, part of the foot that remained at Warham, marched to Exeter, and were pursued by Alfred, but got into Exeter before he could come up to them; the other part going by sea, were shipwrecked near Swanwick in Hampshire, and a hundred and twenty of their ships lost. Huntingd. p. 350. Affer. Vit. Alfr.

Alfred makes a new treaty with the Danes.
Sax. Ann.
After.

fortune was not equally favourable to him in all these engagements, he was once more constrained to treat with the Danes. Though he could not rely upon their promises, it was the best way he could take to end this dangerous war. The new treaty, by which the Danes were obliged to return no more into Wessex, was better kept than the former.

Rollo arrives in England.

876.

After. Ann.

The West-Saxons looked upon the retreat of these formidable enemies as a great deliverance. But they were not yet at the end of their miseries: this band, that had struck them with such terror, were scarce gone, when a new swarm arrived under the command of Rollo, the famous Norman general, that became afterwards the scourge of France. By good fortune, Alfred was prepared to receive them. After some attempts, Rollo despairing of procuring a settlement in England, resolved to seek one in France. In all probability, finding the best part of England in possession of his countrymen, and Alfred ready to dispute the rest with him, he imagined he had a better prospect in France. Some affirm, it was revealed to him in a dream, what great success he should meet with on the other side of the water.

Goes to seek his fortune in France.

Alfred fits out a fleet.

After Rollo's departure, Alfred enjoyed some repose, which afforded him leisure to think of means to prevent these frequent invasions. He found no better or readier way than to equip a good fleet, and engage the Danes before they came to land, where they generally had the advantage. As hitherto, the engaging them at sea had not been thought of; their ships were only fit for transports, whereas those, now built by Alfred, were contrived on purpose for service. It was not long before he reaped the fruit of this wise precaution: his fleet meeting with six Danish vessels, gave chase to them, and one of the largest being taken, the soldiers and mariners were thrown overboard. This first engagement was followed by one much more considerable. An hundred and twenty sail of Danish transport-ships making to the shore, in order to land their men, the king's fleet attacked them, and sunk the greatest part of them. The next year another Danish fleet sailing westward, met with so violent a storm, that all the fleet perished, except a few which fell into the hands of the English.

After.

Sax. Ann.
After.

The Danes quit Wessex.
Sax. Annal.

Alfred, encouraged by these successes, resolved to attack the Danes in the west, where they had fortified themselves by the taking of Exeter. Besides, the Cornish men had all along sided with them. He executed this resolution with that courage and success, that in the end he obliged the Danes to give him hostages, and entirely abandon Wessex. They retired

tired into Mercia, where being weary with leading such unsettled lives, they were incorporated with their countrymen, who were in possession of that kingdom. After that, they depopled, with one consent, Ceolulph, and divided the land among themselves. What kind of government they established we know not; the English historians, passing over in silence the civil affairs of the Danes, relate only their wars. Thus ended the kingdom of Mercia, after having subsisted near three hundred years.

877.
The end of the kingdom of Mercia,
Sax. Ann.
After.
H. Hunting.

The year before, the kingdom of Northumberland had met with the same fate. Halfden, who was gone thither, made Egbert king in the room of Ricfige, who died in 876. The new king, or vice-roy, was of no long continuance: in the first year of his reign, Halfden dethroned him, and divided the land among his countrymen; which no doubt gave occasion to the Danes in Mercia to do the same thing. Thus the kingdom of Northumberland which had lasted three hundred and thirty years, from the time of Ida the first king, was divided among the Danish officers. It proved very difficult to drive them from thence, as will hereafter be seen.

and of
Northumberland.
After.
Sax. Ann.

Though the Danes were in possession of three of the ancient kingdoms of the Heptarchy, yet was there not room enough for all those that were already in England, and for those that were continually coming over with intent to settle. The new-comers beheld Wessex with a greedy eye. On the other hand, they who had shared the lands of the other kingdoms among them, perceiving their countrymen envied their good fortune, were apprehensive they might think of dispossessing them, if they were not otherwise provided for: this made them all agree to invade Wessex, and exert their utmost to conquer that kingdom, which hitherto had so bravely withstood their attacks. They carried on their design with all possible secrecy and expedition. On the sudden appeared in the field a more formidable army of Danes than had yet been seen^c, and advancing towards Wessex, before Alfred could possibly put himself in a posture of defence. They marched directly to Chippenham^e, one of the finest and strongest cities of the kingdom. The taking of this place, which the Danes made themselves masters of in a few days, inspired the West-

The Danes invade Wessex,

878.

After. Vit. Alf.

and take Chippenham.
Sax. Annal.
S. Dunelm.

^c Ingulph says, Alfred annexed it to his dominions.

^d After says it was the army that left Exeter. Vit. Alfr. p. 9.

^e In Wiltshire, by the Saxons called Cyppanham, now only famous for its

market, whence it had its name; for Cyppan signifies To Traffic, and Cypman a Merchant: and we still retain Cheapen and Chapman. Camdeo, Of the same original is Cheapside, London.

Alfred deserted by all.
After.

Is forced to lie concealed at a neat-herd's.

Hubba ravages Wales, and enters Wexsex.
Sax. Annal. After.

Saxons with such a terror, that they had no longer the courage to defend themselves. Some fled into Wales, or beyond sea, whilst others ran over to the Danes, and swore allegiance to them. In this so general a revolt, Alfred was left alone with a few domestics, who, out of duty and affection, were unwilling to abandon him in his adversity. But as they were chargeable to him, and could do him little service, he dismissed them all, that he might with more ease shift for himself. Such was his distress, that he was forced to conceal himself at a neat-herd's in the Isle of Athelney in Somersetshire^f. This place was surrounded with a large morass, through which there was but one narrow footpath leading to the neat-herd's cottage, that was hid by bushes and briars. In this place the king lay concealed for some time, from his friends as well as his enemies, without being so much as known by the neat-herd's wife, who employed him about her little household affairs^g. This was a wretched situation for a prince; but God, who designed only to exercise his patience, left him not long in these circumstances. He had not been six months in his retreat, when the scene was shifted by a lucky and unexpected turn in his affairs. It is pretended that this happy change was revealed to him in a dream by St. Cuthbert, formerly bishop of Lindisfarne, who appeared to him, and told him, he should suddenly be raised to an infinitely more glorious state than that from whence he was fallen. But without insisting on these idle tales of the monks, who could not find in their hearts to pass over an extraordinary event without introducing some apparition or miracle, I shall relate how this great revolution was brought about by means of a desperate undertaking.

Hubba, who commanded the Danish troops in the absence of his brother Ivar^h, had invaded Wales, and destroyed all with fire and sword: after which he entered Devonshire in the kingdom of Wexsex, with the same intent. At his approach the earl of Devonⁱ, with a handful of brave men, re-

^f Formerly called Athelney, i. e. the Island of Nobles. It lies near Taunton, where the Thone and Parret join. The firm ground is not above two acres.

^g She having one day set a cake on the coals, and being busied in something else, the cake happened to be burnt, upon which she fell a scolding at the king for his carelessness in not looking after the cake, which she told him he could eat fast enough. Alfred was then

sitting in the chimney-corner, making bows and arrows, and other warlike instruments. *After. Vit. Alfr. p. 9.*

^h The Sax. Annal. After. Hunting. Flor. Wigorn. etc. say it was the brother of Ivar and Halfdan: but Sim. Dunelm. and Chron. de Mailros affirm, it was Ivar, and Halfden themselves, with twenty-three ships. p. 144. 146.

ⁱ Odda. See Dugdale's Baron.

tired into Kinwith-castle ^k, to avoid the first shock of the Danish fury. Hubba was not long before he laid siege to the castle, not doubting but the garrison, being few in number, would soon be obliged to surrender. The earl of Devon, finding all the defence he could make would be to no purpose, took a sudden resolution: he represented to the besieged the danger they were in of falling into the hands of their merciless enemies, and assured them they had but one way to escape, which was, by opening themselves a passage with their swords through the enemies army. He told them the enterprize was not so very rash and desperate as they might imagine; that undoubtedly the Danes were very negligent and secure, not regarding a few men pent up within walls; that therefore what he proposed was far from being impracticable, provided they gave the enemy no time to prevent it; that after all, they ventured only their lives and liberties, which would be in much greater danger by standing a siege. This remonstrance had such an effect upon the besieged, that without farther deliberation they sallied out sword in hand upon the Danes, and by their sudden and furious attack put them immediately in extreme disorder. This happy beginning made them forget their first design, and inspired them with a resolution to pursue their advantage: they continued therefore to press the Danes with a fresh impetuosity, without giving them time to recover themselves; and having entirely dispersed them, made a dreadful slaughter of them ^l. Hubba was slain ^m, and his famous standard, called Reafan, or the Raven, fell into the hands of the English. The Danes had a notion there was a secret virtue in this standard, which Ivar's sisters had wrought with their own hands ⁿ: by the help of a strong fancy, or the delusion of the devil, they imagined they saw this Raven, before a battle, clap his wings in token of victory, or hang down his head as a presage of their defeat. This at least is what historians tell us, adding, that the loss of their standard did not a little contribute to dishearten them afterwards.

Hubba slain,
and his famous stand-
ard taken.
After. Vit.
Alfr.

^k Which stood on the river Tau, below Ralegh. There are at present no footsteps of it. Camd. p. 35. See After. Vit. Alfr. p. 10.

^l The place was afterwards called Hubbestow or Hubbelow, from the mount raised on the place where Hubba was buried: for it was the common way of burial among the Danes to raise

mounts upon the bodies of their famous men, which were called Lowes. See Spelman's Life of Alfr. p. 61.

^m S. Dunelm says, that Inguar and Halfden were also slain in this battle, p. 146.

ⁿ They pretend it was worked magically in almost an instant; in one forenoon. After. Vit. Alfr. p. 10.

The

Alfred con-
sults how to
regain his
kingdom.

The news of this defeat, and the death of the Danish general, having reached Alfred in his retreat^o, he immediately considered how to improve this advantage. He sent word to his friends where he was, to the end they might come and consult what was to be done in this juncture. After he had conferred with them, he gave them orders to draw together, in several parts of the kingdom, small bodies of troops, which at a minute's warning might be ready to join one another. The most difficult as well as most important point was, to know exactly the posture of the enemy, that measures might be concerted accordingly. Alfred not knowing who to chuse for this necessary service, took the boldest resolution that ever entered into the thoughts of a prince, which was, to go himself into the Danish camp, and be informed by his own eyes of the condition of the enemy. To this end, having disguised himself like a harper, he entered the Danish camp, and continued there several days, observing every thing he wanted to know: among other things he took notice, that whereas generally the Danes were wont to encamp and entrench themselves on a hill, they had neglected to do so now. They had not so much as placed any advanced guards to secure the avenues to their camp, as having nothing to fear, since the enemy had no army in the field. Having observed every thing, he returned to his friends at Athelney, and appointed Selwood-forest^p for the general rendezvous of all their troops. This affair was transacted so secretly and expeditiously, that in a little time the king, at the head of an army^q, appeared near the Danes, before they had the least intelligence of it. They were in the utmost consternation when they saw on a sudden the English army approaching to attack them. Alfred was unwilling to give them time to come to themselves, and therefore briefly exhorting his troops not to have the least dread of an army already vanquished by their fears, gave the signal of battle. The Danes, though assaulted thus unexpectedly, defended themselves however with a great deal of courage. But whether they had not time to draw up their troops in order, or the loss of their standard had possessed

Goes to the
Danish camp
in disguise.
Ingulph.
G. Malmsh.

Gains com-
plete victory
After.
Sax. Ann.
Huntingd.

^o Brompton affirms, that Alfred was in the battle, p. 809.

^p This is, the Great Wood, in Somersetshire. This was done seven weeks after Easter, and the rendezvous was Petra Ecbrecht, supposed to be Brixstan in Somersetshire, staying these one night, he marched away the next morning to Æglea, or Okely, where

he encamped one night: the next day he came to Ethandun, or Edington, in Somersetshire, where the battle was fought, *After. Vit. Alf. p. 10. Sax. Annal.*

^q Consisting of the inhabitants of Somersetshire, Wiltshire, and Hampshire, that had not fled beyond sea. *After. Vit. Alf. p. 10.*

them

them with a notion that their gods were averse to them, they were at length entirely routed, and almost their whole army cut in pieces: the few that escaped, betook themselves to a castle, where they were immediately besieged. Alfred taking advantage of their consternation, pressed them so briskly, that they were soon brought to capitulate. The terms, he granted them, were more advantageous than they had room to expect in their circumstances^r. He articted to give up the lands of East-Anglia to those that were willing to turn Christians, but required the rest immediately to quit the island, never more to set foot in England, and to give hostages for the performance of articles. Guthurm, governor of East-Anglia, who, since the death of Hubba, commanded the Danish army, agreed to these conditions, and came to Alfred, with thirty of his chief officers, having shipped off all those that refused to be baptized^s.

Grants the Danes advantageous terms.

This great victory set Alfred at the height of his wishes. He had, by a single battle, driven out the Danes, and recovered his kingdom, and saw every day his subjects flock to him, whom fear had dispersed or constrained to submit to the enemy. He gave Guthurm and his officers a very civil reception, and kept his word faithfully with them. All the historians agree, that he invested the Danish general with the title of king of East-Anglia. But it is not known whether he did this by virtue of some private treaty made before with him, or designed by it to gain his affection to that degree that he might entirely confide in him. However this be, it is certain Guthurm held, with the title of king, the kingdom of East-Anglia, which was wholly inhabited by Danes, and whereof Ivar had made him governor. He divided the lands among his countrymen, and exercised the regal authority as long as he lived. Some, particularly Asserius, add, that Alfred gave Guthurm the kingdom of Northumberland also. But this is very improbable, since the Danes had long been masters of Northumberland, and had shared the lands among themselves^t.

He confirms to the Danes the possession of East-Anglia, and gives them Guthurm for king.

Malmsh.

^r See the treaty between Alfred and Guthurm, among Alfred's laws, in Dr. Wilkins's and Lambard's Leg. Sax. and in Brompt. p. 328, 329.

^s Alfred stood godfather to Guthurm, and named him Ethelfstan. He was baptized about three weeks after the conclusion of the treaty at Alre, near Athelney, with thirty of his officers. Asser, p. 10. Sax. Ann.—And with almost all his people. Malmsh. p. 43. Hoved. p. 418.

^t In the year 883, Alfred having slain the two Danish generals, Hinguar and Hælfdene, caused the wasted parts of Northumberland to be again inhabited; and Guthred, a youth, son of Ardegnute, who had been sold to a widow at Whittingham, being redeemed by abbot Edred, was made king of York, and Eghert of Northumberland. Chr. de Mailros, p. 145. S. Dunelm. p. 147.

The case was not the same with respect to East-Anglia, where the Danes had no fixed abode, and which was still considered as part of the English monarchy, though the Danes were most powerful there. So that Alfred did nothing more than confirm them in the possession of that kingdom, by granting them a king of their own nation, who was to be his vassal^u.

All the
Danes own
Alfred for
their sov-
reign.

In all that has hitherto been said, it may be observed that at the time of the last battle, there were in England two sorts of Danes, those that were already settled, and those that were endeavouring to procure themselves habitations. With these last it was properly that Alfred treated. As for the others, having seen their brethren so roughly handled, they thought themselves happy in the enjoyment of their possessions. As the event was uncertain, they chose rather to sit down contented, and acknowledge Alfred for their sovereign, than run the risk of losing their all, by continuing the war. Accordingly the Danes, settled in the three kingdoms of the Angles, submitted to Alfred and swore allegiance to him. It was, however, almost impossible that all should be equally satisfied with their lot. Several accepted of the terms of the last treaty only because they knew not where to go, having elsewhere neither house nor home. If they seemed desirous to turn Christians, it was to procure a subsistence, in expectation of a favourable opportunity to return to their old course of life. That this was the case, evidently appeared from what followed.

879.

When it was least expected, the most considerable among them, headed by one Hastings, earnestly solicited Guthurm to renew the war in Wessex^w; but not prevailing^x, they put to sea, and went and ravaged the coasts of Flanders. Shortly after, another and no less numerous troop informed of the great booty the first ravagers had met with at Ghent, shipped off to join them. These two bands thus united over-ran Brabant, Haynault, Flanders, Picardy, and Artois, acting unheard-of cruelties. After which, being again divided into two bodies, one of them sailed back for England, in hopes of plundering the country, where they imagined they should come unexpected. Having landed in Kent, they marched towards Rochester, with design to surprize the city. But Alfred, who, contrary to their expectation, had his army in

Affer.
S. Dunelm.

885.
The Danes
return to
England,
and are re-
pulsed.

^u Anno 879, the Danes removed, in pursuance of the treaty, from Chippenham to Cirencester, where they staid one year; and from thence went away to East-Anglia, where they settled. Sax. Ann. Affr. vit. Alfr. p. 11.

^w They came up the Thames and wintered at Fulham. Affr. Sax. Ann.

^x The Danish army here, was not so scrupulous; for they joined them, notwithstanding their oaths and engagements to Alfred. Affr, p. 11.

a readiness, speedily marching that way upon the first notice of their arrival, his approach made them fly to their ships in such haste, that they left their plunder behind them. The vigilance of this prince having prevented their designs upon England, they returned to France, and rejoining their companions, continued their devastations in that kingdom.

Hitherto the English had been only upon the defensive. 882. Exposed to the continual invasions of the Danes, and uncertain where the enemy would land, they were generally surprized, before it was in their power to defend themselves. The sea-coast remaining uninhabited, there was nothing to hinder these rovers from landing where they pleased. Alfred being in peace, which he had never enjoyed till now, resolved to put his affairs in better order. His first care was to equip a considerable fleet, the advantage of which he had already experienced. As soon as his fleet was in condition to sail, the admiral had orders to cruise along the coasts, and attack all the Danish ships in what place soever he should meet them. He surprized sixteen in the port of Harwich in East-Anglia, of which taking some and sinking the rest, he brought off a considerable booty*. Guthurm incensed at this act of hostility in one of his harbours, suffered the parties concerned to endeavour to retrieve their losses, and even furnished them with means. It was not long before they found an opportunity of attacking in the night the king's ships*, and had some advantage over them. However, the fleet kept the rovers in awe, and freed England from their ravages.

Alfred having thus secured the sea-coasts, diligently set about fortifying the rest of the kingdom with castles and walled towns, which he stood in great need of. He repaired those that were gone to ruin^b, and built others in so strong a manner, that they could not easily be assaulted. In a word, there was not a pass or avenue capable of being fortified, but what was defended by some works, to prevent the sudden incursions of the Danes. But however, he could not be entirely guarded against them, without one important place, the pos-

y In Essex, famous for its harbour, its name importing an Haven where an army may lie. The walls are built and the streets pitched with a sort of petrified clay falling from the cliffs thereabouts. From the side of the cliff between the beacon and the town, issues a spring that petrifies wood as well as clay: a large piece sent from hence is reserved in the repository of the royal society. Camd. Addit. to Essex.

z Asser says, that all their ships and booty were taken, and Alfred ordered all the men to be put to death. Vit. Alfr. p. 11. Flor. Worc. p. 592.

a They attacked them in the mouth of the Thames, when the soldiers were asleep and defenceless. S. Dunelm. p. 130. Huntingd. p. 150.

b Particularly Shaftsbury. Spelman, p. 164.

Alfred increases his naval forces. Sax. Ann.

Alfred fits out a fleet.

Sax. Ann.

He fortifies several towns. 887.

Asser.

Besieges and
takes Lon-
don, and
gives it to
his son in-
law Ethel-
red.
After.
Flor. Wor.

session whereof would be of great consequence to him in all respects. This was the city of London, considerable both for largeness and situation, and which being in the hands of the Danes would give them a free passage into Wessex, whenever they had a mind to invade his dominions. This consideration made him resolve to invest it, knowing the garrison to be weak and unable to stand a long siege. Accordingly, the besieged were in a little time forced to capitulate. He was no sooner master of this great city, but he very much added both to its strength and beauty^c. He committed the government of it to Ethelred, who had married his daughter Elfreda, or rather gave it him in fee, with the title of earl of Mercia^d. Some will have it he conferred on him the title of king; but I doubt they have no ground for what they advance. By creating Ethelred earl of Mercia, he did not invest him with power over any part of Mercia, but only over London. All the rest of Mercia was in possession of the Danes, over whom he asserted no other right but that of sovereignty, to which they had lately consented. Ethelred therefore was honoured with an empty title, till such time as by his valour he became master of great part of that province.

The Danes
stood in awe
of Alfred.
After, Ann.

The great number of towns repaired and fortified by Alfred, found him employment some years. These fortifications served equally to defend the kingdom against the foreign Danes, and to keep those in awe that were settled in the island; who seeing all the precautions taken by this wise prince, were much more disposed to remain in submission. They even permitted several of the English, whom they had driven from their habitations, to return and live among them under the king's protection.

England is
in quiet
twelve years

Then it was that Alfred had the satisfaction to see peace and tranquility restored, after so many years of troubles. This

^c We have no certain account of the original of this famous city. But as it is not evident there was any such place in Cæsar's time, and yet a great town in Nero's, it is probable it was founded in the reign of Claudius, and inhabited by the Britons and Romans together, being a trading, though not a military colony from the very beginning. The walls are said to be built by Constantine the Great, at the request of Helena his mother, containing within them an oblong space of three miles in compass. That part which ran along the side of the Thames is quite washed away, the

rest remains to this day. There are seven gates, Ludgate, Newgate, Aldersgate, Bishopsgate, Cripplegate, Moregate, and Aldgate. The origin of its name is unknown. Cæsar's saying, the Britons called the places fenced round with woods and groves, cities or towns, made Camden conjecture London was so named from Llhwn, which signifies in British Such a Town, as if we should say by way of eminence, The City. Camd. Addit. to Midd. See Stow's Survey, b. i.

^d See Dugdale's Baronage, vol. i. p. 7.

happy

happy calm lasted twelve years^e, during which this monarch had leisure to rectify the disorders, introduced by so long a war, both in church and state. As I design hereafter to give a particular account of the regulations made by this prince during the peace, I shall pass over these twelve years, and finish the relation of his wars. It suffices at present to say, that in this interval he laid out his constant endeavours in procuring the good and benefit of his subjects, till he was interrupted by fresh invasions, of which I am now going to speak.

The Danes, who under the conduct of Hastings, ravaged 893. for twelve or thirteen years together France and the Low-Countries, were not satisfied with the prodigious booty they had gained. According to the custom of pyrates, as they prodigally squandered away what they had acquired without pains or labour, they were always under a necessity of renewing their ravages, in order to have wherewithal to subsist. However, disheartened by two terrible checks given them by Eudes and Arnulph, kings of France and Germany, they resolved to return into England, not so much for the sake of settling there, as plundering the island. To that purpose, they fitted out three hundred ships, which they divided into two fleets. With the first, consisting of two hundred sail, they arrived on the coast of Kent, and took Appledore^c. This place, which was then very considerable, made them masters not only of that province, but also of Suffex and Surry. The other fleet commanded by Hastings, entered the Thames, and landed at Middleton^d. It would be difficult to describe the miseries inflicted on the inhabitants of these unfortunate provinces by the barbarians. But when we consider they were idolatrous rovers and pyrates, we shall easily conceive they made no scruple of committing the most enormous crimes. Alfred was then in East-Anglia, on account of Guthurm's death^e. As he had received no intelligence of their designs, he had made no preparations for his defence. All he could do for the present was to take a new oath of fidelity from the

The Danes
renew their
invasions;
Sax. Annal.
Flor. Wig.
Huntingd.

and take
Appledore
and Mid-
dleton.

^e Spelman says, it lasted ten or twelve years, p. 77. But he, Milton, and others, say, the Danes infested England in 885, and in 893 they came again. So there could be but eight years peace.

^f Where they built a strong castle. Affer Ann. p. 172.

^g Now Milton in Kent. The Danes built a castle here, part whereof is still remaining at Kemley-Downs. They now call it Castle-Ruff. On the other

side of the water, the ditches of Alfred's fortifications with some stone work, remain also by the name of Bavord-Castle, near Sittinghurn. Camd. Add. to Kent.

^h And upon some complaints of his subjects against the inland Danes. Spelman, p. 79. Guthurm died in 892, and was buried at Headlaga (Hadley) in Suffex. Affer.

The Danes of East-Anglia join them. East-Anglian Danes, which they regarded only whilst he staid with them. After his departure, being no longer restrained by his presence, they went and joined Hastings, in order to share in the plunder. Alfred, amidst all these dangers, was not however discouraged. He drew together what troops he could, and marched against the Danes, who were pillaging Kent. But being informed by the way, that another body of Danes had entered Wessex, he altered his course, and advanced towards these last, as judging them most dangerous. The Danes, who were now before Exeter, hastily raised the siege, and went and vented their fury in some other place.

Confusion in the history of these wars. It is impossible to give the particulars of this war, so confusedly are they related by the historians. The reason no doubt was, because there were several bands of Danes ravaging England, one in Kent, and another in Wessex, and roving continually from place to place. This is what the English historians could not have a very distinct knowledge of, since a war, undertaken solely for plunder, must needs be very irregular. Accordingly we find in their histories, the same leaders, sometimes in one province, sometimes in another, without being able to perceive when or how they got thither.

The Danes go off on a sudden. We are ignorant also by what fortunate accident Alfred saw himself freed on a sudden from his cruel enemies, who were spread all over his kingdom. Thus much however is certain, after they had reduced England to a deplorable state, the last comers retired, though historians have not been pleased to tell us the cause of their retreat. I am apt to believe their sudden departure was owing to the plague, which raged then in England, and swept away great numbers of Danes as well as English. To this may be added, their having plundered the country in such a manner, that there was nothing left to pillage. The greatest part of the Danish rovers returned to France under the command of Hastings; but they did not stay there long. Presently after, Hastings formed new projects. The terror he had every where spread along the sea-coasts having put all upon their guard, he resolved to steer his course where he was not expected, and sailed for the Mediterranean. Whilst there, he found means, by an impious and perfidious stratagem, to become master of Luna, situated on the coast of Tuscany. He pretended to be mighty desirous of turning Christian; and was actually baptised by the bishop, whom he had sent for. Some days after, the bishop was told, his new convert was departed this life, and died like a good Christian, earnestly desiring to be buried in the church of Luna, to which he had bequeathed a considerable legacy. By

this

this device, a great number of Danes, on pretence of attending the corps, entered the city, and immediately fell to murdering and plundering the inhabitants.

Hastings, after so much mischief done to England, France, ^{Hastings re-} and the Low Countries, chose at length for his retreat the ^{tires to} city of Charters, which Charles the Simple presented him ^{Chartres,} with, on purpose to keep him quiet. Here it was he ended his ^{and ends his} peace, a life, almost wholly spent in plundering the maritime ^{days there-} countries of Europe. The Danes, that refused to follow him ^{abouts,} when he left England, put themselves under the command of one Sigefert settled in Northumberland. For some time, these likewise committed ravages on the coast of Wesssex¹, without venturing however to advance into the country, by reason of their small number, and at last they retired to seek their fortune elsewhere.

Alfred, being at length freed from his enemies, passed the rest of his days in profound tranquility. Hitherto I have con- ^{The king-} sidered this prince as a warrior only, sometimes victorious, ^{dom is freed} and sometimes vanquished; but, whether prosperous or un- ^{from the} fortunate, showing on all occasions signal marks of valour and ^{Danes,} military conduct^k. It is now time to display his other virtues, and set him in another light. Henceforward he is to appear as a just, learned, and religious prince, a lover of his subjects, and an indefatigable promoter of arts, sciences, justice and religion. But, not to confound his political with his moral virtues, I shall begin with what he did for the good of his people, as sovereign, and then speak of his private life, and manner of regulating his domestick affairs.

As soon as the Danes settled in England, found they were ^{The Danes} deprived of the assistance of their countrymen, they bethought ^{acknow-} themselves how to secure their present possessions. The con- ^{ledge Alfred} tinuation of the war was so far from being likely to encrease ^{for their so-} their advantages, that they had reason to fear they should by ^{vereign.} that means lose what they already possessed. But supposing they were able to maintain their ground by force of arms, yet a war, which obliged them to have always their swords drawn, and prevented them from manuring their lands, could not but be very prejudicial to them. These considerations induced them at length to submit to the dominion of Alfred, and acknowledge him for sovereign of all England. Historians do

i But Alfred having caused ships, twice longer, taller, swifter, and more steady than those the English or Danes used to have, and of forty oars, and above, he puts to sea with nine of them, took twenty or more of the enemies

ships, and ordered the men to be hung up along the sea-coasts, for a terror to the rest. Sax. Ann. Spelman, p. 90.

k He is said to have fought fifty-six pitched battles with the Danes.

not inform us whether he was obliged to use force to bring them to this: but it is certain, his authority was acknowledged, as well in Northumberland, Mercia, and East-Anglia, as in Wessex¹. The Welsh themselves, who had been terribly plundered by the Danes, finding they were in no condition to resist, became his tributaries^m. It is further added, the king of Scotland paid him homage also. But this is too disputable a point to be affirmed for truthⁿ.

Alfred
makes a
body of
laws.

The first thing Alfred had in his thoughts, the moment he saw himself thus peaceful and absolute, was to use his power for the good and benefit of his subjects. As the laws during the wars, had been very much trampled upon, and were become almost unknown to the people, he laid out his pains for some time, in making a collection of the best laws he could find. He inserted some of the judicial laws^o of the Old Testament, and several of those formerly enacted by Ina, king of Wessex, and Offa king of Mercia^p in their respective kingdoms. To these he added many of his own, adapted to the circumstances of his people. Throughout these laws may easily be observed, an ardent zeal for justice, and a sincere desire of rooting out oppression and violence^q. They were

1 And Essex, which was part of the kingdom of East-Anglia, was taken into Alfred's hands; who created Berthelof, a Saxon, duke or earl of it. Spelman, p. 91. Dugdale's Baron, vol. i. p. 16.

m This is to be understood of the inhabitants of South Wales, who, though they had been reduced before, observing Alfred engaged in other wars, had thrown off their obedience. As for North-Wales, the Ordovices, people of a fierce and troublesome spirit, are scarce to be reckoned entirely subdued before Edward the First's time, two hundred years after the Norman conquest. Spelman.

n It is said that Gregour king of the Scots obeyed him, and served him in all his wars, and that Donald his successor aided him with five thousand horse, and died in his service. Spelman, Hollingsh. p. 121. See Buchan.

o With the decalogue at their head. See them in Wilkins Leg. Saxon, and Lambard. The laws of Alfred's were used at Westminster, as low as the reign of Edward IV. Spelman, p. 99. Note.

p And likewise Ethelbert king of Kent, who was the first that reduced the Saxon laws into writing.

q If king Alfred, as is supposed, drew up a complete body of law, it is now lost: for those lately published by Dr. Wilkins, (who has given us all the laws extant from Ethelbert, the first christian lawgiver in England, down to the Magna Charta of Henry III.) fall short of an entire system of law. Alfred's laws are ranked under two heads, 1. The laws of Alfred, forty in number. 2. The league between Alfred and Guthurm, which seems to be no more than articles of pacification, and conditions on which Guthurm was to hold East-Anglia. The 37th law secures the entail of estates, and enacts, "That those who have book-land (or estates in land) left them by their parents, should not alienate it from their heirs, provided there could be proof made that he that first granted the estate, settled it upon condition of non-alienation." Another law forbids, "the buying a man, a horse, or an ox, without a voucher to warrant the sale,"

were indeed mild, if compared to those of later¹ ages, seeing they punished most offences by mulcts and fines². But the strictness wherewith Alfred caused them to be observed, counterbalanced their lenity. If with respect to private persons the rigour of the law was somewhat abated, it was not so with regard to corrupt magistrates; to such Alfred was ever inexorable. He was very sensible it would be in vain to oblige his subjects to an exact observance of the laws, if care were not taken that the magistrates should give them a good example. History takes notice of his executing four and forty judges within the space of a year, for not doing justice³.

These precautions seemed to be sufficient to hinder the poor and low, from being oppressed by the rich and great. But as Alfred was sensible the spirit of oppression naturally grew upon men in authority, he studied to prevent that inconvenience. To that end, he ordered, that in all criminal actions, twelve men, chosen for that purpose, should determine concerning the fact, and the judge give sentence according to their verdict. This privilege, enjoyed by the English to this day, is doubtless the noblest and most valuable, that subjects can have. An Englishman accused of any crime, is to be tried only by his peers, that is, by persons of his own rank. By this means, he is out of all danger of being oppressed, how powerful soever his accusers may be. These twelve men, chosen out of many others, with the approbation of the person accused, are called by the collective name of Jury. These are properly the persons, by whom the life or death of the party accused is determined. Happy the people that enjoy so glorious a privilege!

¹ "Sale." The occasion of this law was this: When the Danes first settled in England, it was a common practice between the two nations, not only to steal horses and oxen, but also men and women, and sell them to one another. By which means owners not only lost their cattle, but men were wrongfully made slaves. To remedy which this law was enacted. Afterwards fairs and markets obtained the same privilege, vouchers had. But as to horses, the frauds were so common, that the statute of 31 Eliz. 12. revived the express law of Alfred.

² The 40th law sets a certain value upon every limb and member, as well as upon every person, from a king to a bond-slave.

³ He used to re-examine the causes

tried in his absence, and in case he found any injustice done out of favour or interest, he punished the judges severely. If they pleaded ignorance, he sharply reprimanded them, and asked how they durst presume to take a commission to determine about life and property, when they knew themselves so wretchedly unqualified! and ordered them either to know better or quit their post. Thus the earls and great men, rather than be turned out of their office with disgrace, applied themselves to study. See *Mirror of Justice*, c. 20. and *Malm. lib. ii. p. 25*. Brompton says, justice was so strictly administered in Alfred's reign, that though there were gold bracelets hung up at the parting of several highways, no man durst touch them, p. 218.

The

Division of
the king-
dom into
shires, hun-
dreds, and
tythings.

Ingulph.
Malm. lib.
ii.

The wars had caused such disorders and licentiousness in the kingdom, that vagabonds and vagrants every where abounded, who committed all manner of crimes with impunity, their poor and mean condition screening them from justice. As they had no settled abode, upon committing any offence, they shifted their quarters, and went where it was difficult to discover them. Alfred beholding with indignation honest men thus exposed to the insults of villains, was extremely desirous to put a stop to so great mischief. Having consulted those whom he judged capable of giving him good advice, he took the following method to prevent any person from living in his dominions, without being obliged to give an account of his actions. He divided all England into shires^t, or counties, the counties into hundreds, and the hundreds into tythings. This being done, all the inhabitants of the kingdom were obliged to belong to some tything; whoever did not, were looked upon as vagabonds, and as such denied the protection of the law. Every householder was to answer for his wife, his children under fifteen years of age, and his domesticks. If any one by his way of living fell under suspicion, he was obliged to give security for his good behaviour. In case he could find none, the tything threw him into prison, to prevent their being liable to the penalty, he should incur by any offence^u. Thus the householders being responsible for their families, the tything for the householders, the hundreds for the tythings, and the counties for the hundreds, every one was watchful over his neighbours actions. If a stranger guilty of any crime made his escape, information was taken of the house where he lodged, and if he had been there three days, the master of the family was condemned to pay his fine. But in case he had not staid so long as three days, the householder was acquitted upon making oath he was not privy to his crime. I might add here many particulars not so entertaining to foreigners, as to the English, who behold with pleasure in these regulations, the origin of those laws they so happily live under at this present time. But it suffices to say, these wise institutions produced such good order and tranquility as the like had never before been known in England^w.

^t From the Saxon word Scyre, i. e. to branch or divide. Spelman says, that Alfred was not the first that divided the kingdom into shires, but only fixed their number and limits. R. 11. n.

^u There is much the same regula-

tion in China, See Hist. of Menasac-Rapin.

^w Spelman ascribes also to Alfred the institution of sheriffs, under-sheriffs, and original writs, &c. p. 113, 114.

In short, to prevent the kingdom from being infested any more by foreign enemies, Alfred disposed the militia in such manner as enabled him to make head against an invasion, in case the Danes should renew their incursions. He kept in each county, a body of troops always ready to march under the conduct of the earl or governor. Upon the first notice of an invasion, the earls had orders to join forces at certain places, under the command of a generalissimo appointed by the king. By this means, together with a numerous fleet which was always either ready to put to sea, or cruising round the island, he kept the foreign Danes so in awe, that during the rest of his reign, they durst not attempt to make a descent. And for the same reason, those that were settled in the island, found themselves constrained to be quiet.

When by these wise regulations Alfred had provided for the safety of the state, he endeavoured to make the people relish the fruits of peace, by introducing trade and commerce. He ordered a good number of merchant-ships to be built, which he let out to the principal merchants, for the encouragement of traffic. So that by degrees the English were in a condition to repair by this means the losses occasioned by so long a war. It is affirmed that some of these merchants traded as far as the East-Indies, from whence they imported several things, before unknown to the English *.

After this great prince had thus regulated matters, he turned his thoughts to the arts and sciences, which the wars had almost entirely frightened from the land. To this end he invited over from foreign countries learned men, to whom he gave pensions, and dispersed them in the several dioceses, to instruct the people. But not satisfied with this, and desirous of having in his own kingdom a nursery of learning, he founded four schools or colleges at Oxford. In the first, the abbot Neots and Grimbald read divinity. In the second, Alserius,

Alfred regulates the Militia.

He causes trading ships to be built.

Trades to the East-Indies.

Sax. Ann. Alfred invites several learned men into England.

Alser.

886.

* It is not likely they traded to the Indies by sea, at a time the mariner's compass was not found out. Rapin. You have a large account of this matter in Spelman's life of Alfred, l.b. ii. cap. 28. Malmſbury says, he sent a preſent to the Indies in honour of St. Thomas. Sigelin biſhop of Sherborn was employed to deliver it, who performed the voyage ſucceſsfully, and brought back precious ſtones, perfumes, and other commodities, which were then great curioſities in England. It is thought Alfred cauſed with theſe

diamonds a more auguſt and imperial ſort of crown than had been uſed before to be compoſed. For in the arch-eſed roof in the cloiſters of Weſtminſter-Abby, where the antient regalia of the kingdom are kept, upon a box, the cabinet of the moſt ancient crown, there are the words, "Hæc eſt principaliſ Corona cum qua coronantur Reges Alſredus, Edwardus, &c." This crown is of a very ancient work, with flowers adorned with ſtones of ſomewhat a plain ſetting. Spelman.

a Be-

He founds
the Univer-
sity of Ox-
ford.

a Benedictine monk, taught grammar and rhetoric. In the third, John, a monk of St. David's, set up a chair for logic, arithmetic, and music. In the fourth, Johannes Scotus professed geometry and astronomy. This last was surnamed Eri-gena, that is, the Irishman, from the word Erin or Irin, the true name of Ireland. He was also called Scotus no doubt upon the same account, the inhabitants of Ireland being then termed Scots. It is related of this Johannes Scotus, so famous in the republic of Letters, that he was stabbed to death by his pupils with pen-knives. But some say, he taught in Malmesbury-Abby, and not at Oxford. We find moreover among the learned men encouraged by Alfred, Plegmund, a Mercian, who became archbishop of Canterbury, and some others, whose names, as they will not serve to make them more known, it is needless to repeat. It is also unnecessary to stay to examine whether the colleges founded by Alfred, were the first foundations of the university of Oxford, or whether before that, there were at a place called Greyclade, the like schools, which were removed from thence to this city. Besides, that the dispute would lead me too far, it would be of little use to examine it thoroughly, considering how few are concerned in it. It is enough to observe, that from these small beginnings, the University of Oxford, famous throughout all Europe, has grown up to its present height.

Brompt.

Original of
the several
Councils.

Though Alfred was very capable himself of knowing the best means of promoting his designs for the good of his people, yet he consulted others, eminent for their abilities, and paid a great deference to their opinions. He had ordered matters so, that all resolutions relating to the public were to pass through three several councils. The first was a cabinet council, to which none but those the king had a particular esteem for, were admitted. Here all affairs were first debated that were to be laid before the second council, which consisted of bishops, earls, viscounts, judges, and some of the principal thanes, called afterwards barons. This resembled the present privy-council. None belonged to it but those the king was pleased to appoint. The third was a general council or assembly of the nation, called in Saxon, wittenagemot, to which quality and offices gave a right to sit, in-

y Camden says, Alfred founded but three halls or schools; the first at the end of High-street for grammarians, was called Little-University-Hall; the second in School-street for philosophy, was styled Less University-Hall; and the third in High-street, more to the west than the first, for divinity, was named Great University-Hall, now University-College.

dependent

dependent of the king. This assembly, styled at present the parliament, a name taken from the French, was composed of the two archbishops of Canterbury and York, the bishops, earls, viscounts or high-sheriffs of the counties, and the thanes of the first rank or barons. It is now disputed with great warmth, whether the people had a right to send representatives to this assembly. But this point shall be discussed in another place. However this be, we behold in these three councils the original of the cabinet and privy councils, as well as the antiquity of Parliaments. These councils, and particularly the wittena-gemot, which was convened generally once a year, being for the most part held at London, it is easy to conceive that the city received by it a greater air of splendor than before. The Danes, who had been masters of it for some time, had demolished it in such manner that it was hardly to be known. It was a pleasure to Alfred to beautify and augment its privileges. The figure it afterwards made, and still continues to make, is in some measure owing to the care of this prince^a.

Matters of greater moment being settled as well as could be expected, Alfred, ever mindful of what might be advantageous to his people, believed he ought not to forget one thing in itself useful and to the kingdom very ornamental; and that was to induce the English to build their houses for the future in a stronger and more regular manner than they had been used to. At that time, there were scarce any but timber-houses. It was a rarity to see a house built with other materials. Alfred having raised his palaces with stone or brick, the nobility by degrees began to follow his example. But this custom did not become general till several ages after. The monasteries, we may believe, that were destroyed by the Danes, and afterwards rebuilt, had their share of this improvement, as places that were held in still greater veneration in the following than in the present century. The religious houses however, did not begin to be inhabited again till the following reigns. At the time I am speaking of they were almost forsaken, for the lands designed for the maintenance of the monks being wasted by the Danish wars, there was scarce a man to be found willing to embrace a monastic life; which is a clear evidence, that it was not so much devotion, as the hopes of being maintained without labour, that filled the religious houses. During the reign of Alfred, the

Alfred introduces the way of building with brick and stones. After. vit. Alfr.

^a He repaired also, or rebuilt Winchester and Norwich. Spelman, p. 162, 164.

backwardness to a monkish life was so great, that the king was forced to stock the monasteries with foreigners, there being scarce such a thing as a monk in the kingdom. But after his death, when the lands were restored to the monasteries, the zeal for that way of life began to rekindle. Whereas in Alfred's days, there were more monasteries than monks, in a few years after, the monks were grown so numerous and increased daily in such a manner, that there were not religious houses enough to contain them.

His private life.

Hitherto we have considered Alfred so taken up with the care of the public, that he seems to have had no time or leisure for his own private concerns. But we must have a very different idea of this prince. He was one of those happy geniuses that seem born for whatever they do, and are continually employed, without appearing to be so. He knew too well the value of time, to lose any part of it. So far was he from being like most princes, who imagine their high station gives them a privilege of spending all their time in diversions and trifles, that he endeavoured to improve every moment. Whilst he lay concealed in the isle of Athelney, he made a vow to dedicate to the service of God, the third part of his time, as soon as he should be restored to a state of tranquillity. He was punctual to his vow, and allotted eight hours every day to acts of devotion, eight hours to public affairs, and as many to sleep, study, and necessary refreshment. As the use of clocks and hour-glasses was not as yet introduced into England, he measured the time by means of wax-candles, marked with circular lines of divers colours, which served as so many hour-lines^a. And to prevent the wind from making them burn unsteadily, it is said he invented the expedient of inclosing them in lanthorns^b. But it is a question whether this invention be of so modern a date.

The distribution of his time.

After.

Origin of Lanthorns in England.

• His Charities.

His charities were very extraordinary considering his revenues, and so much the more praise-worthy as they were done privately, or at least without ostentation. He educated,

^a He ordered just such a quantity of wax to be made into six candles, each twelve inches long, with the division of the inches marked out distinctly. These being lighted one after another, did orderly burn four hours apiece, that is, every three inches an hour, so that the whole six candles lasted just twenty-four hours, the watching of which was committed to the keepers of his chapel, whose office it was to put him in mind how each hour

passed. Spelman.

^b Glafs was then a great rarity in England, so that the king was forced to order some fine white horn to be scraped so thin as to become transparent, and put into close frames of wood, which defended the candles from the injury of the wind. Thus Lanthorns, though of vulgar use and estimation, were the invention of a king. Spelman, Affer. vit. Alf. p. 20.

at court or at Oxford, a great many young noblemen, who were instructed in all things necessary to render them one day serviceable to their country. But this was not his only ^{and inclination for} method to cause the arts and sciences to flourish. His own ^{study.} example greatly contributed towards it, for never was prince more given to his studies. The progress he made in learning, notwithstanding his being so long employed in his wars, and the administration of the government, demonstrate how well he improved his intervals from public business. The author ^{Affer.} of his life assures us, he was the best Saxon poet of his time, an excellent grammarian, orator, philosopher, architect, geometrician, and historian. He composed several works that ^{Ethelwerd.} were in great esteem. Among others, he translated into Saxon, Gregory's Pastoral, Boetius de Consolatione ^c, and Bede's Ecclesiastical History ^d. What a shame and reproach was it for the English nation to be so ignorant, when they had so learned a king at their head? This excellent prince complained bitterly that from the Humber to the Thames there was not a priest that understood the liturgy in his mother tongue, and that from the Thames to the Sea, there was not one that knew how to translate the easiest piece of Latin. This universal ignorance, and the little relish the English had then for arts and sciences, caused the king to seek all occasions of earnestly inviting into his dominions foreigners that were eminent in their professions. He took particular care to have always about him the most noted workmen and architects, and to keep them employed, with the sole view of improving their skill. He placed in the chairs at Oxford men famous for their learning, and allowed them handsome salaries. His aim was to excite the emulation of the English, and provoke them to use their endeavours to come out of that state of gross ignorance they were in. The fame of his great wisdom and piety reaching as far as Rome, the pope sent him a large quantity of Relicks, and upon his account granted some new privileges to the English college. Abel patriarch of Jerusalem, willing also to show him marks ^{Affer.}

^c Published at Oxford, Ann. 1698, 8vo, by Christopher Rawlinson, gentleman-Commoner of Queen's College. Some say it was translated by Weresfrid, bishop of Worcester; but Dr. Plot tells us Alfred did it at Woodstock. Alfred was so delighted with this book that he always carried it about him in his bosom.

^d Published at Cambridge in 1644,

by Mr. Whelock, who observes, it is rather a paraphrase than a translation. He is likewise said to have translated the Old and New Testament. However, it is on all hands agreed he undertook a version of the Psalms, but died when it was about half finished. For an account of the rest of his works, see Spelman:

of his esteem, sent him a present of reliqs, which the king received with great satisfaction.

His distribution of his Revenues.
After.

It is time now to take a view of the manner of his ordering his domestic concerns, where his prudence was no less conspicuous than in his management of state affairs. He made three divisions of his attendants, who were to wait monthly by turns: a custom, which though not practised then in other courts, was afterwards followed by other princes. As for his revenues, he divided them in two parts, one whereof was wholly assigned for charitable uses, and subdivided into four portions. The first for alms to the poor. The second for the maintenance of the monasteries he had founded. The third for the subsistence of the professors and scholars at Oxford. The fourth for poor monks, as well foreigners as English^e. The other half was thrown into three divisions; one was expended in his family; another in paying his architects and other curious workmen; and the rest was bestowed in pensions upon strangers invited to his court for the encouragement and instruction of his subjects. When I speak of his revenues, I mean his own hereditary estate. It was not customary in those days, for princes to levy taxes upon the people, in order to squander the money in luxury and extravagancies.

What has been said of this illustrious prince, may suffice to make known the principal events in his reign, and to give an idea of his personal qualities. I might add many more particulars, since his life alone affords matter for a large volume. But I believe I may venture to stop here, without injuring the memory of this monarch, who is justly distinguished with the surname of Great. No historian charges him with any vice, but all unanimously agree to represent him as one of the most glorious princes that ever wore the crown^f.

900.
His death.

He died in 900, and in the 52d year of his age, after a reign of twenty-eight years and six months^g, the greatest part whereof was spent in wars and troubles, and the rest in peace^h.

His

^e He sent money to the monasteries throughout his dominions: and also in Wales, Ireland, France, Armorica, &c. After. p. 20.

^f We have the sum of his character given us by a great man, to the following effect. O Alfred, the wonder and astonishment of all ages! if we reflect on the devout part of him, he seems to have lived always in a cloyster. If on his conduct and exploits in the field, one would think he had spent his days in a

camp. If on his writings and studies, one would conclude the university had ingrossed him: And, lastly, if we regard his prudence and skill in the administration of government, he seems to have made law and politics his whole study.

^g After. Sax. Ann. Flor. Wigorn. &c. say he reigned twenty-nine years and a half; and the two last place his death under the year 901.

^h He was born at Wanating, now Wantage in Berkshire, which was formerly

His history shows, that both in war and peace he governed with prudence and steadiness. But what chiefly distinguishes him from the generality of princes, was his sincere and constant love for his people. Of this he gave demonstration, not by words only, as is too commonly the case, but by real and substantial deeds. Accordingly never was prince better beloved by his subjects. No doubt this mutual affection contributed to destroy in the Danes settled in England all hopes of shaking off his yoke, when once they had submitted to it.

Alfred had several children by Alswitha his queen. Some ^{His children.} of them, particularly Edmund his eldest son, whom he designed for his successor, died before him. Of those that survived him, Edward mounted the throne after him. Ethelward, who was bred a scholar at Oxford, was a very learned man, and died in the fortieth year of his age, in 922. Elfreda his eldest daughter, wife to Ethelred earl of Mercia, became very famous in her brother Edward's reign. Alswitha, or Ethelswitha, called also Eltrude by the Flemish writers, married Baldwin earl of Flanders. Ethelgitha, who chose to be a nun, was made abbess of Shaftsbury nunnery, founded by the king her father¹.

7. EDWARD the Elder.

WHEN Edward ascended the throne, England was ^{The state of} almost equally divided between the English and ^{the king's} Danes. The Danes inhabited Northumberland and East-Anglia, from whence they had driven the English during the wars. The English were still in possession of Wessex, containing the ancient kingdom of Essex, and all the country lying south of the Thames. As for Mercia, it was peopled with a mixture of Danes and English, but in such manner, that the English were superior in the south and west parts, and the Danes in the east and north. During the latter part of Alfred's reign, the Danes had remained very quiet, out of fear of provoking that prince to invade their possessions. Be-

merly a royal manor. His body was buried first at Winchester, next removed into the church of the New Monastery; and lastly, his body, monument, church and monastery were all removed (about two hundred years after) without the

north gate of the city, since called the Hide.

i Besides this nunnery, Alfred built two monasteries, one at Athelney, and another at Winchester. *After.*

sides, they were very well pleased to enjoy some repose, in order to fortify their settlements in England. For this reason, the retreat of their countrymen was to them rather an occasion of joy than sorrow. Indeed, they could never have attained their ends, if the war had been continually renewed by the arrival of other Danes, who under the name of friends, would have been as incommodious to them as to the English themselves. The retreat of these dangerous guests, and the profound tranquillity spread over the whole kingdom, by Alfred's just administration, having given them time to cultivate their lands, and augment their riches by commerce, they began to entertain thoughts of shaking of the English yoke. Accordingly, they embraced the first favourable occasion to excite new troubles in England, not doubting in the least, but they would prove the means of putting their design in execution.

Ethelward
pretends to
the crown.

901.

Sax. Ann.
H. Hunting.
lib. v.

I have observed that king Ethelbert, elder brother to Alfred, left two infant sons. Ethelward, the eldest, being grown at the death of Alfred, to man's estate, thought it time to assert his right to the crown. He pretended, that Ethelwulph his grandfather, could not with justice settle the kingdom upon all his sons successively, to the prejudice of the children of the eldest. That granting he had a power to do this, there was no reason the succession, after the death of the four brothers, should continue in the family of the youngest, when the heirs of the second were alive. That besides, at most he could but entail the kingdom of Kent, which he was in possession of, and not the kingdom of Wessex, which belonged not to him when he made his will. These reasons appeared very plausible; yet Ethelward could meet with no encouragement from the English. Doubtless the great veneration they had for Alfred's memory, made them adhere to his son; or it may be, they did not question Ethelwulph's power of settling the succession as he pleased. The ancient historians not having expressed themselves clearly upon this point, it would be difficult to decide the matter by the public laws of the Saxons, which are not sufficiently known. And therefore, to confine myself to the bare relation of facts, I shall only say, that Ethelward, finding his countrymen unwilling to support his title, was forced to apply to the Danes, who probably had put him upon this undertaking.

Ethelward
takes Win-
burn.

Ethelward began his design upon the crown, with seizing Winburn, a fortified town in Dorsetshire^k. He expected to

^k Besides Winburn, Ethelward seized upon Trecasam, i. e. Christ-Church, in Hampshire. Sax. Ann. Camd.

be attacked; but hoped, if that place made never so little resistance, the Danes would keep Edward so much employed in other parts, that it would not be possible for him to retake it. But his hopes were all vain. Edward came upon him with such expedition, that he was like to have surprized him in Winburn, before he had taken necessary measures for his defence. He had hardly time to get out of the town, and fly to the Danes^l, who were now up in arms. Upon this prince's coming among them, they proclaimed him king of England, pretending, as they were in possession of half the kingdom, they had as much right to make a king, as as the West-Saxons.

Sax. Ann. Hunting l. v. Brompt.

Loses it again,

and flies to the Danes who proclaim him king.

Sax. Ann.

The retreat of Ethelward among the Danes, made the king sensible he was going to be involved in a troublesome war, the consequences whereof were to be dreaded. Not that he thought himself unable to withstand the Danes settled in England, but was apprehensive the foreign Danes would take this opportunity to plunge the kingdom again into its former calamities. This consideration made him resolve to do his utmost to end the war, before the Danes had time to send for their countrymen to their assistance. Immediately after the taking of Winburn he marched towards Northumberland^m, at the head of his army, which daily encreased, by troops coming in from all parts. The Danes were astonished at this expedition, and finding themselves in no condition to resist him, were constrained to abandon and banish from their country the prince they had undertaken to protect. They had soon reason to repent of espousing his cause, or of not defending it better. This fruitless attempt of theirs cost them several strong-holds in Mercia, which Edward deemed necessary to secure. He did not think proper to chastise them more severely at this time, lest the war, which seemed to be over, should break out afresh, if he reduced them to a necessity of sending for succours from Denmark. He was satisfied with repairing some fortresses in Mercia, in order to confine them within narrower boundsⁿ. Ethelred earl of Mercia, and the princess Elfreda his wife, were very serviceable to the king in this war, by making head against the Mercian Danes, and preventing the Welch from coming to their aid. It is related of Elfreda, that having had a very hard labour with her first child,

902.

The Danes abandon him. Brompt.

Edward secures several towns in Mercia.

M. Westm.

903.

The commendation of Elfreda the king's sister.

Malmsh. Hunting. Brompt.

^l That is, the Danes in Northumbria. Sax. Ann. Huntingd.

^m The Sax. Ann. and Flor. Wor. say only, that the king ordered his men to pursue Ethelward, but they could not overtake him.

ⁿ This year, 902, a battle was fought between the Kentishmen and the Danes at Holme, or Holmewood in Suffex. Sax. Ann. Flor. Wor. places it under the year 904, and Huntingd. in the 12th year of king Edward. p. 353.

she made a resolution never to come into the like case again, and she was as good as her word. From thenceforward she wholly devoted herself to arms, and like a true Amazon gave proofs of her courage in all the king her brother's wars with the Danes. She was generally stiled [not only lady and queen, but] king, in admiration of her manlike and royal abilities.

904.
Ethelward
returns into
England
with Nor-
man troops.
Sax. Ann.
Huntingd.
lib. v.
The Danes
rise in his
favour.
Sax. Ann.

Mean while Ethelward, though absent, was not idle. Upon leaving England, he applied to France, and obtained a powerful aid of Normans. With these forces he landed in Essex, and easily became master of that kingdom. Edward, not expecting his enemy could have been so soon ready to make a fresh attempt, had taken care only to guard Mercia against the Northumbrian Danes, imagining Essex to be in no danger. The arrival of the Normans, roused the Danes of Northumberland and East-Anglia, and caused them, to resolve to make a diversion in favour of Ethelward. Accordingly they take up arms again, and throwing themselves into Mercia, ravage the country inhabited by the English in a merciless manner. Edward, not without extreme regret, saw himself forced to bear their insults, 'till he could draw his troops together, which he had dismissed, as believing he should not want them so soon. The moment he was at the head of his army, he made the Danes pay dear for the mischief they had done the English. In this war he gained so many victories, that the Danes lost all hopes of throwing off the English yoke, and his cousin of mounting the throne. At length Ethelward being slain in battle,

905.
Ethelward
slain.
Sax. Ann.
Pont. Hist.
Dan.

and the Danish forces considerably diminished, they were not able to carry on the war with that vigour they begun it. However, they continued it two years after Ethelward's death. But having in vain endeavoured to repair their losses, they sued for peace; which Edward readily granted

907.
Edward
makes a
peace with
the Danes.

o Brompon says, he landed in Northumbria, the same year he went away, and came the next year by sea to Essex. p. 832.

p They over-ran and spoiled all Mercia as far as Crecklade in Wiltshire, and there passing the Thames, carried away whatever they could find in Brædon forest in the same county. In the mean time king Edward pursued them, and wasted all the country that lies between the Devil's-ditch upon New-market heath, and the Ouse. Edward recalled his forces from thence, but the Kentishmen staying behind, were summoned by the Danes; whereupon there followed a smart engagement, in which several were killed on both sides, and among

the rest Ethelward; but the Danes got the victory. Sax. Ann. Huntingd. p. 352.

q The Saxon Annals tells us, the battle was obstinate and bloody on both sides; the king lost the earls Sigulf and Sigelm, with many more of his nobles. On the Danes part were Ælla Eolrick their king, with a greater number than of the English, though they had the honour of keeping the field and burying their dead. Sax. Ann. 905.

r S. Dupelm says, that Edward was forced to make peace, p. 133. This peace was concluded at Yttingasford, supposed to be Iford near Christ-Church in Hampshire. Sax. Ann.

them,

them, on condition they would acknowledge him for sovereign as they had done his father, and the Normans return to France.

This peace could not hold long between to neighbouring nations so exasperated against one another. Accordingly, after three years the war was renewed¹. It proved fatal to the Danes, who lost in a very little time two battles². Edward, who knew how to improve his victories, took from them several towns in Mercia, and at length drove them quite out of that kingdom. Then it was that Ethelred, who had all along bravely seconded the king his brother-in law, became in reality earl of Mercia; but was not long so. He died almost as soon as that whole province was united under his government. This earl was not only governor or viceroy of Mercia: he had some particular power, the nature of which it is very difficult to learn from the historians that speak of it. Malmſbury ſays, he held the country as a ſief of the crown, much in the ſame manner as the German princes hold their territories of the empire³. Of this, Elſſeda his widow's ceſſion to the king her brother of the cities of London and Oxford, is a farther proof. If Ethelred had been only governor or viceroy, Elſſeda would have had no right to reſign theſe two places, ſince they would not have belonged to her⁴.

Elſſeda having taken upon her the government of Mercia, after Ethelred's death, followed the example of her father and brother, in fortifying towns, to take away from the Danes all hopes of ſettling in Mercia again. Among the places ſhe repaired or fortified, theſe are the chief, Warwick, Tamworth,

¹ The Annals ſay not by whom the treaty was broken; but Hoveden lays it to the charge of the Danes, p. 421. Upon the renewing of the war, king Edward ſent, Anno 910, an army of Weſt-Saxons and Mercians into Northumbria, who plundered the kingdom for five weeks, and ſlew many of the Danes. Sax. Ann. Huntingd. p. 352.

² The firſt was in 911 at Wodneſfield. For the Daniſh army in Northumbria not regarding the peace which king Edward and his ſon had made with them, waſted again the province of Mercia. In this battle were ſlain ſeveral thouſand Danes, with their kings Ecwils and Healfden. They were ſucceeded by one Reginald. The ſecond battle was fought at Teotenhale, or Tetel in Staffordſhire. Sax. Ann. Flor. Worc. Huntingd. p. 352. Brompton. Camden.

³ Ethelred bore the title of Subregulus Merciorum. Selden affirms, Subregulus is the ſame with Ealderman or Count. Du Cange ſays, it ſignifies ſometimes earl, ſometimes Semi-Rex or Demi-King. In this laſt ſenſe it muſt be underſtood with reſpect to Ethelred, according to this paſſage of Malmſbury, "Edwardus duo regna Merciorum & Viſi-Saxonum conjunxerat, Merciorum nomine tenus, quippe commendatum duci Ethelredo." Rapin.

⁴ Anno 913, in November, king Edward built a caſtle at Hertford.—The next ſummer he built Witham in Eſſex, and lay incamped at the ſame time with his forces at Maldon. And the greateſt part of Eſſex, which then belonged to the Danes, came in to him. Sax. Ann. Huntingd. p. 353. Brompt. p. 833.

Wednesbury, Charbury, Eadfbury, and Chester². This last had lain in ruins for some time¹. When Elfreda had taken these precautions, she carried her arms into Wales², and after several victories, obliged the Welch to become her tributaries.

915. The year 915, as some affirm, is memorable for the founding of the university of Cambridge by king Edward. But all agree not in this matter. Some maintain the origin of this famous university is of a much later date. Others, on the contrary, carry its antiquity a great deal higher, and attribute the founding of it to one Cantaber, a Spaniard, three hundred and fifteen years before the birth of our Saviour. Some again, cutting off almost a thousand years of this antiquity, are contented with asserting, that Sebert, who reigned in Essex in the beginning of the VIIth century, was the first founder. I shall not take upon me to decide this dispute rendered very warm by the emulation between Oxford and Cambridge. It is sufficient to have briefly mentioned the diversity of opinions in this matter. However, I cannot forbear observing, that if the university of Cambridge was in being in king Sebert's time, or even in Alfred's, it is very surprising, that neither Bede, in his Ecclesiastical History, nor Asserius in his Life of Alfred, should take the least notice of it.

From the year 910, when the war between the English and Danes was rekindled, to the year 922, we find in history nothing but a long series of battles, the relation whereof must be unpleasant to the reader¹. I shall therefore, without any scruple, pass them over in silence, and mention only the most remarkable consequences.

918. The princess Elfreda, sister to king Edward, died during this war^b, leaving an only daughter, named Elfwinna, then

The princess Elfreda dies.
Sax. Ann. Huntingd.
lib. v.

^x She also built and repaired some at Stafford, Bridgnorth, Runckhoeve in Cheshire, and at Scoriote or Seargate. Sax. Ann. Huntingd. Hoved. These castles were built to secure the Mercian frontiers against the Danish and Welch incursions. Tyr. p. 316.

^y It was demolished by Ecgfrid king of Northumberland, and afterwards by the Danes.

^z And took Breecnanmere (supposed to be Brecknock.) She also took in 918 Derby, and in 920 Leicester, York, &c. Sax. Ann. Huntingd.

^a Anno 917, the Danes slew many of the English at Hocnorton in Oxfordshire; but a body of them was defeated

the same year at Leighton in Bedfordshire. Anno 921, the Danes besieged Tocester in Northamptonshire, and Wigmore in Herefordshire, but were repulsed. The same year they took Colchester, and killed all the people in it; but making an attempt upon Malden, they were beaten back, and lost several hundreds of men. Sax. Ann. Huntingd. p. 353. Brompt.

^b Ingulph says, that in respect of the cities she built, the castles she fortified, and the armies she managed, it might have been thought she had changed her sex. She died at Tamworth in Staffordshire, and was buried in the porch of the monastery of St. Peter in

Glouc.

marriageable. Elfreda succeeded her husband in the sovereignty of Mercia, I say sovereignty, because it was certainly more than a bare government. But not to give wrong notions of this matter, it will be proper to consider the state of Mercia at the time I am speaking of. Historians not having clearly expressed themselves, have left us very much in the dark as to this point. It must be remembered, that Ethelred, with the title of earl of Mercia, was in possession only of London and its territory, or at most of the county of Middlesex; and that London, the capital formerly of the kingdom of Essex, was become the metropolis of Mercia. Afterwards, Ethelred's narrow territories being much enlarged by his conquests upon the Mercian Danes, Alfred's present to his son-in-law was become so considerable, as to raise the jealousy of the new king, and make him apprehensive of Ethelred's successors growing too powerful. However, whilst Elfreda lived, Edward seemed not to be jealous of her prosperity, and had no thoughts of dispossessing her of what she had gained in a great measure by her own valour. But after her death, he did not think fit to leave her daughter Elfwina in possession of a demesne, which put it in her power to raise new troubles in England by some ill-contrived match. And indeed, there are historians who affirm, the young princes had resolved upon marrying a Danish prince, and that therefore her uncle deprived her of her dominions. He was afraid, no doubt, she would introduce the enemies of the kingdom into those very places, that with so much difficulty had been wrested out of their hands. However this be, after Elfreda's death, he seized upon Mercia, and carried his niece with him into Wesssex. In all likelihood she passed the rest of her days in a nunnery. Whether Elfwina's design of marrying a Dane was matter of fact, or an invention to vindicate the king's proceedings against his niece, it equally proves, what was before observed, that Ethelred and Elfreda were proprietors of Mercia. If they had been no more than governors, Edward would have had no occasion to alledge her intended marriage as a reason to deprive her of the government; as, on the other hand, there would have been no necessity of inventing such a pretence, supposing there was no foundation for it. I have enlarged a little on this subject, because of the great variety of opinions concerning the right and title of earl Ethelred.

Edward is apprehensive his niece will deliver Mercia to the Danes; and therefore seizes upon it himself. J. Bevoir. Sax. Ann.

Goucester, which she and her husband c Reginald king of the Danes. See had built. Sax. Ann. Malmsh. lib. v. Tyrrel. cap. 5.

921,
8r 922.
The Danes
submit to
Edward.
Flor. Wig.
Sax. Ann.
Malmsh.
M. West.

In their wars with Edward, the Danes daily lost ground, whilst the king, who knew how to improve his advantages, pushed them incessantly without giving them time to breathe. By which means he at length compelled them to submit, and own him once more for their sovereign. The Mercian-Danes were the first that threw down their arms. The East-Angles followed soon after, and submitted without terms. The Northumbrians were the last, as being the most powerful, almost all Northumberland being inhabited by Danes. The progress Edward had made in the other provinces, convinced them, it would be better to submit than continue a war, which must end in their ruin. They were then governed by three kings. Sithric and Nigel his brother reigned beyond the Tyne, and Reginald, who resided at York, ruled all the country between the Tyne and the Humber. Some time after, Sithric having slain his brother Nigel, became sole king of the North.

Edward
subdues the
Welch.

J. Bevoir.

The Cam-
berland
Britons sub-
mit, and
likewise the
king of
Scotland.
Flor. Wig.
M. West.

The state of the Welch depended in some measure on that of the Danes. As long as the Danes were in arms, the kings of England left the Welch peaceably to enjoy their liberty. But as soon as they had nothing to fear from the north, they seldom failed to attack them. At such a juncture it was, that Elfheda, assisted by the troops of the king her brother, compelled them to become her tributaries. After her death the Welch endeavoured to free themselves from the tribute she had laid upon them, and to keep Edward employed, sent a powerful aid to the Danes. Edward, having then other affairs upon his hands, took no notice of it: but as soon as he had concluded a peace with the Danes, marched against Rees ap Maldoc^d, king of Wales, who was assisted by Leoffreth, a Danish general. After several indecisive skirmishes, Edward at last obtained a signal victory, which reduced the Welch king to a necessity of suing for peace, with a promise of paying the usual tribute. In fine the Britons of Cumberland, who had put themselves under the protection of the Danes, submitted also to Edward. Some historians pretend, the king of Scotland following their example, did homage for his kingdom to the king of England. But the Scots not only deny the fact, but maintain it could not possibly be, since the word Homage was never used in Great Britain till after the Norman conquest. But this reason is not decisive for the thing signified by that term might be in use under another name. And indeed, the sovereignty of Alfred and Edward over the

^d d i. e. Rees the son of Maloc. Rapin.

Northumbrian Danes and the Mercians in the time of Ethelred and Elfreda, was nothing else but a right of homage from those countries, though perhaps the word was not then in use.

Edward was enjoying the fruits of his victories, feared and respected by all that could give him any umbrage at home, and greatly esteemed by all princes abroad, when death took him out of the world in 925, after a reign of twenty-four years ^{925-Edward's death.}. He gained as great a reputation by his arms as the king his father, since, like him, he gave law to all England, and procured the kingdom a repose. But if he equalled the great Alfred in military virtues, it must be owned he was far short of his illustrious father in all other respects ^e.

He had children by three wives, the first named Egwina, ^{The story of Edward and Egwina.} a shepherd's daughter, was only a concubine. An historian relates concerning this woman a sort of romance, which, on account of the sequel, it will be necessary to insert. I call it a romance, since, by the author's own confession, it has no better foundation than some old songs handed down to his time ^f; much the same with your Spanish romances, wherein are related several stories of their ancient kings. The historian says, Egwina, a shepherd's daughter, as she lay asleep in the fields, dreamt that the moon shone out of her womb so bright, that all England was enlightened by the splendor. Some time after, she took occasion to relate her dream to an old woman that had been king Edward's nurse. This woman, who pretended to interpret dreams, imagining there was something extraordinary in this, took Egwina into her house, and educated her not as a country girl, but as a person of quality. Egwina answered all the old nurse's care and pains about her, and in time became an accomplished beauty. Whilst she was in the house of her benefactress, prince Edward, before he was king, happening to pass by the place where his nurse lived, made her a visit. He cast his eyes on Egwina, and immediately fell in love with her. His passion was so violent, that

^e He died at Farrington in Berkshire, and was buried at Winchester by his father. Sax. Ann. Malmesb.

^f He built and repaired several castles and towns, viz. Anno 918, he built two castles at Buckingham, one on each side the river Ouse. Anno 919, he built one at Bedford, on the south side of the river. Anno 920, he repaired and fortified Maldon in Essex. Anno 921, he did the same at Tocester in Northamptonshire, Wigmore in Here-

fordshire, Colchester in Essex, and Huntingdon. Anno 922, he built a castle at Stamford. Anno 923, he repaired Thelwall in Cheshire and Manchester. Anno 924, he built a new town at Nottingham, on the south side of the Trent; and also one near Bakewell in Derbyshire. Sax. Ann. Huntingd. Brompt.

^g *Magis ex Cantilenis, quam ex libris,* says Malmesbury. The story is told at large in Brompton, p. 831.

THE HISTORY

Children of
Edward by
Egwinæ.

in the most moving and affecting manner he solicited the nurse to put him in possession of the charming Egwinæ. The old woman, who had a great affection for Edward, and had always the dream in her thoughts, yielded to his request, and induced Egwinæ to consent to what he desired so passionately. From that time, Edward was extremely fond of Egwinæ, and had by her three children, of whom Athelstan, the eldest, succeeded him. Alfred the second died before his father. The third was a daughter, called by some Editha, by others Beatrix.

Children by
another
wife.

By another wife, Edward had two sons and six daughters. Edward, the eldest son, died at Oxford a few days after his father; so that he had no time to taste the sweets of a crown. Edwin the second was deprived of his just rights, and came to a tragical end, as shall be related hereafter. Of the six daughters, some were married to powerful princes, by the care of their brother Athelstan, and others became nuns. Elfreda the eldest was abbess of Ramsey in Hampshire. Ogina was married to Charles the Simple, king of France, and was mother of Lewis d'Outre-Mer. Edilda passed her days in a monastery. The fourth, of the same name, was married to Hugh the Great, earl of Paris, father of Hugh Capet. Edgitha was wife of Otho, emperor of Germany. Edgiva the youngest espoused Lewis the Blind, king of Provence, who had a son by her, named Constantine.

Children by
his third
wife.

By Edgiva his third wife, Edward had two sons and two daughters. Edmund and Edred, the two sons, were both kings of England. Edburga was a nun, and her sister Edgiva was married to Lewis prince of Aquitain. It is very probable this Edgiva was confounded with her sister of the same name by the second wife, who was married to Lewis king of Provence, because there was then no prince of Aquitain mentioned in history.

The Danish historians give Edward another daughter named Thyra, who, as they affirm, was wife of Gorman III. one of their kings. It is strange they should speak so positively of a princess of England, unknown to all the English historians.

Rollo gets
possession of
Normandy.
Mezerai.
Malmsh.
lib.ii.cap.5.

During the reign of Edward the Elder, Rollo chief of the Normans in France, had gotten such firm footing in Neustria, that it was not in the power of the French to drive him thence. Charles the Simple, then king of France, was forced, in order to free himself from the continual fears of so troublesome a neighbour, to give him a grant of that part of Neustria he was possessed of, lying between the Seine and the Epte, with the title of duke of Normandy. The conditions were, that

that Rollo should do homage to the crown of France, be baptized, and marry Giselle the king's daughter. Rollo died, ^{His death.} according to Mezeraï, in 917. Some place his death in 924, and others with still less reason in 928. William his son, by ^{William succeeds him.} Poppa daughter of the earl of Bayeux, was his successor.

8. ATHELSTAN.

ELSWARD, Edward's eldest son, surviving his father but a few days, and the rest of the legitimate children being all under age, Athelstan, son of Egwina, was placed on the throne, with the consent of the clergy and nobility. Though this prince had a mixture of base and royal blood in his veins, the last had so far the ascendant, that the blemish of his birth was entirely effaced by his noble qualities. Alfred his grandfather had conferred the honour of knighthood upon him, by girding him with a sword according to the custom of those days. Edward his father had committed the care of his education to earl Ethelred his brother-in-law, and the princess Elfheda his sister, who did their utmost to train him up to virtue. As he had been present at all their councils, and attended them in all their warlike expeditions, he had acquired so great experience both in military and political affairs, as, joined to his natural parts, gained him the esteem of all the world. So that when he mounted the throne, he was not only of a fit age, being then in his thirtieth year, but also very capable to govern. History does not inform us what determined the English to give the crown to this prince, notwithstanding his illegitimate birth ^a. However, his father thought this defect a sufficient reason to set him by, and name for his successor another of his sons born in wedlock, though younger than Athelstan. In all appearance, after the death of Elfsward, Athelstan's mature age and noble qualities gained him the preference before Edwin, the eldest of the legitimate sons, but too young to govern ¹.

925

Athelstan is
elected king
of England.
Sax. Ann.Malmsb.
lib. ii. c. 6.

^a Malmsbury says, that there was no other objection against him but this, if it was true. p. 48.

¹ Athelstan was crowned at Kingston upon Thames by Athelm archbishop of

Canterbury. This ceremony of crowning and anointing the English kings was, in all probability, first used in the reign of Alfred.

A plot a-
gainst the
king.
Malmsh.
r

This election however was not pleasing to all. Some of the principal lords disdaining to be governed by a bastard, conspired to dethrone Athelstan, and place Edwin in his room. Alfred, chief of the conspirators, had even taken private measures to seize Athelstan at Winchester, and put out his eyes. The plot being discovered, he was apprehended by the king's order, but would confess nothing. He obstinately persisted in protesting his innocence, and offered to purge himself by oath in the presence of the pope. Although this way of justifying himself was far from being a proof of his innocence, Athelstan was satisfied with it, and sent him to Rome, to take his oath before pope John. Perhaps he was unwilling to begin his reign with blood, or, it may be, was apprehensive the treating too severely a person of the first rank, would draw upon him the ill-will of the nobles. Shortly after, word was sent him from Rome, that Alfred having sworn his innocence before the pope, suddenly fell into a fainting fit, which lasting three days, ended with his life; and that the pope, convinced by this accident of Alfred's perjury, had ordered his body to remain in the English college till the king's pleasure should be known. Athelstan, pleased with being thus rid of his enemy, without having directly contributed to his death, consented he should have christian burial. However, his lands were confiscated, and given to Malmshury monastery. The king took care to insert in the grant the whole conspiracy, to testify to the world that he dedicated to God what was his own.

The Danes
begin to stir.

Athelstan
marches in-
to Northum-
berland.

They are
forced to
submit.
Malmsh.
Fl. Wig.

In the mean time, new troubles were preparing for the king. As the Danes, settled in England, had been subdued by force, they thought it lawful to use the same means to shake off their yoke. The death of Edward, and the conspiracy of Alfred, affording them, as they imagined, a favourable opportunity to revolt, they had begun to take such measures as obliged Athelstan to march into their country. He would doubtless have met with more resistance, had he given them time to make greater preparations. But as they had not yet drawn their forces together, they were so surprised by the arrival of the king on their frontiers, that without endeavouring to defend themselves, they returned to their allegiance. Sithric, one of their kings^k, went and sued for peace, upon what terms the king was pleased to impose. Athelstan, being desirous to live in peace with the Danes, that he might have time to establish himself in the throne, not only pardoned his

^k King of the Northumbrians. Malmsh. p. 48.

revolt,

revolt, but gave him his sister Editha in marriage, on condition he would receive baptism ¹.

The troubles in the north being thus appeased, Athelstan ^{Athelstan's second expedition to the north. Sax. Ann. Malmsh. Huntingd. Hoved.} marched back to Wessex, where advice was brought him soon after of Sithric's death, who by a former marriage had left two sons, Anlaff and Godfrid ^m. As the histories of those times are not very particular, we are ignorant of the reason of Athelstan's resolving to deprive these two princes of their father's dominions. However that be, as soon as he heard of Sithric's death, he returned at the head of his army into Northumberland. His march was so expeditious, that Anlaff and Godfrid, as well as Reginald, another Danish king residing at York, had scarce time to escape falling into his hands. Their hasty flight gave him opportunity of becoming master of all Northumberland, except the castle of York. ^{He seizes all Northumberland.}

Though he had taken care to secure his conquests, by placing strong garrisons in all the towns, he was uneasy at the escape of the three Danish princes. He would have been glad to have had them in his power, but that was impossible. It was not known what was become of Reginald, and Anlaff was fled into Ireland, where it was not easy to come at him. Athelstan therefore was forced to be satisfied with requiring Constantine king of Scotland to deliver up Godfrid, who had retired into his dominions. Constantine, being sensible he was not in condition to deny any thing to a prince at the head of so powerful an army, promised to deliver the prince, and give him a meeting at Dacor ². But whilst he was preparing for his journey, Godfrid made his escape, either through the negligence or connivance of Constantine, who however went to meet Athelstan, accompanied with Eugenius king of Cumberland. Athelstan admitted Constantine's excuses for the Danish prince's escape. But if the English historians are to be credited, he obliged both the kings to do homage for their kingdoms ³. However, the Scots positively deny that England had ever any right of sovereignty over Scotland till the ^{An interview of the kings of England and Scotland, Malmsh. Remarks on the pretended homage of Constantine. Buchanan.}

¹ She was daughter to Edward and Ecgwina. After Sithric's death, (who lived but one year after his marriage) she became a nun at Polesworth in Warwickshire. Flor. Wor. Malmsh. Je. Wallingford says, that Sithric upon his marriage with Editha, was advanced by Athelstan to the title of king, and that he gave him for his kingdom all the country from the river Tees, as far as Edinburgh; from which time the Danes began to settle in those parts,

who before rambled about all over England. See Tyr. p. 330.

^m Flor. Wor. more probably supposes Anlaff not to have been the son of Sithric king of Northumberland, but of another of that name, king of Ireland, and who had married the daughter of Constantine, p. 601. Brompt. 839.

ⁿ Dacre in Cumberland. Camd.

^o This homage is mentioned neither in the Saxon Annals, nor in Marianus Scotus, nor Florence of Worcester.

twelfth century. But this dispute, which was never decided, will for the future be dropt, since England and Scotland make now but one kingdom.

Godfrid's
defeat.

Before Athelstan quitted the north, Godfrid made an attempt upon York, by means of the castle, where he had still some friends [†]. But missing his aim, he put to sea, where for some time he exercised piracy. At length, tired with that way of life, he surrendered himself to the king of England, who received him kindly, and allowed him a handsome pension. Some time after, upon some disgust or ill-grounded suspicion, he withdrew again, and was never more heard of.

Anlaff and
Constantine
join against
Athelstan,

Anlaff, a prince of greater abilities than his brother, took better measures for his restoration. He had retired into Ireland, where being informed that the king of Scotland was displeased with Athelstan, he believed he might seize this opportunity to persuade him to espouse his cause. To that end, he came to Scotland, and intimated to Constantine, that he had reason to fear the worst from the king of England. He represented to him, that Athelstan having by surprize seized upon Northumberland, without any the least pretence, might proceed in the same manner with regard to Scotland, and therefore it was absolutely necessary to prevent him. To this he added the offer of a powerful aid from Ireland, assuring him, with that increase of strength, he might easily drive Athelstan out of Northumberland, and free himself from a troublesome and dangerous neighbour, by restoring that kingdom to the Danes, who would serve as a barrier against England. Anlaff found no great difficulty to prevail with the king of Scotland, who, besides his being secretly exasperated at the haughty reception he met with at the late interview, was grown uneasy at Athelstan's successes, and apprehensive of being invaded himself. He resolved therefore to embark in this enterprize; and having concerted measures with Anlaff, they parted, in order to prepare what each had engaged to provide.

Malmsh.
Hovedan.

Mean while Athelstan, having viewed his garrisons, and taken all the precautions he thought proper to secure his late conquests, was returned into Wesssex, where he remained in peace, not knowing what his enemies had plotted against him. Shortly after, he was engaged in a war with Howel, king of Wales. This new enemy was raised by Constantine, to keep him employed against the Welch, while he and Anlaff should invade Northumberland. Athelstan, by his expe-

Athelstan
defeats
Howel king
of Wales.
G. Malmsh.

[†] But Athelstan took it and pulled it down. Malmsh. p. 50.

dition,

dition, broke all the measures of the king of Scotland. The moment he was informed of the motions of the Welsh, and Brompton. the aid sent them by Constantine, he marched into Wales, and, giving Howel battle, obtained a complete victory^q. After this happy success, he augmented the tribute paid by that prince to England^r.

This war being thus ended, Athelstan approached the borders of Scotland, to make Constantine repent of his assisting the Welch. As soon as he entered the enemy's country, he took some towns, and gave the Scots reason to dread more considerable losses. As Anlaf was not yet arrived with the promised supplies, Constantine durst not venture to engage alone in this war against so powerful an enemy, who was already in his dominions, and in condition to carry on his conquests much further. Wherefore, to gain time till the Irish joined him, he sued for peace. Athelstan readily granted his request, being extremely desirous to make that prince his friend, for fear he should countenance the insurrections of the Northumbrians. For this reason he restored to him all the places he had conquered in Scotland, in expectation of gaining by this generosity a prince whose friendship it was his interest to cultivate. Some historians however affirm, Athelstan obliged Constantine to do him homage for Scotland: but this is what the Scots will never allow.

934
He marches into Scotland, Sax. Ann. Fordun, lib. iv. c. 22.

and makes a peace with Constantine.

Athelstan's generosity was not sufficient to hinder Constantine from pursuing the execution of his first projects. He rather hastened his preparations the more, being extremely vexed, he should be forced to receive obligations from a prince whom he always considered as his enemy. Mean while Athelstan was returned to Wessex, where he hoped to enjoy some repose, as he saw nothing likely to give him any disturbance. But he met at home in his own family with what troubled him more than any thing the war could occasion.

938
Constantine renews the war.

A certain court-lord, enemy to prince Edwin, the king's brother, accused the young prince of being concerned in Alfred's conspiracy. The king too readily gave ear to this accusation; he was easily induced to believe that a prince, in whose favour the conspiracy was formed, was not innocent. It may be too, he was not sorry to find him guilty, as it gave him an opportunity to dispatch him out of the

Athelstan puts his brother Edwin to death, Brompton. Malmsh.

^q But he restored Howel and Constantine, to their kingdoms, saying, "It was more glorious to make a king, than to be one." Malmsh. bury, p. 48. Brompton, p. 338. Malmsh. intimates it was he who first laid it on, p. 50.

way. However, he would not put him to death publicly, but ordered him to be exposed to the fury of the waves in a vessel without sails or rudder. The young prince went on board, protesting his innocence; but finding the king inexorable, he cast himself headlong into the sea^s. Athelstan at first was secretly pleased with this occasion to destroy his brother; but the moment he had gratified his passion, was seized with grievous remorse. To quiet his conscience, he was advised to atone for his crime by some meritorious act. With this view he founded the abbey of Middleton in Dorsetshire^t, where prayers were offered to Heaven, day and night, for him and his brother's soul. The historians add, that, not content with this, he submitted to a seven years penance, but do not inform us whereiu it consisted. Edwin's accuser had not reason long to rejoice at the success of his malicious calumnies. One day, as he waited at table with the king's cup, one of his feet slipping, he would certainly have fallen, had he not by the nimbleness of the other recovered himself: whereupon he jokingly says, "See, how one brother helps another." This jest cost him his life. Athelstan, who overheard what he said, taking it for a reproach or banter upon him, ordered him to be executed immediately, and thus revenged his brother's death by that of his false accuser^u.

and repents
of it.

Brompton.
Malmsh.

^s With the prince was put on board his esquire, who, after the prince had cast himself into the sea, was resolved to save himself if he could, and meeting with better fortune, was driven on shore at a place called Whitland, on the coast of Picardy. Malm. Brompt.

^t Now called Melton-abbey; it lies three miles north of the Piddle. The greatest part of it is still standing, as having been the seat of the Tregonwells ever since its dissolution; from whom it is lately come to the Lutterells of Dunster-castle, by the marriage of the heiress of sir John Tregonwell, Catmd. Add. to Dorsetshire.

^u As the affair of Edwin is the only thing that survives the memory of Athelstan, Malmshury, who relates it, disbelieves the whole story, because of his great kindness to his other brothers and sisters, and owns it was grounded only on some old ballads. Huntingdon speaks of the loss of Edwin by sea, but mentions it as a sad accident, and a great misfor-

tune to Athelstan. Brompton indeed delivers it as a certain truth. But Buchanan the Scotch historian (such was his malice to this king's memory) makes Athelstan not only to have procured the death of his brother Edwin, but also of his father king Edward, whom he therefore fancies to have been called the Martyr; and not content with this neither, adds, that he put to death his brother Edred also. More mistakes can scarce be committed in so few lines; for, in the first place, it is agreed by all our historians, that king Edward died a natural death; and as for him whom he called the Martyr, he was son of king Edgar, nor did he begin to reign till above a hundred and fifty years after. But as for what Buchanan objects against some of our late historians for making Constantine to do homage for Scotland to Athelstan, he seems to be in the right. See note above.

Whist

Whilst these things passed at court, Constantine continued his preparations for the execution of the project concerted between him and Anlaff. This last, whom some groundlessly style king of Ireland, had found means to engage in the league the Irish, Welch, and Northumbrian Danes, who ardently desired to have a king of their own nation on the throne. Anlaff appeared as head of this league, though Constantine was no less concerned in it, the war being carried on chiefly at his expence. This project was managed so privately, that Anlaff entered the Humber with a fleet of six hundred sail, and invaded Northumberland before Athelstan had any intelligence of his motions. With so considerable forces, and the assistance of the Danes settled in those parts, he easily became master of several ill-guarded towns: but the fortified places that were well garrisoned by the English, stopped his progress, and gave Athelstan time to assemble his army. He used so great expedition, that he surprised the two confederate princes. They were now upon the march towards Bernicia, in order to conquer it for the king of Scotland, but found they were obliged to turn back to oppose king Athelstan, who was very near them, when they imagined him as yet employed in his preparations. The two armies met at Brunanburgh^x, where a bloody battle was fought. Victory declared for Athelstan, and the allies lost Constantine, king of Scotland, and six other Irish or Welsh kings, and twelve earls or general officers. This victory was chiefly owing to the valour of Turketul, the king's cousin, who was afterwards abbot of Croyland. Athelstan, after winning this battle, easily extended his conquests farther into Scotland; and chastised the Welsh by raising their tribute to twenty pound weight of gold, three hundred of silver, and twenty-five thousand head of cattle: besides, they were pent up beyond the Wye, and lost all the country between that river and the Severn. As for the Northumbrian Danes, who had openly joined with the allies, Athelstan for a punishment increased their yoke, and kept for the future a stricter hand over them. After he had settled the affairs of the north, he

Constantine
and Anlaff
invade
Northum-
berland.
Sax. Annal.
H. Hunting-
Ingulph.
Rog. Hov.

^x Supposed to be Bromford, near Bromridge, in Northumberland; tho' some think it was somewhere nearer the Humber. In the description of this battle, the historians and poets of that age are extraordinary full of rapture and bombast. The Saxon Annalist, wont to be sober and succinct, launches out strangely upon this occasion. Sax.

VOL. I.

Annal. 938. Axminster, in the borders of Devonshire, is famous for the tombs of the Saxon princes slain in this battle of Brunanburgh, and brought hither after their death. Camd. vol. i. p. 44. After this victory, Athelstan took Cumberland and Westmoreland from the Scots, and recovered Northumberland from the Danes.

A a

marched

marched against the Cornish Britons, who had likewise assisted the Confederates. He took Exeter, formerly destroyed by the Danes, and caused it to be repaired and fortified. From that time, the Britons were forced to retire beyond the Tamar, which served for a boundary to the two nations. They were, before this expedition, mixed with the English in some of the western counties.

Miracles
done in fa-
vour of
Athelstan.
Brompton.
Fordun.
lib. iv. c. 23.

In almost every page of the histories of those days, we meet with miracles wrought in favour of the friends and protectors of the monks. Athelstan, who had been a good benefactor to them, with intent to atone for the murder of his brother, was a great favourite with them: accordingly they have not failed to give him the usual marks of their gratitude. They say, at the word of St. John of Beverly, he struck his sword three yards deep into a solid rock, which yielded like butter. They tell us also, that having lost his sword in the battle of Brunanburgh, another from heaven came and sheathed itself in his scabbard. But it would be lost time to relate all the miracles the monks have thought fit to stuff their histories with. It will not be amiss however to note, that the custom of embellishing all remarkable events with miracles, was in fashion for several ages.

He avoids
being slain
by the ad-
vice of a
soldier.
Malmsh.
lib. ii. cap. 6.

I shall conclude the reign of Athelstan with an incident the best historians have thought worth their notice. A few days before the battle of Brunanburgh, Anlaff wanting to know the posture of the enemy, went into the English camp disguised like a harper, as Alfred the Great had formerly done. But notwithstanding his disguise, he was known by a soldier, who however suffered him to go away undiscovered. As soon as the soldier thought him safe, he told Athelstan what had happened, and advised him to remove his tent, judging Anlaff had some design upon that quarter. He excused himself for not having discovered this secret sooner, by saying, "he had formerly given his military oath to Anlaff, and therefore could not resolve to betray him." Athelstan forgave him, and followed his advice, which he soon found to be of great consequence. The next night the Danish prince, with a body of chosen troops, attacked the English camp, and penetrated to the very place where he had seen the king's tent. A bishop (coming to the camp that night, and) accidentally pitching his tent in the same place, was slain with all his followers.

941.
Athelstan's
death.

Athelstan out-lived the victory of Brunanburgh but three years. He died a natural death in 941, in the forty-sixth year of

of his age, and the sixteenth of his reign^y. Historians have dilated on the glorious success of his arms, but much more on the miracles heaven wrought in his favour. But without insisting on the wonders his history abounds with, I shall content myself with giving him this commendation: his merits made him to be equally feared by his neighbours, beloved by his subjects, and respected by the greatest princes in Europe^z. His character. G. Malmsh. Ingulph.

The emperor Otho, and Hugh the Great, his brothers-in-law, gave him frequent demonstrations of their esteem, by making him considerable presents. The noble matches he made for those of his sisters who preferred the marriage-state to a cloyster, are clear evidences of his great reputation in the world: his sister Ogina, widow of Charles the Simple, king of France. being obliged to fly for refuge into England with her son Lewis, who from thence had the surname of Outremer, he gave them an honourable reception, and furnished them with all things necessary during their exile. It is even affirmed, his application and credit did not a little contribute to the restoring the king his nephew to the throne of his ancestors. Though he seemed to be entirely engrossed by military affairs, he found time however to cause justice and civil government to flourish in his dominions; witness the excellent laws he from time to time added to those of Alfred his grandfather. It appears from these laws, several whereof are still extant, that his intent was, all persons, ecclesiastical as well as civil, should be subject to them. He was no friend to those privileges and immunities the clergy have so much improved, and which very often serve only to authorize wickedness, and prove a sanctuary to criminals.

Amongst all the monuments of his piety, which for the most part consisted only in building and endowing monasteries, according to the custom of those days, the translation of the Scriptures into Saxon, the then vulgar tongue, is one; the usefulness whereof appears to be least dubious. He took particular care to have it well done, employing those that were deemed the most learned persons in the kingdom. Hence it is evident, how much the state of learning had been improved by the wise regulations of the great Alfred, since in his time it would have been impossible to find any Englishman capable of undertaking a work of that nature.

He gets the Bible translated into Saxon.

^y He died at Gloucester, and was buried with a great many trophies at Malmshury.

^z Malmshury concludes king Athel-

stan's character with this sentence: "His life was little in time, but great in action," lib. ii.

Birth of
Dunstan.

The famous Dunstan, so often mentioned hereafter, was born in the first year of this reign.

Edmund
made king

Athelstan having no issue, Edmund, the eldest of the legitimate sons of Edward the Elder, was unanimously placed on the throne.

9. EDMUND I.

Edmund I.

ATHELSTAN left England in profound tranquillity. The Welsh paid their tribute regularly. Anlaff, after his defeat, was retired into Ireland, where he seemed to lay aside all thoughts of any further projects; and the Danes remained in subjection. As soon as this prince was laid in his grave, the Danes prepared for a revolt. Edmund's youth made them hope they should at length be able to accomplish their long projected design of having a king of their own nation, and throwing off the English yoke. Anlaff having perfect intelligence how they stood inclined, resolved to seize this juncture to recover the crown of Northumberland. But as he was sensible this grand undertaking could not be executed without a foreign aid, he found means to persuade Olaus, king of Norway, to espouse his cause, who promised to assist him to the utmost of his power. With the troops lent him by this prince, he once more entered Northumberland, and appearing before York, the gates were opened to him, by means of the good understanding between him and the principal inhabitants. The example of the metropolis was followed by most of the other towns, whose garrisons were either expelled, or cut in pieces by the citizens, who were generally of Danish race. Anlaff, not content with being master of Northumberland, marched into Mercia^a, where his countrymen received him with open arms, and assisted him in recovering several places which Edward the Elder had formerly taken from them.

Anlaff in
vades North-
umberland,
Sax. Ann.
G. Malmsh.
S. Dunelm.
J. Walling-
ford.

and makes
great pro-
gress.

942.

A doubtful
battle pro-
duces a
peace.

Though Edmund was not above seventeen or eighteen years old, the progress of the enemy was so far from daunting him, that it rather made him more eager to decide by a battle, to whom the country, so often and so long contend-

^a Where he besieged Northampton; S. Dunelm. p. 134. Moved, Chron. de front thence he went to Tamworth, Malmsb. and ravaged all the country round about.

ed for, should belong. As soon as he had drawn all his forces together, he resolutely marched towards the north, though he well knew the superiority of his enemy. On the other hand Anlaff hearing Edmund was advancing with long marches to give him battle, went to meet him with the same resolution. The two armies meeting near Chester ^b, came to an engagement, wherein victory held the balance so even, that when night came, neither could boast of the least advantage. Both sides prepared to renew the fight as soon as day should appear. But the archbishops of Canterbury and York ^c, who were in the two armies, laboured so earnestly to make peace, that a treaty was begun that very evening, and concluded by break of day. This peace was the more easily made, as neither of the parties could insist upon any advantage gained in that day's action, since neither of them could know either their own or the enemy's loss. By this treaty, Edmund was obliged to deliver up to the Danes all the country lying north of the Roman highway called Watling-street, which divided England into almost two equal parts, running from North Wales to the most southern parts of Kent, quite to the sea. Edmund was not at all pleased with these terms; but was in a manner forced to accept them by the nobles that were in his army. These lords, weighing the hopes of recovering what was lost, with the apprehension of being still greater losers, judged it better to end the war on these conditions, than continue it with the hazard of what might happen. Doubtless the remembrance of the calamities England was formerly exposed to, made them the more willing to come to this resolution. Accordingly Anlaff was put in the possession of the kingdom of Northumberland, whose bounds by this treaty were enlarged with several counties, which his father Sithric had never enjoyed.

S. Dunelm.
Reg. deHov.

Edmund and
Anlaff di-
vide England
between
them.

The Northumbrian Danes had not reason long to rejoice at the restoration of Anlaff, which they had so ardently desired. This prince having contracted a large debt with the king of Norway, for the troops he had lent him, was willing to pay it. To this end he laid heavy taxes on the people, by which he forfeited their affection. The inhabitants of the ancient kingdom of Deira were the first that revolted; and having sent for Reginald, his brother Godfrid's son, crowned

944.
Divisions in
Northum-
berland.

^b Ancient Chester, called by the Romans *Urbs Legionis*. It was so named from the twentieth legion, who were encamped here, to keep the *Ordovices* in awe: for the same reason it was called by the British, or Welsh, *Caerleon*; and by the Saxons *Legeacester*, supposed to be built about that time. ^c Rapa. Odo and Wulfstan.

Edmund
marches
thither,

and subjects
the two
kings, who
are bapti-
sed.

The war
breaks out
afresh.
Sax. Ann.
Hunting.
lib. v.

The two
Danish
kings fly
out of Eng-
land.

945.
Edmund
subdues
Cumberland
and gives it
to the king
of Scotland.
Sax. Ann.
Fordun. lib.
iv, cap. 24.

him king at York. Reginald was no sooner on the throne, but he made preparations for the war against his uncle, who was also preparing to dispossess him. The quarrel between these two kings put Edmund upon marching towards the north, at the head of an army, as well to improve the present opportunity, if there was any appearance of success, as to appease the troubles there, being apprehensive they might give occasion to the foreign Danes to return into England. He arrived upon the borders of Northumberland when the uncle and nephew, wholly intent upon their private quarrel, thought of nothing less than repulsing the English. Probably he might with ease have made himself master of that kingdom; however he was satisfied with procuring peace between the two kings, in such a manner that Reginald was to keep the crown he had lately received, but at the same time, Edmund obliged them both to swear allegiance to him, and be baptised, himself standing godfather.

This forced peace lasted not long, Edmund was hardly returned into Wessex, when the two Danish princes took up arms with one consent to free themselves from his yoke, having engaged the Mercian Danes and the king of Cumberland to espouse their quarrel. Whereupon, Edmund immediately marched into Mercia, and before the Danes there could be joined by the Northumbrians, took from them Leicester, Stafford, Derby, Nottingham, and some other places of less note. Then advancing with the same expedition towards Northumberland, he surprised the two kings before they had drawn their forces together. This sudden attack threw the Northumbrians into such disorder, that the two kings fearing to fall into the hands of Edmund, believed it their only refuge to abandon the island, where they could not possibly remain in safety, so closely were they pursued. Their flight depriving the Danes of all hopes of withstanding Edmund, they threw down their arms, and swore allegiance.

Before he returned to Wessex, Edmund resolved to punish the king of Cumberland, who, without cause, had sided with the Danes. He easily subdued that little kingdom, whose forces bore no proportion to his. However, he kept it not for himself, but thought it more for his advantage to present it to the king of Scotland, in order to attach him to his interest, and prevent him from assisting the Northumbrians^d. However, he reserved the sovereignty of it, and obliged that

^d He had it, upon condition of assisting Edmund in his wars both by sea and land. Sax. Ann. Malmsh. p. 53. Huntingd. p. 355.

prince to do him homage, and appear at the king of England's court, at the time of the solemn festivals, if summoned. This perhaps is what gave occasion to say, that from thenceforward the kings of Scotland were vassals to the kings of England. They were certainly so with regard to Cumberland; but it does not follow from hence they did homage for the kingdom of Scotland.

Edmund's successes, his valour and abilities, rendered him famous both at home and abroad. The king of Denmark, though frequently solicited by the Danes in England, did not think proper to assist them against a prince of so great reputation, and from whom there was so little to be got.

Edmund was not wholly employed in military affairs; there are some of his laws still in being, which demonstrate how desirous he was of his people's welfare and happiness. Having observed pecuniary punishments were not sufficient to put a stop to robberies, which were generally committed by people who had nothing to lose, he ordered, that in gangs of robbers, the oldest of them should be condemned to the gallows. This was the first law in England that made it death to rob or steal.

The laws of
Edmund.
Brompton.

Probably this prince would have rendered his people happy, had his reign been longer; but a fatal accident robbed him of his life, when he began to enjoy the fruits of his victories. One day, as he was solemnizing a festival at Pucklekirk in Gloucestershire^f, he spied Leolf, a notorious robber, who, though banished the kingdom for his crimes, had the impudence to come and sit at one of the tables in the hall where the king was at dinner. Enraged at his insolence, he commanded him to be apprehended^e. But perceiving he was drawing his dagger to defend himself, the king leapt up in great fury, and catching hold of him by the hair, dragged him out of the hall. This imprudent action cost him his life. Whilst he was wholly intent upon venting his furious passion, Leolf stabbed him in the breast with his dagger, so that he immediately expired upon the body of his murderer. This

498.

The tragical
end of
Edmund.
G. Malsb.
S. Dunelm.
Brompt.
Malsb.

^e In memory of St. Augustin, who first preached the gospel to the Anglo-Saxons. Malsb.

^f Now Puckle-Church, a small village only, the seat of the Dennis's, whose family have been eighteen times sheriffs of that county. Camd.

^g Malsb. and Brompton say, that the rest of the guests being drunk, he was the only one that spied him, and

flying upon him in a violent passion, was stabbed, p. 54. 858. But Hoved. Chron. de Mailros, &c. say, that he received the wound as he was endeavouring to rescue Leon his Sewer out of Leolf's hands. Brompton relates, that according to some, Leolf escaped during the confusion and hurry occasioned by this tragical action, p. 838.

was the tragical end of king Edmund in 948, in the twenty-fifth year of his age, and the eighth of his reign ^h. By ^{His wife and children.} Elgiva his wife he had two sons, Edwy and Edgar, who did not succeed him by reason of their minority. Edred his brother was placed on the throne by the unanimous consent of the clergy and nobility ⁱ.

^{Dunstan.} During this reign, Dunstan began to appear in the world. He was in great favour with Edmund, who made him abbot of Glaffenbury.

^{The affairs of Normandy.} About this time William Long-Sword, second duke of Normandy, was assassinated by Arnold earl of Flanders, in a little island of the Somme over-against Pequigni. Richard I. his son, a minor, succeeded him. As the affairs of Normandy will hereafter be often mixed with those of England, it is necessary to give an account beforehand of the succession of the dukes in that dukedom.

10. E D R E D.

^{EDRED.} ^{War of Northumbria.} **T**HE Northumbrian Danes bore the English yoke with extreme impatience. Nothing but force was sufficient to keep them in subjection. Whenever they thought they had a favourable opportunity to revolt, they seldom failed to embrace it. Though during Edmund's reign they had not been very successful, yet upon news of his death, they began to think of means to recover their liberty. They hoped his successor, whom as yet they knew not, would not have his bravery, or at least wanting his experience, would not have the same advantage over them. The better to execute their designs, they gained to their side Malcolm king of Scotland, who looked upon all obligations to be cancelled by the death of Edmund. This prince, as well as the Danes, was persuaded, Edred, by reason of his youth, would be so embarrassed at this unexpected attack, that it would not be possible for him to make any resistance. But the success was not answerable to their expectations, Edred, not being in-

^{Sax. Ann.}
^{H. Hunt.}
^{lib. v.}

^h He was buried at Glaffenbury, masses for his soul.

where Dunstan was abbot; and the ⁱ And crowned at Kingston, by Ode
town where he was killed was bestowed archbishop of Canterbury, St. Dunelm.
ed upon the same monastery to sing p. 136. Hoved.

senior

ferior to his predecessor, either in conduct or courage, was so very expeditious, that he was in the heart of Northumberland, before the Danes were ready to oppose him. They were extremely surprised to find themselves thus attacked, when as yet they had hardly discovered their intention to revolt. However, as Edred was in the midst of their country, they were forced to submit and sue for peace upon what terms he pleased^k.

After having chastised the Danes, by fining some, and punishing others of the principal authors of the revolt, Edred advanced towards Scotland, to be revenged of the ungrateful Malcolm. But Malcolm seeing the Northumbrians subdued, and himself destitute of assistance from that quarter, concluded a peace with Edred, paying him the homage due to him.

This expedition being ended, Edred returned into Wessex, imagining he had nothing more to fear from the north. But he was unacquainted with the Danes. He had scarce begun to enjoy some repose, when they revolted again and recalled Anlaf. Their measures were so just, and Anlaf's expedition so great, that he made himself master of the most considerable places before Edred could draw his army together. Whilst he was preparing to save Northumberland, Anlaf continued his conquests and put his affairs in such condition, that his enemy saw no possibility of recovering that kingdom out of his hands. But the turbulent and tyrannical temper of the new king would not suffer him to treat his subjects more gently than formerly. In a little time so strong a party was formed against him, that he was forced once more to retire to Ireland, and one Eric was placed on the throne.

Mean while, part of the Northumbrians still adhering to Anlaf, Northumberland was divided into two factions, who endeavoured to destroy one another, gave Edred an opportunity he well knew how to improve. He marched his army without loss of time into the north, whilst all was in confusion there, and before the Northumbrians had taken any measures to resist him^l. At his approach, Eric fled into

^k Accordingly, Anno 947, Wulfstan, archbishop of York, and all the Northumbrian lords swore fealty to him in a town called Tadencliff. S. Dunelm. p. 156. This submission of theirs was brought about by means of Turketul, chancellor to Edred, who was sent to reduce the Northumbrians to their duty. See Ingulph, p. 30.

^l And destroyed all the rebels in a merciless manner. He wasted the country so that it remained uncultivated for many miles a long while after. In this general devastation, Rippon monastery was burnt. Malmsh. p. 155. Ingulph. p. 41. S. Dunelm. p. 156.

Scotland,

950. Scotland, leaving his people to the mercy of Edred, who
 S. Dunelm. threatened utterly to destroy their country. Though they had
 no room to expect a second pardon, after so notorious an
 abuse of the first, yet as they had no refuge left, they cast
 themselves upon Edred's mercy, and amused him with the
 strongest protestations and most solemn oaths. As this prince
 He makes Eric swear allegiance. was naturally of a generous disposition, he was moved with
 their submissive behaviour, and replaced Eric on the throne,
 satisfied with imposing a tribute, and making him swear alle-
 giance. When he had, as he thought, allayed these com-
 motions, he returned towards Wessex, marching in a careless
 manner, not mistrusting any treachery, from a people that
 had just received such sensible marks of his clemency. But
 the Danes, who had been rather compelled by his arms than
 gained by his mildness, seized the opportunity to attack him
 with advantage. They privately came together, and laying
 He is suddenly attacked by the Danes, and in great danger. an ambush in his way, suddenly fell upon his rear, and put
 them in extreme disorder. Had it not been for the valour,
 conduct, and resolution of the king, his army had infallibly
 been cut to pieces; and it was not without great difficulty,
 that he escaped the present danger. Enraged at their perfi-
 diousness, he returned to Northumberland, with a resolution
 He returns into Northumberland. to punish them without mercy. His return caused an uni-
 versal consternation. They beheld him ready to take ven-
 geance on them for their breach of faith, without being able
 to make the least resistance. Their ruin was unavoidable, if
 they offered to defend themselves. In this extremity, sub-
 mission was their only refuge. But being very sensible Edred
 would not be imposed upon any more by general protesta-
 The Danes submit to his mercy. Huntingd. tions and oaths, they humbly implored his pardon upon what
 terms he should please to enjoin them. And to convince him
 further of their sincerity, they solemnly renounced their al-
 legiance to Eric, and put Amac, son of Anlaff, to death,
 charging them with being the principal authors of their
 treachery^m. Edred was appeased by these submissions. How-
 Northum- ever, to prevent their like revolts, he secured all their towns,
 land is made a province. and garrisoned them with English. After that, having en-
 S. Dunelm. tirely divested it of its royalty, he reduced Northumberland
 Ch. Mail-
 106.

^m Wulfstan, Archbishop of York, was taken into custody for abetting this rebellion. But after he had been in prison some time, Edred set him at liberty in respect to his character. However, he is said to take his dis-
 grace so to heart, that it occasioned his

death soon after. Malmsh. lib. ii. Mat. West. say, he was imprisoned for caus-
 ing several of the inhabitants of Thet-
 ford to be put to death, in revenge for
 their having murdered abbot Aldelm,
 p. 189.

to a province, and made earl Osulf, an Englishman, the first governor. From thenceforward the Northumbrians, awed by strong garrisons, and the English earls or governors, gave England no further disturbance, till such time as the foreign Danes once more became masters of Northumberland, as we shall see hereafter.

After the Northumbrians were thus quelled, Edred lived in profound peace. Absolute lord of all England, and dreaded by the kings of Scotland and Wales, he governed his dominions in perfect tranquillity. This great calm was the occasion of his turning his thoughts entirely to religious affairs, being guided by the advice of Dunstan abbot of Glasfenbury, who had great influence over him. The abbot knew so well how to improve his credit with the king, that he became master of his conscience, and consequently of all state matters. When once a prince suffers his conscience to be governed by his ghostly father, he will find it very difficult to withhold from him the management of his temporal concerns, there being hardly any one thing but what may be made to relate to religion in some respect or other. The trust Edred placed in Dunstan was so great, that not content with being advised by him in all things, and making him treasurer, he submitted sometimes even to receive discipline from his hands. He was persuaded, this blind submission to Dunstan was the readiest way to heaven. To gratify this favourite it was that he undertook the rebuilding of Glasfenbury church and monastery, in a very sumptuous and magnificent manner. He laid out immense sums upon this work, without having the satisfaction however to see it finished.

The monks made use also of Dunstan their protector's interest, to get into the ecclesiastical benefices, which they could never have done without him. Though Dunstan's proceedings in this affair, raised the clamours of the secular clergy, he gave himself no trouble about them so long as he could obtain his ends. However, his haughty manner of acting procured him many enemies, who in the following reign made him feel the effects of their hatred, which they had taken care to conceal during Edred's life. If Dunstan favoured the monks, they were no less zealous upon all occasions to promote his glory. They every where proclaimed that Dunstan was a great saint, that heaven daily wrought miracles in his favour, and that he was frequently honoured

Edred turns his thoughts to religious affairs, is guided by the advice of Dunstan, of Dunstan, Malmsb. lib. ii. cap.

Dunstan's great credit.

He introduces the monks into the benefices.

They proclaim Dunstan's sanctity.

n He also rebuilt Croyland and The last, founded by Ina, had been destroyed by the Danes. Speed.

with divine revelation. In their account, neither the saints of the first rank, nor the apostles themselves, were partakers of so many graces as he. Though all they said of this prelate was aggravated to the last degree, it failed not however to make impression on the minds of the generality of the people, who were more easily confirmed in their belief of what they were told, as they who knew better things, durst not contradict the monks, for fear of incurring the displeasure of the king and his favourite.

955.
Edred's
death.

Had Edred lived any time, Dunstan and the monks would doubtless have carried all before them. But this prince died when the monks were but just beginning to creep into the benefices. The historians who have made it their business to extol the merits and sanctity of Dunstan, tell us, that Edred's death was revealed to him by a voice from heaven, as he was coming to see him. They add, his horse fell down dead under him, at the prodigious noise, the voice made^o. But judicious authors have taken care not to stuff their writing with tales of this nature.

Edwy his
nephew suc-
ceeds him.

Edred reigned but ten years^p. Elfrid and Bedfrid, his two sons, whom he left very young, did not succeed him. His nephew Edwy, son of Edmund his elder brother, was placed on the throne. This election, by the way, seems equally to favour those who are of opinion, that in the Saxon times the succession of the crown depended entirely on the suffrages of the clergy and nobility, and those who maintain it belonged of right to the next heir. On one hand, we find Edred's sons deprived by the great men of the king their father's inheritance, and at the same time, the crown given to the son of the elder brother, in prejudice of those of the younger.

Ingulph.
Wegdale's
Monast.
vol. i.

We find in one of Edred's charters, that he took the title of Monarch of Albion; and in another, that he stiled himself king of Great-Britain^q, in which he was followed by Edgar his nephew. If these charters were not forged, it may be inferred from thence, that Edred subdued Scotland. But this is no proper place to examine this matter, which has caused such warm disputes between the English and Scots. However this be, the title Edred and Edgar affected to use,

^o Some think this was a contrivance of Dunstan's, to keep the treasure Edred had committed to his trust. See Hollinsh. vol. i. p. 158.

^p He was buried in the old Minster at Winchester. S. Dunelm. His bones, with those of other kings, are preserved

in a gilt coffer fixed upon the wall, in the south side of the quire. Speed, p. 346.

^q Buchanan says, that by Great-Britain is meant, that part of Britain lying on the south of Adrian's wall, which the Britons inhabited.

was neglected by their successors, till the time of James I. about the end of the sixteenth century.

II. E D W Y.

EDWY^r came to the crown at fourteen years of age, 955. with very different notions of Dunstan from those of his predecessor. Whether he was prepossessed by the enemies of that minister, or had some particular cause of complaint against him, he was no sooner on the throne but he ordered him to give an account of the sums the late king entrusted him with. Dunstan replied, the money that had passed thro' his hands, having being laid out in pious uses, he was not accountable for an administration solely relating to religion. As he urged the building of Glasfenbury, which the late king had so much at heart, Edwy's council thought it not proper to push the affair any further, lest the people should espouse the abbot's cause. The founding and repairing of monasteries were at that time such sacred things, that there was no speaking against them, without being branded with the name of impious and prophane. And therefore the king's council finding there was no attacking Dunstan on that head, without danger, took another course to undermine his credit, which was to reverse whatever had been done in favour of the monks. Accordingly, the monks were turned out of their benefices, and the secular priests put in their room. By this notable proceeding, three things were intended: First, to mortify Dunstan, which it must do in a very sensible manner. Secondly, to lessen the people's esteem for him, since the pulling down what he had set up, was a clear evidence, the court had no great opinion of his sanctity. Besides, the restoring the benefices to the secular clergy, plainly intimating it was wrong to dispossess them. Lastly, as Dunstan and the monks were in strict union, their disgrace could not but reflect upon him. The persecutions of the most cruel tyrants against the church, never extorted from the primitive christians such bitter invectives, as this pretended persecution did

^r He was so extraordinary fair and comely, that he obtained the surname of Pascualus, or, the Fair. Ethelwerd. He was crowned at Kingston by Odo, archbishop of Canterbury. S. Dunelm.

from the monks. As they represent the matter, religion was never in so great danger. The most pernicious heresies were nothing in comparison of what was then acted. The monks of Malmſbury, who were the most concerned, made the greatest noise of all, and for that reason were turned out of their monastery, which was given to the secular priests. William of Malmſbury upon this occasion ſays, that after it had been inhabited by monks two hundred and ſeventy years, it was made a ſtable of clerks. Whether Dunſtan excited the monks to make theſe complaints, or the charging him with it was made a pretence to puniſh him, he was baniſhed the kingdom. Some ſay, he voluntarily went into exile, without any previous condemnation. However this be, he retired to a monastery in Flanders, where he lived in expectation of being recalled by ſome favourable turn of affairs.

Dunſtan's enemies gloried in his diſgrace. The king himſelf was highly delighted with being freed from a man whom he hated, and who, in the former reign, had ſhown him marks of diſreſpect. But he ſoon learnt how dangerous ſuch kind of enemies are. He found, by fatal experience, there is no giving offence to eccleſiaſtics with impunity, and to ſaints leaſt of all others. The monks, enraged to the laſt degree for the loſs of their benefices, cried down, to the utmoſt of their power, the adminiſtration of the young king, whom they conſidered as the principal author of their diſgrace. By their lies and calumnies which they every where ſpread, they at length perſuaded their votaries he was the moſt impious of men. The conſequence of which was, that great numbers of malecontents appeared in Mercia, of whom Edgar, the king's brother, was declared head and protector. Perhaps he was made to believe, by the ſuggeſtions of the monks, that he would do God ſervice in depoſing his wicked brother: or rather he uſed that pretence to mount the throne, of which he had yet but a very diſtant proſpect. However this be, having ſecured Mercia, he went into Northumberland and Eaſt-Anglia, where he found the Danes ready to join him. They deſired nothing more than to ſee the Engliſh involved in trouble and confuſion. This inſurrection was the more ſurpriſing to Edwy, as he had never given his people, much leſs his brother, any juſt cauſe of complaint: beſides he never imagined the monks would have intereſt enough to raiſe ſo great diſturbances. However, it was but too true, and as he was taken

Malmſb.
lib. ii. c.
7.

Dunſtan
baniſhed.
Sax. Ann.
S. Dunelm.

An inſur-
rection a-
gainſt Edwy.
Edgar heads
it.
Sax. Ann.
S. Dunelm.
Brompt.

957.

s S. Dunelm. and Hoved. call it the monastery of Blandunum, or Blandinum. Hollingſh. and Brompt. ſay it was the monastery of St. Amade at Gant.

unpre-

unprepared, he was not in condition to extinguish the flame already kindled. In this extremity, not knowing how to recover what he had lost, he chose to reduce himself to the sole kingdom of Wessex, which continued faithful to him, and deliver up all the rest. Edwy delivers up Mercia.

In the mean time, the rebels dreading to fall again under the dominion of Edwy, came to a resolution of having a king of their own, whose interest would oblige him to protect and defend them. But as they were a mixture of English and Danes, each nation was desirous the choice should fall on one of their countrymen. The Danes, to attain their ends, endeavoured to make it believed, that the only way to be safe from Edwy's attacks, was to call in the assistance of Denmark. But in truth, their aim was only to carry the election. The English, on the contrary, perceiving their intent, did all they could to hasten the election, representing how fatal their present state of anarchy might prove. But the more forward the English appeared to be, the more full of delays were the Danes, who daily raised fresh obstacles, in hopes there would be a necessity at last of sending for aid from Denmark. At length, after a year spent in debates, Edwy making no efforts for the recovery of his dominions, and consequently the assistance of Denmark becoming unnecessary, prince Edgar was chosen with the title of king of Mercia, by which was meant all the country lying north of the Thames, except the ancient kingdom of Essex. To heighten the merit of the new king, it was given out, that whilst the great men were deliberating on the choice of a king, a voice was heard from heaven, commanding them to elect Edgar. The revelation was easily swallowed by the people, at a time when it was the general opinion, that every the least remarkable event was attended by some miracle. The rebels chose a king.

EDWY
in Essex.

EDGAR
in Mercia.

This partition of England lasted not long. The being Edwy's death. deprived of the kingdom of Mercia, and the seeing the monks triumph over his misfortunes, sat so heavy upon Edwy's mind, that he fell into an excess of melancholy, which brought him to his grave, after he had reigned four years and some months.

t He was buried at Winchester, in the new monastery. Hoved.

If

Vit. Dun-
stan.
Malmsb.
lib. ii. c. 7.

If we believe the monkish writers, Edwy was a very wicked prince. Indeed, how was it possible for a king that did not please them, to be reckoned otherwise? However, when we examine all they say to blacken his reputation, we find but one thing which can have any foundation, and which after all has very much the air of a fiction, or at least, is greatly aggravated. They say, he kept the wife of one of his courtiers for his mistress; and on the very day of the coronation, whilst the great men were debating the affairs of the kingdom, he abruptly withdrew to the apartment of this woman, from whence he was brought back by Dunstan, who alone had the boldness to reprimand him for this infamous action^u. From that time, if we may believe them, the king and his mistress were so incensed against this holy man, that they would have proceeded to the taking away his life, had he not prevented their wicked design by a voluntary exile. But to give still a more convincing proof of the dissoluteness of Edwy, and the holiness of Dunstan, they have vented a thing which plainly shows what spirit they were of. They say, after Edwy's death, his soul being dragged into hell by a legion of devils, one of them was dispatched with the good news to Dunstan. But far from rejoicing at it, the saint prayed so intensely for the soul that was going to be eternally miserable, that God, moved by his zeal, snatched it from the devils, and translated it into paradise. This last instance of the animosity of the monks against Edwy, renders their charge of adultery very suspicious, especially if we consider he was not above fourteen years of age when he ascended the throne. Moreover, there are historians who assure us, this pretended mistress was his lawful wife^v. However this be, we may be certain Edwy might have had one or more mistresses, without all that clamour against him, had he been a favourer of the monks. For they were not at all offended at the amours of his brother Edgar, who was much more guilty than he in that respect. But the one was their friend, and the other their enemy. All historians however have not been guilty of this injustice to Edwy. Some have been more favourable to him, either passing over in silence

Brompt.

Malmsb.

Huntingd.
lib. v.

^u Some, to make the matter worse, say, he kept not only the daughter, whose name was Elgiva, but the mother too; and that he was on the bed between them both when Dunstan came to fetch him. M. West.

^v Some say she was his wife, but too near a kin, and therefore, that Odo the

archbishop seconding Dunstan, put the king under the lesser excommunication, and branded Elgiva in the forehead with a hot iron, and then banished her to Ireland. After her return, his heat against her continuing, he hanged her, says Malmsbury; but Obern lays it upon the revolvers. Vit. Dunst. Hove.

these

those frivolous accusations, or giving him the commendation he deserved*.

12. E D G A R the Peaceable.

E D W Y dying without issue, his brother Edgar succeeded him, and united the two kingdoms that were lately divided. Though he was not above sixteen years old, his great genius and solid judgment rendered him more capable of governing, than many other princes of a more advanced age. It cannot be denied, there are some men born with so good natural parts, that their judgment is ripe before the usual time. Edgar was one of this number. If he had given proof of his ability in depriving his brother of the half of his kingdom, he continued to do the same when he came to reign alone. He knew how to make himself obeyed by his subjects, and feared by his enemies, two things that undoubtedly demonstrated the great capacity of a crowned head.

957.
Qualities of
Edgar.
Sax. Ann.
Malmsh.

The first thing Edgar did, after he was elected king of Mercia, was to recall Dunstan from banishment, and promote him to the see of Worcester, than vacant. The suddenness wherewith this prelate was recalled, gives room to suspect he was, though absent, concerned in the insurrection that placed Edgar on the throne of Mercia. His great interest at court during this prince's reign, strengthens this suspicion.

Sax. Ann.

The reign of Edgar is chiefly remarkable for the continual peace the kingdom enjoyed; from whence he was surnamed the Peaceable. This uninterrupted calm was owing neither to his victories nor slothfulness, but to his extraordinary preparations for his defence, in case he should ever be engaged in a war. By this means he became so formidable, that no one durst venture to attack him. He always kept a standing army in the northern provinces, as well for a terror to the kings of Scotland and Wales, as to keep in awe his own subjects, particularly the Danes. This precaution was so much the more necessary, as he was sensible they were always ready to take advantage of any troubles and commotions in the state. His

Edgar's
great prepara-
tions pre-
pared him
a constant
peace.

x Huntingdon, who was no party in the quarrel, gives him a handsome character, and says, the country flourished under his government, and seems to lament he lived no longer. Hunt.

y A great council being held at Bradford in Wiltshire Dunstan was, by the general consent of all there present, chosen bishop. Vit. Dunstan.

His prodigious fleet.
Flor. Wig.
Malmsh.
Mat. West.
Ethelred.
Rievall.
Hoved.

Sax. Ann.

Edgar rowed by eight kings.
Malmsh.
lib. ii. c. vi.
S. Dunelm.
Brompt.

961.
He frees England from wolves.
Brompt.

own experience had taught him so much, since by their assistance it was, that he triumphed over his brother. On the other hand, to prevent the invasion of the foreign Danes, who were no less to be feared, he took the most effectual method. He is said to have fitted out great and small, four thousand ships. Some have even raised the number to four thousand eight hundred *. It is probable, this affair has been very much magnified: however, it shews at least the number of his ships was extraordinary. This numerous fleet, being distributed in all the ports of the kingdom, and cruising incessantly round the island, frightened the pyrates from making descents, and suffered no ship to come upon the coast unexamined. These precautions produced the effect intended by Edgar. They prevented invasions from abroad, and kept all quiet at home, by destroying all hopes of foreign assistance. With such an army and fleet, this prince without once drawing his sword, obliged the kings of Wales, Ireland, and the Isle of Man, to swear allegiance to him, and acknowledge him for sovereign. As a proof of his superiority over the kings his neighbours, the English historians relate a very extraordinary fact, which, if true, fully proves what they assert. They tell us, this prince keeping his court at Chester, and having a mind to go by water to the monastery of St. John Baptist, was rowed down the Dee in a barge by eight kings, himself sitting at the helm *.

Edgar, not content with having secured England from all foreign assaults, thought it necessary, for the further repose of his subjects, to free them from two domestic plagues, by which they were infested. The one was a horrible multitude of wolves, which coming down in droves from the mountains in Wales, made such a terrible havock among their flocks and herds, that the country was in a continual alarm. Hitherto they could find no remedy for this evil: but Edgar bethought himself of an expedient, which quickly cleared the country of

2 S. Dunelm. and Chr. Meilros have three thousand six hundred, p. 150. 150. W. Thorn says, the whole number was but three hundred, which is most probable. See Stow, p. 83. To maintain the charge of this fleet, besides the contributions of his subjects, he entered into a treaty at Chester with six kings, who engaged to assist him both by sea and land. Sax. Ann. With this fleet he used to sail round England every year after Easter. Flor. Wor. p. 607.

* These might be the kings of the

several kingdoms in Wales, of Anglesey, Man and Ireland. Some reckon among them Keneth III. of Scotland, who was vassal to Edgar for Cumberland. Hoved. Rapin. There was no such man as Keneth cotemporary with Edgar. See Anderson's Tables. These eight kings were Malcolm, king of Cumberland; Mackus, lord of the Isles; and these six Welch princes, Dufael, Sifert, Howel, Iago, Incheil, Jevaf. S. Dunelm. Malmsh.

them. In the first place he converted the tribute of gold, silver, and cattle, paid him yearly by the Welch, into three hundred wolves-heads. In the next place he published throughout all England, a general pardon for all past offences on condition each criminal brought him by such a time a certain number of wolves-tongues, in proportion to his crimes. Upon publishing this act of grace, the wolves were hunted and destroyed in such a manner, that in three years there was not one left in the kingdom.

The other plague that infested England was no less grievous; Edgar's it was another sort of wolves, who not satisfied with eating up flocks and herds, devoured houses and families. I mean the magistrates appointed in the cities and provinces to administer justice to the people. These mercenary judges, abusing the exorbitant power Edgar's predecessors had suffered them to usurp during the wars, was become intolerable to the nation. Without any regard to law or justice, they consulted only their own interest. They who made them the largest presents, were sure to be favoured; and though by that means the poor were most oppressed, the rich were not entirely screened from their partial proceedings. Alfred the Great endeavoured, by an extraordinary act of severity, to put a stop to this evil; but the ensuing wars prevented his successors from executing his laws. Edgar, undertaking to reform this abuse, set about it himself with great application. To this end he took a progress every year through some part of the kingdom, on purpose to hear the complaints against those judges who abused their authority. He was not satisfied with inspecting himself into their misdemeanors, but thought it farther necessary to redress them for the future, by making a law, that every judge convicted of giving sentence contrary to the laws, should be fined one hundred and twenty shillings, if he did it ignorantly; but if knowingly, should be cashiered for ever. It cannot be denied, that in this he acted as became a great prince, and that subjects who enjoy the double privilege, of being guarded against invasions from abroad, and oppressions at home, are perfectly happy. Such is the state of the English at this day under the present government.

If Edgar was a lover of peace, it was not for want of courage; that was never laid to his charge. There is related of him, which though it has the air of a fiction, proves at least, he was reckoned a courageous prince. It is said, that being informed, Kenneth III. king of Scotland, had jested on the littleness of his stature, he sent for him to court, and walking with him in a certain place where he had ordered

severity to
corrupt magistrates.
Malmsh.
S. Dunelm.

Ethelred
Rievall.
Lex. 8.
apud
Brompton.

Edgar's being thought
a courageous
prince.
Malmsh.
lib. ii. c. 8.

two swords to be hid, he bid him take his choice, telling him withal, he should see, if he pleased, what a little man could do. Keneth, as the story goes, was so far from accepting the challenge, that he threw himself at his feet and begged his pardon. I observe this relation is very improbable. In the first place, it is generally referred to the beginning of Edgar's reign; whereas Keneth III. came not to the crown of Scotland till five or six years before that prince's death. In the second place, the character the Scotch-historians give Keneth, will not suffer us to think him capable of such a piece of cowardice. Lastly, this adventure seems to have been confounded with one of the same nature, between a king of Scotland, and one of the lords of his court, related by Buchanan.

Edgar's attachment to the monks contributed to his great fame.
Malmsh.
Ingulph.
S. Dunelm.

Edgar's noble qualities, and the tranquility England enjoyed during his reign, render him, no doubt, very praise-worthy. But perhaps they would have been buried in eternal oblivion, had not his extraordinary attachment to the monks engaged them to proclaim his praises, even to an extravagant degree. His bigotry to them, which passed then for the most sublime virtue, was the principal reason of the commendations given him by historians, and of his being honoured with the title of saint after his death. He is said to have founded above forty monasteries, and repaired and beautified many more, particularly that of Glasfenbury, built by his uncle Edred. In short, he was so liberal to the monks, that it was hardly in his power to do more for them than he did. Ingulphus, in his history of the abbey of Croyland^b, says, that in the reign of Edgar, the treasure of that monastery amounted to ten thousand pounds, besides holy-vessels, shrines, relicks, and the like. This was a very great sum, considering that house had been rebuilt but thirty years. Hence may be guessed the immense riches of the monasteries in those days.

Edgar forms the scheme of replacing the monks in the benefices.
Sax: Ann.

Edgar, not content with being thus liberal to the monks, undertook to put them in possession again of the ecclesiastical benefices, which he performed with a high hand. Dunstan, whom he had made archbishop of Canterbury, was the principal author of this project. This prelate was so much in his favour, that Edred's affection to him was nothing in comparison of Edgar's. As he made a very considerable figure both in this and the following reign, it will not be improper to

^b He observes, that in 974, in Edgar's reign, one Swarling a monk of Croydon, died in the hundred and forty second year of his age, another in the hundred and fiftenth, which is the more remarkable, because that abbey was situated in a fenny and watery place in Lincolnshire, p. 31.

take a nearer view of him. Besides, he passed for a saint of the first class, and nothing can be added to the praises bestowed on him by historians.

Dunstan, son of Herstan, and nephew of Athelm, archbishop of Canterbury, was born at Glassenbury, in 925. He spent his youthful years with his uncle the archbishop, who took care to have him instructed in all the sciences, as far as that age of ignorance would permit. He excelled particularly in music, painting, and engraving, in which he took great delight all his life. As soon as he had finished his studies, the archbishop recommended him to king Athelstan, who sent for him to court, but however gave him no preferment. The author of his life pretends, the courtiers envying his virtue and learning, maliciously represented him to the king as a desolute and scandalous liver: which the king believing, forbid him the court, without examining the truth. Some time after, the archbishop finding means to undeceive the king, Dunstan was restored to favour, and presented with some lands near Glassenbury. Here he spent several years in retirement, with certain devout men, whom he had drawn thither, living with them a sort of monastic life. Glaston, or Glassenbury, was anciently a small church, founded, according to the vulgar opinion, by Joseph of Arimathea, as hath been observed elsewhere. The church having been destroyed, Devy, bishop of St. David's, built another in the same place. This being also decayed, was repaired by twelve devout persons, who coming from Armorica, settled in this place. Ina, king of Wessex, having pulled it down to the ground, raised a stately church, and dedicated it to Christ, St. Peter, and St. Paul. Several persons, famous for their piety, most of them Irish, retired to this church, where they were maintained by Edgar's bounty. From that time there were always devout persons, who made choice of this place for their retreat.

After Dunstan had been some time at Glassenbury, Edmund, successor to Athelstan, having conceived an esteem for him, built there a monastery^d, and made him abbot. As

^c They are said to teach here the liberal sciences, music, engraving and the like.

^d Mr. Camden says, Dunstan introduced into this monastery, a new order of monks, viz. Benedictines, who, by the bounty of princes, got so much wealth as exceeded that of kings. After they had as it were reigned here for above six hundred years (for all their neighbours were at their beck) they

were driven out by Henry VIII. and the monastery, which was environed with a wall of a mile in compass, and replenished with stately buildings, was by degrees entirely demolished. In his time there was a walnut-tree in the church-yard (but it is now gone, and a young one in its place) that was said never to bud before Barnabas day (12th of June) and always to shut out its leaves on that very day. And also a

Dunstan: an account of him.
Osbern Vit. Dunst.
G. Malmsh. G. Pontif. lib. i.

Osbern.

Glastonbury church and monastery.

Dunstan made abbot, G. Malmsh. lib. ii. cap. 8.

Dunstan was a person of great address, he knew how to manage this prince so dexterously, that he was very much in favour all his reign. His interest at court still encreased under Edred, to whom he was prime minister, favourite, and confessor. Dunstan's extreme fondness for a monastic life, made him use, without any caution, all his interest to restore the monks to the benefices, and eject the secular priests, whom he heartily despised and at length mortally hated. This attachment to the monks, added to his haughty carriage, procured him many enemies, and drew upon him the displeasure of Edwy, successor, of Edmund, as we have seen. The haste Edgar was in to recall this abbot from Flanders, is a clear evidence he was indebted to him for the crown of Mercia. Upon Dunstan's return to England, Edgar promoted him to the see of Worcester. Some time after, the bishopric of London being vacant, he was entrusted with the management of it: this had led some writers into the mistake of imagining he was bishop of Worcester and London at the same time. Edgar never ceased to give him fresh marks of his esteem, and his high conceit of him was the more confirmed by the miracle ascribed to him. The monks took all imaginable care to spread the fame of these miracles every where, and were so very particular in their circumstances, that one must have been much freer from prejudice than they generally were in those days, not to have believed them. It is however very unlikely, that Edgar himself, who was not of the number of those weak people that suffer themselves to be so easily deceived, was thoroughly convinced of their truth: but perhaps he was of opinion those pious frauds were no detriment to religion. Be this as it will, he had a very great opinion of Dunstan's sanctity. After Athelm's death, Odo, by birth a Dane, was made archbishop of Canterbury, but lived not long after his installation. To him succeeded Elnin, who died as he was going to Rome for his pall. This happening in the beginning of Edgar's reign, Brithelm, bishop of Bath, was elected to the vacant see. But Edgar being desirous of having Dunstan archbishop, called a general

and bishop
of Worcester.

Malmsh.
G. Pontf.

959.
S. Dunelm.
Dunstan
made arch-
bishop.

haw-thorn-tree (in Wimal Park, hard by) that budded on Christmas day as if it were in May. This tree has been cut down many years; but there are some still growing in the county, from branches of the old tree, particularly one in the garden of William Stroud, esq. possessor of the ground where the other stood; and another in the garden

of the White-hart inn in Glassenbury. These things seem to be relics of monkery.

e He was frozen to death on the Alps, which the monkish historians interpret as a judgment for his disrespect to Odo's grave. Malmsh. Others, for hisimony, Mat. Westm,

council,

council, where he represented Brithelm as unqualified for so great a post, whereupon he was ordered to return to his old diocese, and Dunstan was chosen in his room. This election not being exactly canonical, it was thought fit Dunstan should go to Rome, on pretence of receiving his pall, that he might at the same time justify these proceedings. The pope, who was not ignorant of Dunstan's great influence at the court of England, nor of his zeal in espousing the interest of the church of Rome and the monks, readily confirmed his election, constituting him moreover his legate for England, with a very extensive authority. At his return, Oswald 963. Sax. Ann. Oswald is made bishop of Worcester and Ethelward of Winchester. These three prelates, by holding together, intirely governed the church during this reign. Edgar committing to them the management of all ecclesiastical affairs, was not contended with granting whatever they desired, but even took a pleasure in doing them favours unasked.

As soon as Dunstan saw his credit firmly established, he returned to his grand project in favour of the monks, which he had been forced to lay aside during the reign of Edwy. This affair was not without its difficulties: the great men of the nation looked upon it as a misfortune, that the guidance of the churches should be wrested out of the hands of the ancient and lawful governors. They were still less pleased with its being committed to the monks, who, by the rule of their order, and according to the custom hitherto observed, were excluded from the pastoral functions, in order to employ themselves wholly in prayer, within the walls of their monasteries. Besides, they were of opinion, that instead of encouraging and enriching the monks, it would be much better to put a stop to the people's zeal, who were perpetually bequeathing to them considerable legacies, whereby estates were passed away in mortmain, to the great prejudice of the nation. It was easy therefore to see this project would meet with great opposition from the nobles. But on the other hand, the people who did not look so far before them, were entirely in the interest of the monks, and extremely offended at the scandalous lives of the secular clergy, who applied the revenues of the church to uses directly contrary to the intent of the donors^f. It must be confessed, the clergy at that time were

^f It must be observed, that after the demolishing of the abbeys in Alfred's time, the secular clergy repaired some of the monasteries, took possession of them, were incorporated under certain regulations, performed divine service in their

969.

were very ill livers, and that pride, avarice, gluttony, drunkenness, luxury, openly reigned among them. Dunstan and his party did all that lay in their power to expose these irregularities: in order to irritate the people against their pastors. They succeeded so well in their design, that multitudes espoused the cause of the monks, purely out of contempt of the secular clergy. But what did the monks most service was the king's being so vigorous a champion for them. His good opinion of them was still increased by comparing them with the seculars, who indeed observed no measures in their excesses: and therefore this prince thought to do the church signal service in putting it under the government of the monks, whom he looked upon as so many saints. Edgar being thus inclined, Dunstan found no difficulty to persuade him to countenance a reformation he believed so advantageous to the church. To give the finishing stroke to this work, he caused a council to be assembled, in hopes their authority, together with the king's, would surmount all obstacles. Edgar was pleased to assist in person at this council, and made a speech, which plainly shewed how greatly he was prejudiced in their favour. As this harangue manifestly discovers the disposition of the king, of Dunstan, and of the other directors of the affairs of the church, with regard to the secular clergy, it will not perhaps be amiss to give the reader the whole of it; and the rather, as it relates to one of the principal events of this reign.

Edgar's harangue to the council. Ethelred, Rievollen-ss, p. 260.

Almighty God having vouchsafed of his infinite mercy to shew his goodness to us in a remarkable manner, it is most reasonable, reverend fathers, we should exert our endeavours to make a suitable return. That we are in possession of this plentiful country is not owing to any strength of our own, but to the help of his all-powerful arm, who has been pleased to manifest his loving-kindness towards us. It is but just therefore we should bring ourselves, our souls, and bodies, in subjection to him, who has subdued all things for us, and should take care that all that are under us should be obedient to his laws. It is my office, reverend fathers to administer justice without respect of persons; suppress the rebellious; to punish the sacrilegious to protect the poor and weak from the hand of the oppressor. It is my business also to take care that the church and her ministers, the holy fraternities of the religious, have all things necessary to their subsistence and well being. But it is your duty to their respective churches, lived single stood in the same condition with our of married as they thought fit, and present prebendaries.

examine

' examine into the life and conversation of the clergy. To
 ' you it belongs to see that they live agreeably to their pro-
 ' fession: that they are sober, temperate, chaste, hospitable
 ' to the poor and the stranger: that they are careful in the ad-
 ' ministration of their office, constant in their instructions to
 ' the people. In a word, that they are worthy of the glor-
 ' ious character of the ministers of Jesus Christ. With submis-
 ' sion be it spoken, reverend fathers, had you taken due care
 ' of these things, I should not have had the dissatisfaction of
 ' hearing from all hands the enormous crimes daily com-
 ' mitted by the clergy of this land. I insist not on the small-
 ' ness of their tonsure, contrary to the canons of the church,
 ' or their effeminacy in their habits, or their haughtiness in
 ' their gestures, on their immodest discourses, which plainly
 ' shew all is not right within. I omit their negligence with
 ' regard to divine service: hardly will they vouchsafe their
 ' company at the public prayers, and when they come to
 ' church to celebrate the holy mysteries, one would think
 ' they were going to act a play. But the chief subject of my
 ' complaint, I speak it with extreme regret, is what ministers
 ' occasion of grief to the good, and of joy to the prophane,
 ' I mean the lewd and scandalous lives of the clergy. They
 ' spend their days in diversions, entertainments, drunkenness,
 ' and debauchery. Their houses may be said to be so many
 ' sinks of lewdness, public stages, and receptacles of liber-
 ' tines. There they have gaming, dancing, and obscene
 ' singing. There they pass the night in rioting and drunk-
 ' enness. It is thus, reverend fathers, it is thus the bounty
 ' of my predecessors to the church, and their charities for
 ' the maintenance of the poor, and what is more, the ador-
 ' able blood of our Saviour, are consumed. Was it for this
 ' that our ancestors exhausted their treasures? was it for
 ' this they were so liberal of their estates? was it to deck
 ' the concubines of their priests, to provide for them splen-
 ' did entertainments, to furnish them with dogs and hawks,
 ' that our forefathers displayed their munificence to the
 ' church? These are the crimes which the people complain
 ' of in private, and the soldiers in public; which are sung
 ' in the streets, and acted on the stage; and yet they are
 ' forgiven, they are overlooked, they are connived at by you?
 ' Where is now the sword of Levi, and the zeal of Simeon?
 ' where is the wrath of Moses against the worshippers of the
 ' golden calf? where is the indignation of St. Peter against
 ' Simon the magician? Imitate, reverend fathers, imitate
 ' the zeal of these holy persons, and follow the way of right-
 ' eousness,

Deut. xxxvi.
91

‘teoufnefs, fhewn you by the Lord. It is high time for you
 ‘to draw the fword of St. Peter, whilft I make ufe of the
 ‘great Conftantine’s. Let us join our forces to expel the
 ‘lepers out of the temple, to cleanse the fanctuary, and to
 ‘caufe the Lord to be ferved by the true fons of Levi, ‘ who
 ‘faid to his father, and to his mother, I know you not ;
 ‘and to his brethren, I know not who you are?’ Let the
 ‘difrefpect to the relics of the faints, and the daily profaning
 ‘of the holy altars, rouze you up. Be moved at the great
 ‘abufe of the piety of our forefathers. One of my ancestors,
 ‘you all know, dedicated to the church the tithes of the king-
 ‘dom : the glorious Alfred, my great-grandfather, laid out
 ‘his revenues in religious ufes. You are not ignorant of the
 ‘great benefactions of my father and uncle, which it would
 ‘be highly difhonourable fofoon to forget, feeing the altars
 ‘are ftill adorned with them. You, O Dunftan, father of
 ‘fathers, raife your imagination a little, I pray you, and fancy
 ‘you behold my father looking down from heaven, and ex-
 ‘poflulating with you in this manner : ‘ It was you that ad-
 ‘vifed me to the building of fo many churches and mona-
 ‘fteries ; it was you I made choice of for my fpiritual guide,
 ‘and the infpector of my behaviour. Did not I always obey
 ‘your voice ? did I not always prefer your advice before
 ‘wealth ? how frankly did I lay out my treafures, when
 ‘you faid the word ? my charities were always ready when
 ‘you called for them. Whatever was defired for the churches
 ‘was immediately granted. If you complained the monks
 ‘were fhort in their conveniencies, they were forthwith fup-
 ‘plied. You ufed to tell me, fuch liberalities brought forth
 ‘immortal fruit, and were highly meritorious, fince they
 ‘were expended in fupporting the fervants of God, and main-
 ‘taining the poor. And is it not an intolerable fhame they
 ‘fhould be laid out in adorning and decking a pack of pro-
 ‘ftitutes ? are thefe the fruits of my benefactions ? are thefe
 ‘the effects of your glorious promifes ?’ Thefe, O Dun-
 ‘ftan, are the complaints of the king my father. What can
 ‘you answer to this charge ? I am convinced that you have
 ‘hitherto been unblameable, when ‘you faw a thief, you
 ‘confented not to him, neither have you been partaker with
 ‘the adulterer.’ No, you have endeavoured to correct thefe
 ‘abufes. You have argued, exhorted, threatened. But fince
 ‘thefe means have proved in vain, it is time to apply more
 ‘effectual remedies. You have here ready to affift you the
 ‘reverend father Ethelwald bifhop of Winchefter, and the
 ‘venerable Orwald bifhop of Worcefter. To you three I
 ‘refer

‘ refer the management of this important affair. Extelt the
 ‘ episcopal in conjunction with the regal authority, to expel
 ‘ from the church of God the disorderly clergy, and put in
 ‘ such as live regularly in their room &c.’

After the king had made so full a declaration of his mind, the friends of the seculars durst no longer oppose Dunstan’s designs, perceiving it would be to no purpose. Shortly after, the secular priests were expelled from the monasteries, and the regulars put in their place. Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester, leading the way in his diocese, was quickly followed by Dunstan and Oswald, and all the other bishops, who, being monks, without much solicitation, imitated these three prelates. The ancient historians, for the most part, represent those days as the golden age, and as the happiest England ever knew.

964.
 Sax. Ann.
 G. Malmesb.
 lib. ii. cap. 2.
 S. Dunelm.

Perhaps it will seem strange that the secular clergy should at this time be more bitterly inveighed against than in the following centuries, when the lives of the priests were no less scandalous. To account for this, it must be observed, the popes had for some time prohibited the clergy from marrying, and were very severe to all who refused to comply with their decrees. This prohibition, which at present is a fundamental article in the church of Rome, met at first with great opposition, especially in England, which set the pope upon using all means to bring the English priests to a compliance. Dunstan’s interest, and his address to engage Edgar in the project, were great helps to them. We must therefore carry in our minds this prohibition against the clergy’s marrying, in order to comprehend the occasion of the complaints of the monks and their favourers against the seculars, and to judge how far they are to be credited. Though it is but too true, the priests at that time led very disorderly lives, yet that was not the thing that drew this storm upon them: it was their marriage which gave the offence, and which their enemies would have to be thought a more heinous crime than concubinage, or any other they could lay to their charge. Their wives were always called concubines, or by a more opprobrious name. But notwithstanding all the endeavours of the court of Rome, this pretended abuse could not be reformed till the end of the twelfth century, when the celibacy of the clergy was established after a three hundred years struggle.

Remarks on
 the invectives against
 the secular
 clergy.

g Collier observes this speech is raised and polished in the original above the elocution of the tenth century; and therefore says, he should have supposed

Josselin might have worked the matter he found into a brighter form, had he not met with this harangue in Rievalensis, an ancient historian.

The

Observations on Edgar's character and encomium given him by the monks.

The monks were bound in gratitude to make a suitable return for the service Edgar had done them. Accordingly, the monkish historians have endeavoured by their excessive commendations to make him pass for a real saint. But whether for want of attention, or some other reason, they have related some particulars of his life, which beget not that idea they intended to give of him. Indeed, to consider only his political actions, it must be confessed, he was a great prince. But a great king and a great saint, are two very different characters. For instance, it is difficult to justify, by the rules of the gospel, a bloody execution^h done by Edgar's order in the isle of Thanet, upon a very slight occasion, as historians do allow. What might not these same historians have said of his unruly lust, and vicious inclination to womenⁱ, of which I am now going to give a few instances, who published to the world that the soul of his brother Edwy was about to be dragged into hell, for having had but a single mistress?

It was easy to see if Edgar had not purchased the good opinion of the monks by his excessive complaisance, they would have given him no better quarter than his predecessor, who was much less faulty in that respect.

Edgar's amours.

Malmsb. lib. i. c. 8:

To conclude the reign of Edgar, which was disturbed neither by foreign nor domestick wars, it remains only that I give an account of his amours, which are something uncommon, and shew his good qualities were not without a great mixture of failings. His first mistress was a nun, whom he took by force out of a convent, and could not be prevailed with to send back again by the solicitations of Dunstan. He had a daughter by her named Editha, who was greatly celebrated for her sanctity. It is true, he atoned for his crime by not wearing his crown during the space of seven years. A severe penance, indeed, for a fault his confessor ought to have looked upon as a sacrilege! But this is not the first time the sins of princes have been extenuated, and the rigor of their penance magnified. His second mistress, whom some however call his lawful wife, was Elfreda, surnamed the Fair, from her complexion. By her he had a son called Edward, who succeeded him. An extraordinary adventure gained him a third mistress. Going one day by Andover, he took up his lodging at a lord's house, who had a very beautiful daughter, with

Malmsb. Ibid.

^h Edgar in the Saxon Annals, anno 969, is said to have ordered all Thanet to be laid waste. Brompton says, it was for insulting his laws. M. Westminster affirms, it was for seizing and

plundering some York merchants that touched upon the island.

ⁱ Malmsbury owns, that he was reported to have been lascivious and cruel.

whom

whom he fell passionately in love at first sight. As he was very violent in his passions, he resolved to gratify his love without delay, so commanded the young lady to be brought to his bed, without troubling himself to obtain her consent. The mother of the lady being utterly against her daughter's being the king's concubine; but withal, dreading by her denial, to draw down his displeasure upon herself and family, devised this expedient. She prevailed upon one of her waiting-women to lie with the king instead of her daughter. At break of day, the king perceiving his bedfellow was going to rise, would not let her, by which means she was forced to discover the cheat. He was at first very angry at being thus deceived. But the good-liking he had taken to the girl moderating his anger, and giving him time to reflect on the dishonour he intended his host, he readily forgave the trick he had been served. He kept this girl as his mistress till he married.

As all Edgar's amours, it seems, were to have something particular in them, so his very marriage was not to be in the common way. He was informed that Ordang, earl of Devonshire, had a daughter the greatest beauty in England; upon which he resolved to marry her, if she answered the description given of her. However, as he was unwilling to make any advances he might have reason to repent of, he communicated his design to earl Ethelwold his favourite, and ordered him to go upon some pretence, and see whether the lady's beauty was as great as fame reported. Ethelwold being arrived at the earl of Devonshire's, had no sooner cast his eyes on Elfrida his daughter, but he fell desperately in love with her. His passion was so sudden and violent, that forgetting all the king his master's favours, he demanded Elfrida for himself. His suit being granted, he was married as privately as possible, making his father-in-law believe he had important reasons for not divulging his marriage. Returning soon after to court, he told the king there was nothing extraordinary in Elfrida. that he was amazed the world should talk so much of her charms, that probably the fame of her beauty was owing more to her father's riches than any thing else. This report, which was far from inflaming the king's love, had the effect Ethelwold expected. Edgar, growing out of conceit with the match, laid aside all thoughts of it. Ethelwold perceiving the king was grown perfectly cool upon the matter, represented to him one day, that though the fortune of the earl of Devonshire's daughter was nothing to a king, yet it would be the making of a subject; and therefore humbly desired his leave to make his addresses to her, as being the greatest heiress

Edgar's
marriage.
Malmab.
lib. ii. c. 8.
Brompt.

in the kingdom. Edgar, who had lost all inclinations to Elfrida, very willingly granted his favourite's request, and even appeared extremely well pleased that he was likely to marry to so great an advantage. Ethelwold, as soon as he had obtained the king's consent, returned to his wife, and publicly solemnized his wedding. But fearing his spouse should appear too beautiful in the king's eyes, he kept her on some pretence at his country seat, without suffering her to come to court.

How cautious soever Ethelwold had been, it was not possible his treachery should be long a secret. Favourites are seldom without private enemies, who desired nothing more than to have an opportunity of ruining them. Edgar at length was informed of the truth; but dissembling his resentment, he was willing, before he shewed it, to be satisfied with his own eyes of the truth of what had been told him. To that end, he took occasion to go into those parts where Ethelwold kept his wife, and when he came near the place, told him he had a mind to visit his lady, of whom he had formerly heard so many fine things. Ethelwold was thunder-struck at this, and did all he could to divert the king from his purpose; but his artifices were all in vain, and served only to confirm the king the more in his resolution. All he could obtain, was leave to go before, on pretence of preparing for the king's reception. As soon as he came home, he threw himself at his lady's feet, and confessing what he had done for the sake of possessing her; conjured her to use all her endeavours to conceal her charms from the amorous king. Elfrida promised him whatever he desired, but was bent however to break her word. No sooner was he gone to meet the king, but she set off her natural beauty with all the art she was mistress of. The event answered her expectation. The moment Edgar cast his eyes on her, he fell desperately in love, and from that instant was resolved to make her his own. The better to effect his design, he pretended to see nothing extraordinary in Elfrida's beauty, at which the husband was overjoyed. He took his leave of her with a seeming indifference, but at the same time in his heart raged love and revenge, which of all the passions raise the most violent emotions in the soul of man. Quickly after, he ordered Ethelwold to go for Northumberland, on pretence of some urgent affairs. But the unfortunate earl never performed his journey. He was found dead in a wood, where he was thought at first to be murdered by robbers. But people's eyes were soon opened, when they saw that the king, instead of making inquiry after the murderers, married the widow.

Some

Some say, that Edgar slew Ethelwold with his own hand at a hunting match ^k.

After what has been said, it is easy to see, there was a great ^{Edgar's} mixture of good and bad qualities in this prince, and that the ^{character.} commendations given him are in many respects carried too far. This was the effect of the prejudice of the monks in his favour, for his so vigorous espousing their cause. This preju- ^{S. Dunelm.} dice was so great, that one of them makes no scruple to say, ^{Brompt.} Edgar was to the English, what Romulus was to the Romans, Cyrus to the Persians, Alexander to the Macedonians, Arsaces to the Parthians, and Charlemagne to the French. But one plainly perceives, this encomium raises his character too high, since he came infinitely short of the great men he is compared with. After-ages, less prepossessed in his favour, have ranked him among more suitable company, in a much lower class. Very judicious historians have taken him from among the saints, where his flatterers placed him, and have not scrupled to rank him in the number of the vilest of princes ¹. This ^{Brompt.} notion of him may be grounded on what is related of Canutus ^{P. 909.} the Great, who upon mention of the sanctity of Editha, Edgar's daughter, said, "He could never believe it possible for "the daughter of so wicked a father to be a saint." This leaves room to suspect, the monkish historians have passed over in silence several of Edgar's actions, which would have made us conceive a very different idea of their hero, from what they have given us.

Edgar reigned sixteen years from the death of his brother ^{975.} Edwy. He died in 975, in the thirty-second year of his age, leaving two sons and a daughter. Edward, his eldest son, was ^{Edgar's} born of a concubine, or at least of a very doubtful marriage. ^{death and} Ethelred, his youngest, was the son of the beautiful Elfrida. ^{children.} Editha his daughter by his first mistress passed her days in a nunnery, and after her death was honoured with the title of saint ^m.

^k Malmesbury says, he took Ethelwold into a wood (Harwood forest) upon pretence of hunting, and killed him there with his lance. The natural son of this nobleman happening to come in at this accident, and viewing the dead body of his father, the king sternly asked him, "How he liked the game?" The youth replied calmly, that whatsoever pleased the king, ought not to be displeasing to him. This courtly answer, on so moving an occasion, surprised the king, and gave him a strong affection for the young man ever after.

Elfrida built a nunnery in the place where her husband was slain. Malm.

¹ Dr. Burnet in his preface to the History of the Reformation, places Edgar in the same class with Brunibild and Irene. Rapin.

^m By Elfrida (whether his wife or concubine is uncertain) he had Edward who succeeded him. Hoved. p. 426.—By Wifrida, a nun, he had Editha. Malmesb. p. 60.—And by Elfrida, earl Ordgar's daughter, he had Edmund, who died in his infancy in 971, and Ethelred. Sax. Ann.

Edgar

Malmsh.
lib. ii. c. 8.

Edgar had too well deserved of them, who looked upon themselves as authorized to reward their votaries with a saintship, not to have a place in the Calendar. But as there are no other proofs of his sanctity during his life, but his affection to the monks, and his founding monasteries^a, it is pretended, he gave more substantial ones after his death. It was reported, when his body was taken out of the coffin, to be put into a stately shrine, it was as fresh as when he resigned his last breath. It was further affirmed, that the shrine being made too short, though he was low of stature^o, and some body daring to sever his head from his body, the blood gushed out in great abundance. After such convincing proofs as these of the sanctity of this prince, his body was placed near the high altar of Glasfenbury church, where it was said to work afterwards several miracles.

13. EDWARD II. the Martyr.

Diffensions
on account
of the
monks.
Sax. Ann.
Malmsh.
lib. ii. c. 9.
Huntingd.
S. Dunelm.

UPON Edgar's decease, they who had with impatience born the great power of the monks, thought it a fair opportunity to reduce them to their primitive state. Elser, duke of Mercia, their sworn enemy, turned them out of all the benefices they possessed in that province, and replaced the seculars in their room. Some other lords did the like in other places. But the duke of East-Anglia^p, and several other great men, firmly adhered to Dunstan and his party. This diversity of opinion, on account of the monks, caused such heart-burnings among the nobles, that they were upon the point of coming to blows. The breach still grew wider, when they came to chuse a successor to the deceased king. That prince had left two sons who had both their adherents, though their age would not permit them to prosecute their respective titles to the crown. Many believed it was devolved to Ethelred,

ⁿ It is observed that his building so many monasteries (forty-eight, says Ingulphus, p. 45) proved one great occasion of the Danes conquering England; for by these means he exhausted the treasury, and gave great portions of lands for the maintenance of the monks, who refused his son Ethelred assistance according to his necessity. Brady.

^o Though Edgar as to his person was

both low and slender, yet was he so well proportioned, that he is said to contend often with such as were thought strongest in his court; and disliked nothing more than that they should spare him out of respect, or fear of hurting him.

^p Ethelwin. He, and others, assembled an army, and protected the monasteries in East-Anglia. S. Dunelm. pretend-

pretending there was a flaw in Edward's birth, and that his mother was never lawfully married to Edgar. But Dunstan and all the bishops were for Edward, pleading his being named his successor by Edgar in his last will and testament. To this was added another, and no less powerful motive to them that espoused his interest, namely, their expectation of governing the kingdom under this young prince, which they could not hope for, if they placed his brother on the throne, because his mother Elfrida did not seem much inclined to be guided by their counsels.

In the mean time Ethelred's party being most numerous, Dunstan Edward was in danger of being excluded, if Dunstan his supporter did not find means to break their measures. As he saw himself favoured by the people from their high conceit of his sanctity, he made use of their inclinations to execute his designs. In the midst of the public debates which of the two princes should succeed, Dunstan suddenly rising up, and taking prince Edward by the hand, leads him towards the church, attended by the other bishops and a great crowd of people. As soon as he comes there, he anoints the young prince king, without regarding the opposition of the contrary party. The nobles bemoaned their falling once more under the government of that imperious prelate. But as they saw the people ready to support him, they were forced to submit.

Edward was but fourteen years old when he began to reign under the guardianship of Dunstan, who immediately took all the power into his hands. As soon as he was fixed in the regency, he used all possible endeavours to keep the monks in possession of the benefices they had acquired in the last reign, and made use of the king's authority to that end. But he met with greater opposition than he imagined. As the king was but a minor, the orders given in his name were not so readily complied with. Dunstan assembled several councils about this affair. But perhaps his endeavours would have all proved ineffectual, if by means of several miracles which were never wanting upon occasion, he had not brought the people to believe that heaven interposed in the affair.

In one of these councils held at Winchester, the majority being against the monks, they would have infallibly lost their cause, if, on a sudden, a crucifix that hung aloft in the room had not pronounced these words with an audible voice; "It

q Particularly one in 977 at Kirtling, in East-Anglia, (now Kirtling or Catridge, in Cambridgeshire. Camd.) The Sax. Ann. call the place Kyntling-

tune, which is supposed to be Kyrtlington in Oxfordshire. Tyrrel, p. 16. Another of these synods was held at Ambresbury. Flor. Wor.

Dunstan crowns Edward by his own authority. S. Dunelm. Brompton.

The contest between the priests and the monks is revived.

Several councils about it.

Miracles in favour of the monks. Malmsh. lib. ii. c. 9. Eadmer. J. Pike.

"shan't be done, it shan't be done : you have decided the matter well hitherto, and would be to blame to change." Astonished at this oracle, the most obstinate came in and voted for the monks.

Another time at an assembly in the same place, Dunstan used all his endeavours to have Elphegus a monk chosen dean of that church ; but the people were for having that dignity conferred on a secular priest. The contest ran so high, that there was like to be a sedition which might have been of dangerous consequence. But St. Andrew the apostle on a sudden revealing to St. Dunstan in the audience of all the people, that the monk ought to be elected, he was immediately installed. These and several other miracles, too many to be inserted here, not being however sufficient to unite all men in favour of the monks, there was one at last that stopped the mouths of their most strenuous opposers.

978.
A remarkable accident at the council of Calne. Sax. Ann. Malmsh. Huntingd. Kadmer.

Dunstan had called a council at Calne in Wiltshire, to decree that the monks should keep possession of their benefices. This was one of those mixt councils spoken of hereafter, where the king and all the nobility were present, as well as the bishops and abbots. Probably the affair would have been decided against the monks, considering the great number of their opposers in this assembly. But whilst they were warmly disputing on both sides, the floor of the room happened to break under the company, and crushed several to death. The beam on which Dunstan's chair was placed, was the only one that did not give way, so that he came off unhurt ; whilst scarce a man besides himself in this numerous assembly escaped being either killed or bruised. This was sufficient to convince the people the monks were the favourites of heaven, since their head and protector was so wonderfully preserved. There were some malicious people however, who insinuated that Dunstan prevented the king, contrary to custom, from being in the council that day. After this seasonable accident the monks were left unmolested ; whether the miraculous preservation of Dunstan had made an impression upon the minds of his enemies, or their most potent opposers perished in their fall.

979.
The tragical end of king Edward. Sax. Ann. Malmsh. lib. ii. c. 9.

Besides these ecclesiastical matters, we find nothing remarkable in the reign of Edward, but his tragical death in 979, four years after he ascended the throne. The story is thus related by the greatest part of historians. Edward passing one day, as he was returning from hunting, near Corf-castle, where

r Huntingd. says he saved himself by taking hold of a beam, p. 357.

s In the island Purbeck in Dorsetshire. This castle is a considerable piece

where his mother-in-law Elfrida resided with her son Ethelred, rid off from his company, in order to pay her a visit. Elfrida being told the king was at the gate, ran to receive him, and urged him very earnestly to alight, and come in to refresh himself. But as the king's design was only to pay his respects to his mother-in-law as he went by her castle, he only desired a glass of wine to drink her health. Whether Elfrida had already formed a design of destroying the king, to make way for her son to the crown, or that favourable opportunity put the thought in her head, the young king had no sooner lifted the glass to his mouth, but a ruffian stabbed him in the back with a dagger^t. Perceiving himself wounded, he set spurs to his horse, which soon carried him out of sight; but not being able to keep his saddle, by reason of the loss of blood, he fell off his horse. To complete his misfortunes, his foot hung in the stirrup, and by that means he was dragged a good way before his horse stopped, near a poor blind woman's house that stood in the road. To this house, the people sent Brompton, after him by Elfrida, tracing him by his blood, found him dead, and his body miserably torn. Elfrida imagining she could conceal this horrid deed, known only to her domestics, ordered the corps to be thrown into a well. But it was found there a few days after, and carried to Warham^u, from whence it was removed to Shaftsbury, and laid in a monastery founded by king Alfred. It is pretended to have worked many miracles there; that a blind man was restored to his sight, and a cripple to his limbs, by only touching the body. The poor woman also, in whose house his body lay one night, is said to be cured by his intercession; and the well into which he was thrown, endued with the virtue of healing several sorts of distempers. In fine, it is reported that Elfrida, curious to know herself the truth of these miracles, resolved to go to the place; but her horse, in spite of all her endeavours, would not stir one step forward. With such prodigies as these do the histories of those times abound. Thus far is certain, Elfrida, willing to atone for her crime, founded two nunneries, one at Ambresbury^w, and another at Whorwell

piece of antiquity; the foundation whereof is not cleared by history. After the strength and safety of the realm began to consist in castles, this was one of the most principal belonging to the crown. It was repaired by Henry VII. and in the civil wars was a garrison for the king, defended by the owner, lord chief justice Banks, Camd. Add. to Dorset.

^t Knighton says, that Elfrida herself stabbed him.

^u In Dorsetshire. Part of his body was buried in Leot or Leof's monastery, (perhaps Leominster) near Hereford; and the other part at Abingdon. Knighton and Higdon.

^w In Wiltshire, so called from Ambrosius, who built here a monastery for

Malmsh.

wel near Andover. In this last she shut herself up, in order to do penance the residue of her days. She is said to have frequently covered her body all over with little crosses to keep off the devil, whom she had but too much reason to fear.

I do not know upon what foundation Edward was made both a saint and a martyr, unless it was pretended, he was murdered out of revenge for his great affection to Dunstan and the monks. Indeed that was sufficient then to procure him these glorious titles. It is certain, in those days all the favourers of the monks passed for so many saints, and their enemies for the objects of God's wrath. However this be, the young prince, whose reign I have gone through, is generally known by the name of Edward the Martyr ².

for three hundred monks, to pray for the souls of the British noblemen slain by Hengist. The tomb of Quinever, Arthur's wife, was found here within this last century, and this inscription on the wall in massy gold letters, R. G. A. C. 6co. The antiquity of which is very suspicious, since she must have out-lived Arthur fifty years; and besides, she is said by historians of credit to have been buried at Glaffenbury. Queen Elfrida's nursery is famous for queen Eleanor's being a nun there; and also Mary daughter to

Edward I. with thirteen nobleman's daughters, were veiled here on Assumption Day. Camd. Add. to Wilt.

x King Edward's martyrdom was kept on three several days; on the day he was murdered, and at the two removes of his body. See Martyr. Engl. 18. of March, and Feb. and June 20. He has likewise the honour of standing in the Roman Martyrology, March 18. where Baronius takes notice of a letter in pope Innocent V's register, for the keeping St. Edward's Festival, Coll. l. 3.

THE

State of the Church of ENGLAND,

FROM

The Union of the seven kingdoms to the end
of the reign of EDWARD the Martyr.

THE continual wars in England during the hundred and State of the Church, fifty years we have run through, were no less fatal to the church than the state. They produced an extreme corruption of manners. The destruction of the churches and monasteries, the plundering what was designed for their subsistence, and the necessity of defending themselves against the Danes, and of being wholly employed in the exercise of arms, turned multitudes from the study of religion. It is no wonder therefore, if during such troublesome times, we meet with very few materials for an ecclesiastical history. To this may be added, the greatest part of the monasteries, where the memoirs of what passed in church and state were preserved, having been demolished, the historians who have wrote of those times, were deprived of that assistance. The reader therefore must expect to find but few remarkable events relating to religion, but few councils to inform us of the doctrine and faith of the church of England, and but very few learned men, whose writings might afford us some light. It will be necessary however to relate the principal circumstances transmitted down to us, as they will be of service in clearing the events of future and more happy times.

During the reign of Egbert, nothing happened in the church worth notice. Ethelwulph's reign furnishes us with a subject, of which, though mentioned elsewhere, it will not be improper to speak a little more fully in this place; I mean the grant of the tithes. The charter runs thus :

“ I, ETHELWULPH, by the grace of God king of Ethel
“ the West Saxons, &c. with the advice of the bishops, earls, wulph's
“ and all other persons of distinction in my dominions, have, charter for
“ for the health of my soul, the good of my people, and the the tithes.

THE HISTORY

“ sperity of my kingdom taken the prudent and serviceable
 “ resolution of granting the tenth part of the lands through-
 “ out my whole kingdom, to the church and ministers of
 “ religion, to be enjoyed by them with all the privileges of
 “ a free tenure, and discharged from all services due to the
 “ crown, and all other incumbrances incident to lay-fees.
 “ The grant has been made by us to the church, in honour
 “ of Jesus Christ, the blessed virgin, and all saints, and out
 “ of regard to the paschal solemnity and that almighty God
 “ might vouchsafe his blessing to us and our posterity.

“ Dated at the palace of Wilton, in the year 854, in-
 “ diction the second, at the feast of Easter.”

Remarks on
 this charter.

The terms, date and subscriptions of this charter, have induced several learned men to believe it spurious. But without entering into the controversy, I shall content myself with observing, that long before this charter, the clergy of England claimed a right to the tithes, if they were not already in actual possession of them. This is evident from the seventeenth canon of the council of Calcuith, held in 785, where we find they urged the payment of tithes from the law of Moses. It is true, king Ethelwulph might have a mind to confirm the rights of the clergy, by granting them a charter for the same. But in that case, it is something strange he should pass over in silence the divine right of tithes, on which the clergy chiefly insisted. If this charter therefore is not to be considered as a forgery, it seems at least to be of very doubtful authority. Add to this, that by the tenth part of the lands must necessarily be meant the tenth part of the profits; which must be owned to be a very forced interpretation, especially in a primordial act, such as this^a.

In the reigns of Ethelbald, Ethelbert, and Ethelred I. we have nothing relating to the church, but the destruction of the monasteries, and the pathetic descriptions made by the historians, of the Danish fury exercised upon the monks. This they chiefly insist upon, as being, in their opinion, the

^a The charter here translated is in the Monasticon, p. 100. and is dated at Wilton in 854. Whereas there is another charter very different from this in Ingulphus and Matthew of Westminster, dated at Winchester in 855. To solve this difficulty, it is supposed that Ethelwulph repeated this grant first at Wilton for the tithes only of his own demesnes, and the year fol-

lowing at Winchester, for the tithes of the whole kingdom. Though it must be owned that they both seemed equally to extend to all his dominions. See Ingulph. p. 17. Edit. Gal. & M. West. Flor. Hist. An. 854. Ingulphus says, this charter was made after Ethelwulph's return from Rome; but that could not be, seeing he was then only king of Kent,

most

most material historical events. They particularly lament the three famous monasteries of Croyland, Ely and Medeshamsted, whose monks were all massacred, and the libraries burnt.

The pretended martyrdom of Edmund king of East-Anglia would require our notice, had it not been spoken of elsewhere^b. I call it pretended, because it does not appear, this prince lost his life in any of those causes which make the sufferer a martyr. Otherwise we must say, that there were in England as many martyrs as there were christians put to death by the Danes. However, he stands in the calendar with that title, and miracles were affirmed to be frequently wrought at his tomb during several ages^c.

Remarks on
Edmund's
Martyrdom.

Though I have amply insisted on every thing concerning the reign of Alfred, it will not be improper to remind the reader of two things, which may be of use hereafter. The first is, the ruin of the monasteries, which was so great, there was not a monk left in England, being all slain by the Danes, or forced to fly out of the kingdom. Some of them perhaps took other professions when they saw the loss of their revenues had deprived them of their subsistence. As soon as Alfred was rid of the Danes, he built monasteries, and furnished them with foreign monks, there being none to be found in the kingdom. It will seem strange, no doubt, that he should chuse to be at the charge of new monasteries, rather than repair the old, whose walls, for the most part, were still remaining. But it must be observed, the secular clergy had taken possession of them, and lived there in common under the direction of an arch-priest. It is plain, Alfred saw some inconveniency in dislodging them.

The other thing I would put the reader in mind of, is, the gross ignorance the English were fallen into during the war with the Danes. We have already seen in the life of Alfred, how that prince himself complained of it, and resolved for

^b Anno 945. K. Edward I. gave one of his royal towns, then called Beadricesworth, with divers otherlands, to build a church and monastery, in memory of St. Edmund the martyr, whose body was there enshrined; which town was from him called St. Edmundsbury. Mat. West.

^c Matthew Westminster says, his head being thrown among the briars and thorns in the same wood where Lodebroch was murdered by Bern, the East-Anglians, after the Danes were

gone, went out to see for it, and having sought in vain for some time, the head at last cried out, Here, Here, Here, and never ceased till they came to the place. The head was put to his body, and buried with it. When they came to take up his corps, many years after, it was found whole and entire, and the head grown to the body, without the least scar, only a mark round the neck like a scarlet thread. Mat. West. Fl. Hist. Ann. 870. Malmsh. Gest. Pontif. lib. 2.

that reason to invite into his dominions as many learned foreigners as possible, to found the university of Oxford.^d, and use several other means to restore the sciences in his kingdom.

Edward the elder, following the example of his father, founded, for the same reason, the university, of Cambridge, as some assert^e. I shall not here alledge the arguments for and against the antiquity of this illustrious university as being a matter attended with great difficulties, and besides, not immediately relating to the state of the church. But we have another particular belonging to this reign, where religion is

d There is a passage in Asse rius's life of king Alfred, published by Mr. Camden, that talks of a dispute between Grimbold, whom Alfred had sent to Oxford, and the old scholars settled there before. From whence it is inferred, that Alfred was not the first founder of this university. On the other hand, it is objected, that this passage in Asse rius is spurious. That it is not in the copy published by archbishop Parker; that Usher is positive for its being interpolated, and that it speaks of things done after Asse rius's death, &c. It is further objected, both against the antiquity of Cambridge, as well as Oxford, that neither of them are mentioned by Bede; that Alcuin passes them over in silence, and talks of York as the seat of learning then: That Ingulphus, in his descriptions of the burning of the libraries and monasteries by the Danes, says not a word of any damage done to Oxford or Cambridge: That Alfred complains there were very few on this side the Humber, that understood the church-prayers in English, or could construe Latin. Lastly, That had there been then in being two famous universities in England, what occasion was there for his sending beyond sea for learned men to instruct his subjects? The most probable opinion therefore is, that the university of Oxford was first founded by Alfred in 886. See book of Winch. Higden. lib. vi. Harpsfield. Malm. The first time Oxford is mentioned in the ancient historians, as an university or school of learning, is in Ingulph, abbot of Croyland, who lived in the reigns of William I. and II.

Speaking of himself, he says, "Ego Ingulphus,—pro literis addiscendis in teneriori ætate constitutus, primum Westmonasterio, postmodum Oxoniensi studio traditus eram. Cumque in Aristotele arripiendo sum primum multos compitantes meos profecissem, etiam rhetoricam Tullii primam, & secundam talo tenui inducbam." Ingulph.

e There is a manuscript charter of privileges lodged in the library of Clare-Hall; said to be granted to Cambridge by this king Edward. But however, some have carried back the antiquity of this university to the year 394 before Christ, pretending it was then founded by one Cantaber, a Spaniard, and that it was restored by Sigebert king of East-Anglia, in 630, whom others account the founder. But it is plain from the reasons in the foregoing note, that there was no such thing as any university at all till Alfred's time. And as some say, (Coll. Eccl. Hist. p. 199.) we have no authentic testimony of any university at Cambridge till the year 1110, (Xth Hen. I.) when Joffrid, abbot of Croyland, sent one Gislebert, a divine, and three others to Cambridge, to teach the sciences. These monks coming to Cambridge, hired a barn to teach in, and in a year's time their audience so increased, that no house or barn was big enough to contain them. From this slender beginning, says Petrus Blefensis, the university of Cambridge grew up to a noble seat of learning. The first college, viz. Peter-House, was founded by Hugh Balfham, bishop of Ely, in 1239.—

more concerned, by reason of the consequences pretended to be drawn from thence, and which it will be proper to insist upon a little.

Malmſbury relates in his history, that in the reign of Edward the elder, pope Formoſus being informed, there had been a ſeven years vacancy in the Weſt Saxon ſees, ſent a bull into England, excommunicating the king and all his ſubjects. Whereupon the king aſſembled a general council, and Plegmund archbiſhop of Canterbury cauſing the bull to be read, it was reſolved the vacancies ſhould be filled, and three new ſees erected in Weſſex. Plegmund (continues the hiſtorian) went afterwards to Rome, to get the cenſure taken off, and at his return, conſecrated ſeven biſhops in one day. An ancient regiſter of the priory of Canterbury ſays much the ſame thing, with this addition, that the council made a particular proviſion for the Corniſh men to recover them from their errors. By the way, we are to underſtand by the errors of the Corniſh, who were ſome of the remains of the old Britons, their reſuſing to acknowledge the papal authority.

The Roman Catholic writers make a great ſourish upon this bull, and produce it as a ſtrong inſtance of the pope's authority, not only over the biſhops, but the kings of England. But after all, this bull upon examination will be found inconfiſtent with chronology. Malmſbury dates it in 904. But pope Formoſus died in 896, and was dragged out of his grave in 897, by Stephen his ſucceſſor. Baronius, to ſolve this difficulty, ſays the date in Malmſbury is falſe, and ſhould be written 894 inſtead of 904. It is true, this correction ſets the matter right as to Formoſus, but then the cardinal falls into another anachroniſm with regard to Edward, who did not aſcend the throne till the year 900. Edward therefore muſt be changed into Alſred. But no hiſtorian mentions Alſred's being excommunicated. Notwithſtanding all this, they are extremely loth to part with this pretended bull. Some have ſuppoſed two excommunications, one by pope Formoſus, in 894, againſt the biſhops only, without any mention of king Edward. Another by pope John IX. which threatened the king. To ſupport this ſuppoſition, Malmſbury, who ſpeaks of Formoſus's bull, and Polydore Virgil, who mentions pope John's, are cited. But theſe authorities are very inſufficient, ſince Malmſbury is plainly miſtaken, either in the date, or in the name of the pope, and Polydore Virgil does not ſay it was John IX. as is pretended, but John X. that threatened Edward with excommunication, as indeed it muſt be, if the bull was dated in 904. Thus this bull, which

Observation
on the pre-
tended bull
of pope
Formoſus.
Malmſb.
lib. ii.
de Geſt.
Reg. An.

Spelm.
Conc. vol. f.
p. 387.

The ca-
tholic di-
vines an-
ſwer to ſir
Edward
Coke, p.
136, 137.
Spelman,
ibid.

which has been so much boasted of, falls to the ground, as inconsistent with chronology.

As to the consecration of the seven bishops mentioned by Malmſbury, there is not the same reason to question the fact. Though as to the time, this circumstance is somewhat perplexed, it is certain however, in the beginning of the Xth century, there were six bishops in Wessex, whereas a little before there were but three. Ralph de Diceto places the erecting of the three new sees in 909. To reconcile this historian with Malmſbury, who fixes the date of them to 904, this expedient is proposed, which, if it has no foundation, is at least not improbable. It is thought, that in the synod or mixt assembly held at Winchester in 904, the erection of the three new bishoprics was resolved. But as these new sees were to be taken out of the dioceses of Winchester and Sherburn, it was agreed, this should not be done till after the death of the present bishops: that the revenues they had hitherto enjoyed might not be lessened. Both these bishops happening to die in 909, or perhaps a little before, and the bishoprics of Worcester and Suffex being also vacant at the same time, Plegmund consecrated seven bishops at once, namely, Fridstan bishop of Winchester, Wereſtan of Sherburn, Kenulph of Worcester, Beornock of Selsey in Suffex, Eadulph of Crediton, or Kirton, Athelm of Wells, and Athelstan of Petrockſtow, or Padſtow in Cornwal. The three last sees were the newly erected. Though Malmſbury and Higden affirm the new erected bishoprics had the pope's confirmation, it is certain at that time, and for more than two hundred years after, there was no such thing required. And therefore very probably, when these two historians mentioned the pope's confirmation, they had an eye to the custom of their own times.

Great privileges granted Glassenbury abb. Malmſb. lib. ii. c. 7.

Turketul rebuilds Croyland; Ingulph.

We meet with very few particulars of moment, except some councils spoken of hereafter, in the reigns of Athelstan, Edmund, and Edred. The most remarkable thing was the charter of privileges granted by Edmund on account of Dunſtan the first abbot, to Glassenbury abbey, after it was rebuilt. These privileges were so extensive, that the king seemed to intend to invest the abbot with a sort of sovereign power within the precincts of his jurisdiction.

The abbey of Croyland was also rebuilt in the reign of Edmund, by Turketul the king's cousin and chancellor. He afterwards turned monk himself, and was made abbot by

f This charter was engrossed in letters of gold in a book of the four Gospels, and presented to the abbey by the king.

Edred,

Edred, who put him in possession, by the delivery of a pastoral staff, according to the custom of those days. Turketul obtained a very advantageous charter for his abbey. However, Edred refused to grant him the privilege of sanctuary, which that abbey had enjoyed before its destruction, being unwilling that malefactors should be protected from justice. but is refused the privilege of sanctuary.

This prince was entirely swayed by Dunstan, who used his interest, not only to put the monks in possession of the abbeys, which the secular clergy had appropriated to themselves, but also of the benefices. If Edred had not died so soon, Dunstan would doubtless have settled his affairs in such a manner, as to have made it unalterable. But this prince dying before it could be completed, Edwy his successor turned the monks out of the benefices, and even out of some of their monasteries. To read the tragical complaints of the monkish historians upon this occasion, and their bitter invectives against Edwy, one would imagine this prince had utterly rooted out the christian religion. Whereas upon a closer inquiry, it will appear, the monks were dispossessed only of the two monasteries of Abingdon and Malmesbury^s. This loss however was so grievous to them, that they excited the Northumbrians and Mercians to revolt, as hath been related.

It is needless to repeat here what has already been said of the great interest of Dunstan in the reign of Edgar, and what he did in favour of the monks. The truth is, he can't be blamed for exerting his power in replacing them in the monasteries. Though the religious houses were deserted during the wars, they belonged not to the secular clergy, since they were founded for the monks. But he can't be so easily excused, for endeavouring to introduce the monks into the benefices, on pretence that the secular priests were most of them married. I shall not examine here upon what ground the councils and popes prohibited the clergy from marrying. This matter has been so fully handled by several authors, that nothing new can be added. I shall only remark, that from the conversion of the English to Dunstan's time, the clergy of England were not obliged to celibacy, and that Dunstan undertook an unprecedented thing, when he attempted to bind them to it, in pursuance of the papal decrees. It has been observed in the reign of Edgar, how Dunstan, countenanced by that prince, gained his point so far, as, not indeed to oblige them to put away their wives, but to expel them their benefices for keep-

^s And perhaps Glasenbury, which the rest were in possession of the secular, Wulfstan, Vit, Ethel.

ing them. However, notwithstanding his great interest and affection to the monks, he could never reinstate them in the northern monasteries. For above two hundred years the abbies in those parts were uninhabited, and the very name of a monk was scarce heard of there.

The removal of the episcopal see.

I have but little to say concerning the new bishoprics, or the removal of the episcopal sees from one place to another, at a time when one half of the kingdom was in the hands of the Danes, who as yet were pagans ^h. Northumberland, Mercia, and East-Anglia being exposed to their continual ravages, it is not to be expected the affairs of the church should proceed in a regular course. East-Anglia had no bishop for above two hundred years; and in Northumberland, the see of Hagulfstad was reduced to so wretched a state, that having long been without a bishop, it was forced at last to be united to York. During Alfred's reign, the bishoprics of Leicester and Lincoln were united, and the see removed to Dorchester ⁱ, where it continued till the reign of William the Conqueror, when it was translated again to Lincoln. I have already mentioned the erection of the three new bishoprics in Wexsex, and therefore it is needless to say any thing more of them. This is all that occurs, unless I were to give a list of the names of the bishops that succeeded in each see, which would lead me too far. They who have a mind to it, may consult Dr. Heylin, who has published a book upon that subject, where you have the year of the instalment of every bishop.

Help to English history. Lond. 1709. The coun-tils.

The councils held in this interval, were properly mixt assemblies, consisting of the clergy and nobility, and termed in Saxon, Wittena-Gemot, that is, an assembly of wise men, or rather Micel-Synod, which signifies in the same language, the great or general assembly. Both these names were rendered in Latin by the word Concilium. But because in these assemblies, laws and ordinances relating to the church as well as the state, were enacted, several of them are reckoned among the councils or synods. As for the councils purely ecclesiastical, it does not appear there were any, from Egbert to Edward the Martyr.

Synod of Graetley. 928. Spelman. Conc. vol. i. p. 396.

Next to the assembly at Winchester, where Ethelwulph is said to have given a grant of the tithes, the most considerable with regard to religious affairs, was the synod of Graetley, in the reign of Athelstan. The canons or laws of this council are nine.

^h Edred founded a bishop's see at St. Germans in Cornwall, which was afterwards annexed by Canute to the see of

Crediton, or Kirton. Speed, p. 342.
ⁱ In Oxfordshire.

The Ist enjoins the payment of tithes ^k.

The IId commands the magistrates to put the laws in execution against those that were convinced by all the circumstances of an ordeal trial ^l.

The IIIId is against witchcraft and highwaymen.

The IVth relates to the towns where the money was to be coined. At Canterbury there were to be seven mints, four for the king, two for the archbishop, and one for the abbot of St. Augustine's. Rochester was to have three, two for the king, and one for the bishop ^m.

The Vth regulates the circumstances and formalities of the ordeal trial, to know whether the person accused were guilty or not. And here we have two things worth remarking. The first is, that the priests are spoken of as fixed or settled in certain places. Whence it is plain, that in those days they did not live together in common, but each had his particular church. The second is, that the accused person was to receive the consecrated bread. Whence it may be inferred, that since the eucharist was called bread after the consecration, the church of England was far from believing transubstantiation.

The VIth forbids buying and selling on Sunday.

The VIIth is against perjuries and false witnesses ⁿ.

The VIIIth orders the bishops to assist the judges in the execution of the laws, and to sit upon the bench with them ^o. *Brompton*

The

^k To which is added the king's order to all his officers and governors, to maintain a poor man in diet and cleaths; namely, that out of every two of his villæ, or towns, there should be given an amphora, or nine gallons of meal, a gammon of bacon, or a ram worth fourpence. They were each of them also to manumise a slave. *Spelman. Conc. vol. i. p. 398.*

^l See the manner of this trial at length, in the Dissertation on the Government and Laws of the Anglo-Saxons.

^m In London was to have eight, Winchester six, Lewis, Southampton, Exeter, Shaftsbury, Wareham, two each, and every other great town was to have one. If any person belonging to these mints was found guilty of debasing the coin (which was to be all of one sort) his right hand was to be cut off, and nailed upon the out-side of the mint. See *Spelman, Conc. vol. i. p. 399.* The same appointment was made by Athelstan,

only he ordered that (besides the places here mentioned) Canterbury should have seven, Rochester three, Hastings and Chichester one each, &c. See *Leg. 64.* in *Wilkins.*

ⁿ The penalty is, not to be believed afterwards, and to be debarred of christian burial.

^o In this same council were some remarkable civil laws enacted, particularly one against thieves, requiring, that if a thief be taken in the fact, no man shall spare him, if he be above twenty years old, and had stole any thing above the value of eight-pence. If any one do contrary thereto, he shall pay the value of the thief's head, and make amends for the fault, and yet the thief himself shall not be spared; who if he contumaciously make resistance, or fly for it, shall find no favour. A thief cast into prison shall there stay forty days, and then after the payment of one hundred and twenty shillings, be discharged;

The IXth lays a fine upon remifs and negligent magistrates, which was to be paid to the bishop ^r.

Spelman,
vol. i.
p. 425.

We find another synod, or mixt assembly, in the reign of Edmund, wherein the ceremonies of marriage, and preliminary securities the parties were to give one another, are settled.

I have spoken elsewhere of the council where Edgar harangued so strenuously against the secular priests, and of several others, that were assembled on occasion of the controversy between the monks and clergy, and therefore shall say nothing more of them here.

Odo's con-
stitutions.
923.
Spelman,
Conc. vol. i.
p. 415.

To the ecclesiastical laws passed at these general assemblies or councils, may be aptly subjoined certain constitutions made in those days. The ten following are Odo's, archbishop of Canterbury.

The Ist threatens all those who injure the church in her property with excommunication.

The IId exhorts princes [and other great men] to be governed by the directions of the bishops, because God has entrusted them with the keys of the kingdom of heaven.

The IIIId admonishes bishops to discharge their duty ^t, without any mercenary views, or respect of persons.

The IVth and Vth give good advice to the clergy.

The VIth does the same with regard to the monks.

The VIIth prohibits unlawful marriages, upon the score of nearness of relation, but the degrees of consanguinity and affinity are not recited.

The VIIIth recommends unity and charity among christians.

The IXth presses fasting on Wednesdays, Fridays, and the four Ember weeks.

Mal. iii. 12.

The Xth enjoins the punctual payment of tithes, from reasons taken out of the Old Testament, without any mention of Ethelwulph's charter.

Other con-
stitutions.
Spelman,
p. 444.

There are other constitutions, published under king Edgar, but the author of them is unknown. The principal are,

The Ist, which confirms the civil privileges and immunities of the church, and orders the payment of tithes ^r.

charged; but his kindred must give security for his good behaviour; after which if he steal again, they must either pay the value of his head, or bring him back to prison; and in case one resist, he shall pay to the king, or to any other whom it concerns, the value of his own head; and if any defend him, he shall pay to the king one hundred and twenty shillings.

^p Namely, of the diocese where the magistrate lived.

^q That is, to go and preach about their diocesa every year, &c.

^r The IIIId orders the payment of the tithe of cattle before Whitsuntide, of the fruits of the earth before the Equinox, and of seeds at the feast of St. Martin. Spelman, p. 444.

And

And the Vth, by which the solemnity of Sunday is to begin at three o'clock on Saturday in the afternoon *.

In this reign were published a body of canons †, of which the following are particularly remarkable.

By the Vth, if a priest received any injury, the complaint was to be preferred to the synod, who were to treat the case, as if the injury had actually been done to the whole body of the clergy, and take care that satisfaction be made at the discretion of the bishop of the diocese.

The XIth enjoins the priests to learn some employment, in order to get their livelihood in case of misfortune.

The XVIIth orders parents to teach their children the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles Creed, without which they were neither to be admitted to the eucharist, nor buried in consecrated ground.

The XXIXth forbids the burying in churches all those that were not of known and approved probity.

The XXXIId prohibits the priests from officiating without the service-book before them, for fear the trusting to their memories might make them mistake.

By the XXXVIth, no person was to eat or drink before the receiving the communion.

The XXXVIIIth enjoins the priest to have the holy eucharist always ready by him: but in case it grew so stale that it could not be eaten without disgusting the palate, it was to be burnt in a clear fire, and the ashes laid under the altar. Hence it is easy to see what the church's opinion was then of the eucharist, since it was believed it could grow stale, and was to be burnt after it was spoiled.

The LIIId forbids the eating of blood †.

After these canons, there follows a very particular form of confession, with what penances the confessor is to enjoin. We find here that the penitent was ordered to say the Lord's Prayer three-score times a day, but not so much as one Ave Maria; a clear evidence, that the praying to the Virgin Mary was not yet introduced into the church.

* And to continue till break of day on Monday. Spelman, p. 445. Edgar made several other constitutions for the regulation of religious houses. In those in the book belonging to Winchester cathedral, Edgar makes himself general of the monks, and queen of the nuns. Spelman, p. 447.

† These canons were translated by

Sir H. Spelman, from a Saxon manuscript in Bennet-College in Cambridge. 'Tis not known where or by what authority they were drawn up. Coll. Eccl. Hist. p. 186.

‡ The LXIVth declares hunting and hawking are improper diversions for a priest, who is to make books his entertainment. Spelman.

Nothing

Nothing more remains relating to the church of those days, but to give a brief account of the most noted persons for piety and learning.

Swithin.

The first saint we meet with is Swithin or Swithun ^w, who having been preceptor to king Ethelwulph, was promoted to the see of Winchester. By his advice Ethelwulph is said to have granted a charter of the tithes to the church. This alone was sufficient to gain him a saintship, though he had been distinguished upon no other account. But besides this, he is affirmed to have wrought many miracles, with which I do not think proper to swell this abridgment.

Humbert.

Humbert, bishop of East-Anglia, massacred, or, if you will, martyr'd by the Danes, with king Edmund, has the honour also of being ranked with the saints.

Alfred.

Alfred the Great, independently of his royal dignity, was one of the most considerable for his piety and learning ^x.

Scotus.
Affer. vit.
Alf.

Johannes Scotus, surnamed Erigena, that is, Irishman, [Ireland being then called Erin] lived at this time. He had acquired a great reputation in France, where Charles the Bald entertained him at his court, and used to converse with him with great familiarity ^y, when Alfred invited him into England. At first he was the king's preceptor in languages and the other sciences; afterwards he taught at Oxford, from whence, in all probability, he was removed to Malmesbury, since it was in this monastery that he is said to be stabbed to death by his scholars with penknives. Before he left France, he was engaged by the emperor's order in the dispute con-

^w He was bred a monk at Winchester, where he was made abbot. Malm.

^x He was twelve years of age before he could read, which he first began to learn upon this occasion. His mother seeing him one day mightily delighted with a little book, beautifully adorned with capital letters in gold and other colours, said in his and his brother's hearing, "She would give that book to him that should first get it by heart." Alfred, who knew not so much as his letters, though twelve years old, applied himself so diligently to his business, that he never left till he could read and repeat the book to his mother. From this time, he had a great relish for books, and studied hard. There is extant of this monarch's works relating to history,

a paraphractical translation of Bede's Ecclesiastical History, and a short genealogy of the kings of the West-Saxons. Posterity had so great a veneration for his memory, that he has the title of saint sometimes bestowed upon him, and what is more, his name stands in the calendar of the English Martyrology, printed in 1608, and in two Saxon Calendars cited by the annotator on the Saxon translation of the N. T. The day of his death is registered on the 26th of October.

^y The emperor one day, as he was sitting opposite to him at table, asking him merrily, "Quid interest inter 'Scotum & solum?' He replied, "Mensa tantum." Which the emperor took in good part. Hoved.

cerning

cerning the nature of the Eucharist. In his treatise ^z upon this subject, he strongly argued against Paschasius's doctrine, who maintained, the body of Christ in the eucharist to be the same that was born of the blessed virgin. It must needs be, that the contrary opinion defended by Scotus, was not looked upon then as heretical, since it prevented not Alfred from inviting him into England, from having a very great esteem for him, and intrusting him with the education of youth. Nay it is certain, he was honoured as a saint and a martyr after his death. Roger de Hoveden says, Scotus at first had an obscure burial, but afterwards a miraculous light shining over his grave for several nights together, the monks of St. Lawrence's removed his body into their church, and buried it close by the altar. His epitaph also, the antiquity whereof, according to Malmſbury, appears from the structure and diction of the verses ^a, is express for his passing for a saint, when that was made. All these circumstances are a strong presumption, at least, that Transubstantiation was not the doctrine of the church of England at that time. For had it been so, how was it possible the English should honour as a saint one that had so openly combated their opinions? This inference a little perplexes the Roman Catholics. How-
 ever, one of their historians does not scruple to own, that
 "the name of Scot is registered in the supplement of the
 "Gallican Martyrology, and commemorated among the
 "saints on the fourth of the Ides of November." He more-
 over adds, "that his name had been inserted even in the
 "Roman Martyrology, and did remain there till expunged
 "by Cardinal Baronius." This historian indeed pretends, Scotus retracted his former errors, but gives us no authority for what he says. He only alledges, that without a recantation it is not likely the church would have honoured his memory. But this is supposing that Transubstantiation was the doctrine of the church at that time, which must first be proved, before this argument can be of any force.

Cressy's
Church Hi-
story of Eng-
land.
p. 77a.

Grimbald lived also in the same century. He was one of
 the first class for his learning, and had a great reputation.

Assef.

^z This book was condemned by the council of Vercells in 1050, Bering. Ratram or Bertram. But Mabillon Epist. ad Rich. It is now lost, though some will have it to be the same with that which goes under the name of

a Claudigur hoc Tumulo sanctus Sophista Johannes,
 Qui ditatus erat jam viveas dogmate miro.
 Martyrio tandem Christi conscendere Regnum,
 Quo meruit, Sancti regnant per Sæcula cuncti. Malm.

He was invited into England by Alfred the Great, (who was acquainted with him at Rheims) and preferred to the government of the new abby at Winchester.

Afserius
Menevendi.

Among the Englishmen, eminent for their learning, Afserius was one of the most considerable. He wrote the life of Alfred the Great in 893, and died bishop of St. David's in Wales ^b. He must not be confounded with another of the same name, bishop of Sherburn, who died in 883.

Werefrid,
Afser.

Werefrid, bishop of Worcester in Mercia, lived in the reign of king Buthred. When the Danes became masters of Mercia, he retired into France, from whence he was recalled by king Alfred. He translated the dialogues of Gregory the Great into Saxon, and having acquired a great reputation when living, he was registered a saint after his death.

Plegmund.

Plegmund, who was archbishop of Canterbury, passed for a very learned prelate, and was particularly eminent for his skill in divinity.

Dunulf.

Dunulf had been an herdsman. He is affirmed by some to be the same that sheltered Alfred, whilst the Danes were masters of the kingdom. However this be, he had the good fortune to be known to this prince, who finding him a person of a genius superior to his birth and employment, got him instructed in learning, and promoted him afterwards to the see of Winchester. As this city was then the metropolis of Wessex, where Alfred kept his usual residence, he used the advice of this prelate in affairs of the greatest moment.

Wulfig.

Wulfig bishop of London, had also a great share in Alfred's esteem, as appears by his letter to this prelate prefixed to his translation of Gregory's Pastoral.

Neots.

Neots was an abbot distinguished for his birth, learning, regularity, and zeal for promoting the interest of the true re-

^b He was bred a monk of Menevia or St. David's, whom the king prevailed upon, with much ado, to come to court, on condition he should stay there six months, and at his abby six months, by turns. He wrote the life of Alfred to the 45th year of his age. i. e. to the year 893, according to his computation. It was continued to Alfred's death by some later hand. He shows through the whole a great deal of modesty. He mentions nothing of the visionary dialogue betwixt Alfred and St. Guthbert, which other historians largely insist on. He is copied

by Florence of Worcester and others. This treatise was first published by archbishop Parker in the old Saxon character. A new edition is lately put out by Mr. Wise, Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford, with a vindication of the contested clause about the antiquity of Oxford. Another piece has been published by Dr. Gale, under the title of Afserius's Annals. The learned editor does not question but it is the true offspring of Afserius. Leland calls it the Chronicle of St. Neot's, because he found it in that monastery.

ligion. Some say, he was nearly related to king Alfred, and others, that he was descended from the blood-royal of East-Anglia. He died in 890 in Cornwall, where he left his name to the town of Neotstow or St. Neod's ^c.

Odo, archbishop of Canterbury, was the son of an East-Anglian-Dane. Though he was born of Pagan parents, he had the good fortune to know and relish the Christian religion, and for that reason was expelled his father's house. In this extremity, he put himself into the service of an English nobleman, who had him baptized, and sent him to school. When he became capable he entered into orders, in the reign of Edward the Elder. His zeal, virtue and capacity, gained him so great a character, that Athelstan made him bishop of Sherburn. Some ascribe to the efficacy of his prayers, the glorious victory, obtained by that prince over the Danes at Brunanburgh. Odo had no less interest with king Edmund, who resolved to promote him to the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury; but Odo modestly excused himself, telling the king his abilities were too slender for so high a post. The king not admitting his excuse, he further alledged, that translations were not warrantable by the canons. This scruple being removed, by the examples of Justus and Mellitus, who were translated from Rochester and London to Canterbury, he started another objection, and alledged, that the archbishops from Augustin downwards having been all monks ^d, he looked upon himself as unqualified for that station, since he had not been educated under any religious rule. This new difficulty was also got over by sending to the abbot of Fleury in France, and entreating him to admit Odo into his society. Thus the prelate having nothing more to object, accepted at length, though with great reluctance, the see of Canterbury. As he became afterwards a vigorous champion for the monks, it may be presumed, this was one of the chief reasons for placing him among the most illustrious ecclesiasticks of his time. He is said also to have the gift of miracles, which the favourers of the monks seldom failed to be honoured with.

Dunstan would make a large article here, did I not think Dunstan what I have elsewhere said of him sufficiently makes known

^c Where he was buried, and when earl Alric's seat in Huntingdonshire was turned into a monastery upon his account, his body was removed thither, and the town before called Ailphesbury, was from him named St. Neot's. From whence his bones were a third time removed to Croyland Minster in 1217.

^d There were several that in all probability were not monks, as Wigheard, whom Bede, lib. iv. cap. i. calls a priest, and Nothelm, who succeeded Tatwine.

his character. There are modern historians, even among the protestants themselves, who, carried away by the testimonies of the ancient writers, have given great commendations to this pretended saint, without considering upon what doubtful authorities they proceed. It is highly probable, that Dunstan's firm adherence to the monks, was the ground of those excessive praises bestowed on him, of which, perhaps, he would otherwise have been deemed unworthy ^e.

Ethelwald and Oswald. The same may be said of Ethelwald, bishop of Winchester, and Oswald, bishop of Worcester first, and afterwards archbishop of York. Their great zeal in the cause of the monks, is doubtless what contributed most to their reputation. The monks, being almost the only writers in those days, have drawn the characters of persons according to their prejudices or interests.

Turketul. Turketul, king Edmund's near relation, and chancellor, became famous in this age, for preferring a cloyster to a court, where he lived in great reputation. But what raised his merit most with the historians, was his rebuilding and restoring to its former splendor, the abbey of Croyland ^f, demolished by the Danes.

^e The famous story of St. Dunstan and the Devil is thus related by the monkish historians. As St. Dunstan was one day busied in his cell near Glaffenbury, in making a gold cup of a curious workmanship, the devil appeared to him in a beautiful form, tempting him to sin. Dunstan perceiving in spirit who he was, takes a red-hot pair of tongs, and catching hold of the devil by the nose, made him howl in such a terrible manner, that he was heard all over the neighbourhood. Hig. Polych. p. 270. Edit. Gale. Brompt. p. 878, 879.

^f Turketul left the monastery at his death in possession of many curious

relics; among the rest Ingulphus, (p. 51. Hist. Croyl. 3dit. Gale.) mentions the thumb of St. Bartholomew the apostle, given him when chancellor by the emperor; he had so great a veneration for it, that he always carried it about him, and when in any danger, crossed himself with it. The naming of bells, together with the benediction, as a defensive against thunder and lightning, being introduced in this age by pope John XIV. Turketul cast a great bell, which he called Guthlac. His successor taking the hint, added some more to it, and made the first tuneable ring of bells in England. Ingulph, p. 53.

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK V.

*Containing the reigns of the kings of ENGLAND, from
ETHELRED II. to the NORMAN Conquest, being the
space of about eighty-eight years.*

14. ETHELRED II.

AFTER the murder of Edward, there was no pre-^{978.}
tence to refuse the crown to his brother Ethelred, ^{Ethelred II.}
who was the only prince of the royal family, and ^{crowned.}
too young to be accused of partaking in his mother's
crime. Accordingly, Dunstan could not help crowning him^a,
being then but twelve years of age, though he plainly foresaw
it would prove fatal to his whole party. It is affirmed, that
Dunstan at his coronation foretold, by the spirit of prophecy,
the calamities England was going to be exposed to in his
reign. But predictions of this nature are always to be sus-
pected,

G. Malmsh.
lib. ii. cap.
10.

Hoved.
Ingulph.
p. 54.

^a He was crowned at Kingston, April 25. Sax. Annal. Huntingd. lib. v.
Brompt. p. 877.

pected, when attributed to saints, such as Dunstan, by authors who wrote after the event. However this be, the people had very different thoughts of this new reign: they flattered themselves, they were about to enjoy a state of tranquillity, under a prince who had already given an instance of his good nature, in bitterly lamenting the death of the king his brother, though it procured him the crown: an historian says, his tears appeared so unseasonable to his mother, that catching up a wax-taper in a passion, she beat him so unmercifully with it, that he could not endure the sight of a wax-light ever after.

980. The first thing Ethelred did after his coronation, was to remove the body of the late king to Shaftsbury church. Sax. Annal. Hardly had he performed this office, but he found himself attacked by the Danes, who suffered him to enjoy no repose during the residue of his life. If this prince had followed the steps of his predecessors, perhaps he would have caused the old invaders to have laid aside all thoughts of any attempts upon England. But his natural cowardice, joined to an extreme sluggishness^b, an insatiable avarice, and many other failings, soon let them see, he was not like to prove a very formidable enemy. For sixty years past they seemed to have forgot England, and the English on their side to have lost all remembrance of the calamities they had suffered from the hands of these cruel enemies. However, after so long an interval, during which the Danes, settled in England, seemed to have entertained the same affection for this their second country as the natives themselves, the foreign Danes renewed their invasions. They no sooner appeared, but the others, resuming their old inclinations, joined their countrymen, in order to free themselves from the dominion of the English.

981. The Danish rovers made their first attempt on Southampton, where they arrived with seven ships, and after plundering the town and the adjacent country^c, they carried the same devastations into Cornwall.

^b This cowardly and sluggish temper of his was predicted by Dunstan, when at his baptism (like Constantine the emperor, from thence called Constantine) he bewrayed the font, which, Malmesbury says, disturbed Dunstan so, that it made him swear, "By God and St. Mary, this boy will prove a poltroon:" lib. x.

cap. 2. De Gest. Reg. Ang. But this has very much the air of a monkish aspersions.

^c They either slew, or carried captive, almost all the inhabitants. They came from thence to the Isle of Thanet, and plundered it; and another band ravaged Chester. S. Dunelm. p. 161. Brompt. p. 377.

This year another band landing at Portland, pillaged and sacked the country round about, after which they proceeded elsewhere, to encrease their spoils ^d. Sax. Ann.
G. Malmsh-
Sim. Dun.

These frequent descents were so much the more incommo- 982.
dious to the English, as having so many coasts to guard, they The advan-
knew not where to assemble and expect the enemy. If at tages of the
any time they happened to have it in their power to give them Danes in
battle, all the advantage they could gain, in case fortune fa- the war.
voured them, was to recover the plunder. But when they themselves were worsted, the country was sure to be ex-
posed to all imaginable cruelties before another army could be assembled. Very often, whilst the English troops were upon the march, to oppose one of these bands, they were forced to change their rout, and march where the danger seemed more pressing. Thus, what care soever might be taken, one part of the kingdom was always exposed, since there was no foreseeing where the pyrates would land. There was but one way to remedy this inconvenience, which was to keep a fleet at sea strong enough to engage the Danes, before they landed their troops. But a time of minority was not very proper to take such a precaution.

In this manner passed the first ten years of this reign. It would be needless to describe the ravages committed by the Danes during that time. It is easy to imagine the whole kingdom was a scene of murders, conflagrations, plunderings, and other devastations, which, after some short intermissions, were continually renewed.

During these troubles, Elfric, duke of Mercia, one of the best supports of his country, died in 983. His little regard 983.
for the monks after Edgar's death, was probably the reason The death
of their reporting, among their votaries, that he was eaten of Elfric
up of lice. Alfric his son succeeded him. duke of
Mercia.
Sax. Annal.
Hoveden.

The next year Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester, one of Dunstan's confidants, and a great friend of the monks, de- 984.
parted also this life. He is said to have founded a dozen Death of
monasteries. If that be true, he was, no doubt, assisted by Ethelwold
the liberality of the two former kings, with whom he was in bishop of
Winchester.
great favour ^e.

The credit of the monks declined very much in the reign of Ethelred, as well by reason of the frequent invasions of the Danes, as because the people, full of their misfortunes, Monkery
goes to de-
cay.

^d This year also the city of London was destroyed by fire, but by what accident is unknown. mand, besides those of most other people, who then looked upon such works as meritorious. Tyr. p. 22.

^e He had the king's purse at com-

were regardless of every thing else. Nay, they began to mistrust the sanctity of the monks, not being able to forbear wondering, that men who had obtained from heaven so many miracles on their own private account, could not by their merits and prayers secure the kingdom from the calamities it was incessantly exposed to. On the other hand, as their credit with the former kings had helped to acquire them a great reputation, so this king's disinclination to them turned greatly to their prejudice. Ethelred, whose thoughts were not taken up with religion, put the monks and other ecclesiastics upon a level with the rest of his subjects. He gave a convincing proof how little he regarded the clergy, in a difference between him and the bishop of Rochester. The bishop having haughtily refused to comply with some demand of the king's, he ordered the soldiers to lay waste the lands belonging to the cathedral, dedicated to St. Andrew ^f. In vain did the bishop threaten him with vengeance from the apostle, and cause archbishop Dunstan to interpose in his quarrel: Ethelred slighted both, nor could be appeased, but by money ^g. Dunstan, displeased to the highest degree at this behaviour, denounced upon the king and his council the judgments of God, ready to fall on their heads, for presuming to lay sacrilegious hands on the church's property: but he was not heard. His credit was sunk so low, that hardly was he known to be alive; so careful were the new ministers to depress him. He died quickly after, in the year 988, not so much of old age, as of grief and vexation to see himself no longer distinguished as formerly.

Dunstan
loses his
credit.
Dunstan's
death.
Sax. Ann.

Oswald
archbishop
of York
dies.
Sax. Ann.

Oswald, archbishop of York, soon followed him. He was his particular friend, and one of the three prelates that governed the church during the reign of Edgar. The death of these patrons of the monks, a contagious distemper which swept away multitudes, and moreover the continual invasions of the Danes, put an end to the quarrel between the secular and regular clergy, in such manner, that it was never more heard of.

991.
The Danes
invade Eng-
land again.

Sax. Ann.

After the Danes had pillaged the coasts of England ten years together, they gave over their ravages for about two years. This intermission put the English in hopes, their enemies having turned their thoughts to some other country, would for the future leave them in quiet. But these hopes were short-lived. In 991, Justin and Guthmund, two Danish captains,

^f He first laid siege to Rochester, but not being able to take it, he wasted the lands of the cathedral.

S. Dunelm.

^g One hundred pounds.

Malmsh. p. 2314. Malmsh. p. 62.

Knighton,

landed

landed a great body of troops at Gipswich, in Suffolk. Hoveden.
 Whilst they were busy in plundering, Brithnoth, duke of East- S. Dunelm.
 Anglia, advanced towards them, in expectation to surprise
 them, but found them too well prepared: he was overthrown,
 and his defeat exposed the country to greater devastations.
 The victorious Danes having nothing more to fear, pene-
 trated still farther into the country, where they committed
 terrible ravages. Ethelred, being without an army, and un- Ethelred
 able to stop their progress, was persuaded by Syric, arch- gives them
 bishop of Canterbury ^k, to give them a large sum to be gone ^{money.}
 Perhaps he would have acted wiser, if, in imitation of Alfred
 and Edgar, he had laid out the money in fortifying the king-
 dom against their insults. However this be, the archbishop's
 advice was deemed afterwards very fatal to England. The
 present given to this band served only to allure others, who be-
 ing no less greedy of money, thought they had an equal right
 to make advantage of the weakness of the English.

Two years after another of their fleets sailing up the Hum- 993.
 ber, the pirates landed on the north side, and ravaged in a Another
 merciless manner all that belonged to the English in those Danish fleet.
 quarters. Ethelred sent an army against them, under the Sax. Ann.
 command of three earls, Fræna, Frithegift, and Goodwin: S. Dunelm.
 but the generals having led their forces in sight of the ene-
 mies, were the first that turned their backs, and by their
 shameful cowardice occasioned the loss of the army. The
 king had imprudently trusted these three lords with his
 forces, who being of Danish extraction, were suspected of
 treachery.

How great soever the miseries inflicted hitherto on England 994.
 by these foreigners might be, it is certain they were nothing Sweyn and
 in comparison of what followed. Sweyn, king of Denmark, Olaus in-
 and Olaus ^k, king of Norway, allured by the success of their vade Eng-
 subjects in England, wanted to share in the spoil brought land.
 from thence every year. To that purpose, fitting out a numerous
 fleet they entered the Thames, and landed their troops near
 London: they made several attempts to become masters of S. Dunelm.
 the city, but meeting with a braver resistance than they ima- G. Malmst.
 gined, lib. ii. cap.

^h And by the dukes Ethelward and Alfric, and the rest of the nobility. S. Dunelm. p. 162. Chron. Mailros, p. 152.

ⁱ Ten thousand pounds. Sax. Annal. 991.

^k Some pretend Olaus, or Olaph, was the same with Anlaff, mentioned in the reigns of Edmund and Edred. But

besides that one was king of Norway, which cannot be said of the other, Anlaff must have been exceeding old, since seventy years before he was a general. Historians not carefully distinguishing the princes that were called Anlaff or Olaf, made Selden say, it was a name which bred great confusion in the English history. Rapin.

Ethelred
promises
them a sum
of money.

Olaus turns
Christian.

The two
kings return
home.

997.
The war
is renewed.
Sax. Ann.

998.
The Danes
ravage Eng-
land.

gined, retired. To make themselves amends for the time spent in vain before London, they went and plundered Kent, Hampshire, and Suffex, threatening to lay waste the whole kingdom. Ethelred who had no more conduct than courage, not knowing how to stop these ravages, had recourse to the same means made use of before on a like occasion. He bound himself by a treaty, to pay a certain sum of money¹ within such a time, on condition they left his subjects unmolested, and departed the kingdom. Whereupon the two foreign kings caused all hostilities to cease, and retired to Southampton. Shortly after the king of Norway paid a visit to Ethelred^m, who persuaded him to be baptised, and stood himself godfather. At his departure, Olaus obliged himself by oath never to infect Engladd more, and performed his promise.

It would have been happy for the English, if Sweyn, who departed at the same time, would have followed his example; for they would have escaped all those calamities that prince afterwards brought upon the land. When he sailed for Denmark, he left a fleet at Southampton, to keep the English in awe, and oblige them to perform the articles of the treaty. After his departure his admiral very earnestly pressed the payment of the money: but as there was no haste made to comply with his demands, he took their delay for a refusal, and resolved to renew the war. Mean while, to deceive the vigilance of the English, he set sail as if he designed for Denmark, but on a sudden he unexpectedly entered the Severn, and after destroying the country of the Welch with fire and sword, crossed the river and penetrated into Dorsetshireⁿ, where he committed the same ravages. All the forces that could be brought against the Danes, were as soon defeated as levied: they sacked whole countries, it being impossible to oppose them. At last, finding nothing more to plunder in those parts, they put to sea again and landed in Kent^o. The inhabitants, by endeavouring to make some resistance, only increased the fury of their enemies, who treated them with the utmost barbarity. To complete their misfortunes, a fleet equipped by Ethelred, to engage them at sea, was rendered useless by the dissensions and unskilfulness of the commanders. In this melancholy situation England would have irretrievably perished, if the Danes, by a lucky and un-

¹ Sixteen thousand pounds. Sax. Ann.
994.
^m At Andover, in Hampshire. Sax.
Annal.

ⁿ As also into Devon and Somerset-
shire. See Sax. Ann. Brompt. p. 382.
^o They went up the Medway to Ro-
chester. Sax. Annal.

expected

expected accident, had not been called to the assistance of 999.
 Richard II, duke of Normandy, whom the king of France
 would have dispossessed of his dominions. Ethelred took this
 opportunity to go and ravage Cumberland, but for what rea-
 son is unknown ^p. After that he returned to London, where
 he kept his usual residence. Are unex-
pectedly
called off.
Sax. Ann.
1000.

The quiet Ethelred enjoyed was of no long continuance, 1001.
 the Danes staying in Normandy no longer than was necessary
 to put the young duke out of danger, returned into England. They return
into Eng-
land.
 Cornwall felt the first effects of their fury; then entering Sax. Ann.
Huntingd.
 Wessex, they became masters of Exeter. The consternation
 of the English was so great, that they made but a faint re-
 sistance. Whether Ethelred was betrayed by his generals, or
 the long peace enjoyed by the English during the foregoing
 reigns, had enervated their courage, they were constantly
 vanquished. The king himself was seized with such terror,
 that he durst not venture to be present in the battles, for fear
 of falling into the hands of the Danes, who probably would
 have shown him no favour. In fine, the Danes ever victo-
 rious, got possession of the isle of Wight, Hampshire, and
 Dorsetshire, where they had their magazines. From hence
 they made continual incursions into the neighbouring coun-
 ties, without any one daring to oppose them. England was
 then in a deplorable condition. The southern counties were
 perpetually ravaged by the foreign Danes, and the northern
 peopled by the same nation, whom the English could not but
 look upon as their enemies. For, they not only refused to
 fight against the foreigners, whom they still considered as their
 countrymen, but joining with them, even helped to destroy a
 country they ought to have defended with all their power,
 since it was become their own. In this extremity, Ethelred,
 who had no resolution, was far from imitating the firmness of
 his ancestors, who, in like circumstances, were never daunted
 by misfortunes. This timorous prince, seeing no other way
 to avoid the still greater miseries the nation was threatened with,
 yielded at last to pay the Danes thirty thousand pounds ^q. This
 sum, The mise-
rable condi-
tion of Eng-
land.
Sax. Ann.

^p Though not one of our English historians have mentioned on whom or for what this war was made, John Fordun in his Scottish history gives this account of it: Ethelred having paid large sums to the Danes, sent to Malcolm prince of Cumberland, under Gryme king of Scotland, to pay his share; which he refused to do, and asserting he was only bound to make

war with the rest of the kingdom, when required. Ethelred invaded his country, on pretence he favoured the Danes: but presently after the two princes struck up a peace, and became friends. See also S. Dunelm. p. 79, 80.

^q All historians agree in saying that it was done by the advice of the Wittenagemot, or council——à rege & proceribus (Wittan) decretum est. Sax Ann. —habito

1002.
Origin of
Danegeld.

sum, which in those days was very considerable, was levied by a tax, callen Danegeld, that is, Danish money, or money for the Danes^r. This was the original of that famous tax which afterwards became so extremely burthensome to the nation, even long after the Danes had quitted England. But the clergy and monks always found means to be exempted.

The Danes
return
hom, but
several stay
behind.

The Danes, satisfied with this agreement, ceased their ravages, and returned home. However, many of them perceiving England to be much preferable to Denmark, staid behind, and lived among the English. Their number indeed was not so great as to render them very formidable, considering they were dispersed; but then they were supported by their countrymen of Northumberland, and East-Anglia. Besides,

who behave
insolently.

the English dreaded nothing so much as the renewal of the war, which made the Danes very insolent. They did what they pleased, without any controul. The English dispirited by their past calamities, were afraid, on the least occasion, of drawing into the kingdom fresh armies of foreigners. Thus whilst the Danes, abounding in wealth and ease, passed their time agreeably, the English were forced to labour and toil incessantly, to satisfy the avarice of their new masters. In short, the whole kingdom stood in such fear of the Danes, that they had always the appellation of Lord-Danes. The word itself, as well as the meaning, was altered a little after. At this day, in some parts of England, a rich idle man that takes upon him, is by way of derision called a Lurdane. But notwithstanding this alteration, the traces of its original signification are still visible in the word.

Hist.
Boeth. Hist.
Scot. J.
Walling.
are thence
called Lord
Danes.

Elgivia, Ethelred's queen, dying, whilst the Danes were thus insolently domineering in England, the king demanded

—habito concilio cum regni sui primatibus—S. Dunelm. p. 164. Hoved. p. 429.—Confilio primatum suorum:—M. West. p. 386.

^r For the payment of this money every hide of land was taxed yearly twelve-pence. A hide of land is such a quantity of land as may be ploughed with one plough in a year. Beke reckons it as much as will maintain a family. Some say it was an hundred acres, others that it contained no certain number of acres. The distribution of England by hides of land is very ancient, mention being made of it in, the laws of Ina. Danegeld was the first land-tax in England. It was afterwards called Hida-gium, which name remained afterwards upon all taxes and subsidies imposed on

lands. The Normans called these sometimes taxes, sometimes tillages, and auxilia & subsidia. The Saxon kings before this had their levies of money and personal services towards the building and repairing cities, castles, bridges, military expeditions, &c. which from the word Bote, that is, repair, were termed Burghbote, Brigbote, Heregeld, &c. Danegeld was released by Edward the Confessor, but levied again by William I. and II. Then it was released again by Henry I. and finally by king Stephen. This ancient tax probably might be a precedent for our land-tax for three or four shillings in the pound, when first granted. See Leg. Edw. Confess. c. xii.

Emma

Emma^s, sister of Richard II. duke of Normandy, in marriage. His suit being granted, and the marriage consummated, he thought himself out of danger, depending upon the assistance of the duke his brother-in-law, when there should be occasion. This expectation inspired him with the barbarous and furious resolution of destroying the Danes by a general massacre. To execute this project, orders were sent so privately^t throughout the kingdom, that in one day all the Danes were slain with such implacable fury and cruelty, that the particulars cannot be read without horror^u. Sweyn's sister^v, who was married to an English lord, having at first been spared, Ethelred was so barbarous as to cause her children to be murdered in her presence, and then her head to be cut off. This princefs, who met her death with an heroic constancy, was severely revenged shortly after.

This bloody tragedy, acted on the thirteenth of November 1002, was very like the massacre of the Romans by the Britons under Boadicea; not only the same barbarities, but the same consequences also attended both. The English, as the old Britons, were so far from throwing off their yoke by this wicked expedient, that it served only to make it more heavy and insupportable. Though historians assure us, all the Danes in England were massacred on this occasion, it is hard to conceive how this could be effected in Northumberland and East-Anglia, where the Danes were most powerful. Was it possible they should suffer their throats to be cut, without making any resistance worth notice? This consideration makes me apt to believe, that by all the Danes, we are to understand only those lately settled in England, and dispersed in Wexsex and Mercia.

Ethelred was persuaded, this bloody massacre of so many thousands would procure him some repose. He could not

^s In Saxon, Elgiva. S. Dunelm. p. 164. She was called from her extraordinary beauty, the pearl of Normandy. Raa. Higd. lib. vi. Huntingd. lib. vi.

^t Huntingdon says that he himself, when a child, heard it from certain old men, that by the king's command letters were privately dispatched all over England to make away the Danes in one night. The Saxon Annals add, it was because the king was told the Danes designed to deprive him and his nobles of their lives, and to seize the kingdom. Anno MIL.

^u Among other cruelties, the Danish women were placed in holes in the earth,

as deep as their waists, and then had their breasts torn off by mastiff dogs. See Joh. Walling. p. 547. edit. Gale. M. West. lays the odium of this whole scene of barbarity on Huna, general of the king's forces, one of his evil counsellors, p. 393. Brady questions the truth of it, p. 124, note (m).

^w Her name was Gunilda; she is said to have been married to a noble Dane of great power and wealth, who had been settled for some time in England: his name was Paleng. She was a Christian, and had been a great instrument in making peace between the English and Danes. Mat. West. p. 392.

Ethelred
marries Emma of Normandy.
Huntingd. lib. vi.
Brompton. Massacre of the Danes.
Sax. Ann. Huntingd. S. Dunelm. M. West.

Remarks
on this massacre.

Ethelred's
false views.

imagine,

imagine, the Danes would ever think of any future invasions. At least, he hoped, in case the desire of revenging their brethren should bring them to England again, the English would see the necessity of shedding the last drop of their blood to prevent falling into the hands of their incensed enemies. He relied moreover on the assistance of his brother-in-law the duke of Normandy, a powerful prince, interested in his defence. But such a detestable policy rarely produces the intended effects, or rather, seldom fails of ending in the ruin of the projector. God, who beholds such tragedies with horror, does not often suffer them to go unpunished. Of this we have an instance in the miseries that befel Ethelred and his subjects, who were almost as guilty as their king.

Sweyn re-
solves upon
revenge.
M. West.
Walsing.
J. Walling.

Sweyn received the news of this massacre by some Danes, who escaped by getting on board a vessel ready to sail for Denmark. The relation of the cruelties of the English to those of his nation, would have been sufficient to throw him into resolutions fatal to England. But when he was informed of his sister's death, and the barbarous manner of it, he was seized with a raging fury. Every thing contributing to stir him up to revenge, he solemnly swore he would never rest till he had satisfaction for so bloody an outrage. It was not therefore with intent to plunder, that he made a second expedition into England, but to destroy the whole country with fire and sword. However, as he did not doubt but Ethelred had taken all possible precautions to oppose his entrance, he would not sail without being sure of a place where he might safely land his troops. Cornwall was then governed by earl Hugh a Norman, whom the queen had placed in that post as a man the king might perfectly confide in. To this governor Sweyn dispatched a trusty messenger, to endeavour to gain him to his interest, by the offer of a great reward. Hugh yielding to the temptation, promised to admit the Danish fleet into his ports, and suffer the troops to land without molestation.

Sweyn
lands in
Cornwall
and burns
Exeter.
Huntingg.
S. Dunelm.
Brompt.

Upon this, Sweyn, having equipped a fleet of three hundred sail, landed in Cornwall with a numerous army, and meeting with no opposition, marched directly to Exeter. As this city was in no apprehension of an attack, he easily became master of it, and putting the inhabitants to the sword, reduced it to ashes. This first exploit was followed by several others, no less fatal to England. Wherever Sweyn carried his arms, revenge and not conquest being his chief aim, he destroyed all with fire and sword. Towards the end of the summer, being informed Alfric, duke of Mercia, was advancing with a powerful army to give him battle, he resolved to meet him. Ethel-
red

red acted very unadvisedly in giving the command of his army to this lord, whom he had formerly banished the kingdom out of mere caprice, and whose son's eyes he had ordered to be put out ^x. The remembrance of this injury being still fresh in the duke's mind, he was pleased with having so fair an opportunity to revenge it. As soon as he was in sight of the enemy, he feigned himself sick on a sudden, pretending he was unable to fight in his present condition, ordered a retreat, which he took care to make with so much confusion, that the Danes very easily routed his army. After this victory, Sweyn took several towns ^y, with an immense booty. But as he had no design to keep them, he set them on fire, and went and passed the winter in Denmark.

The calm England enjoyed upon Sweyn's departure, lasted not long. In the following spring he landed in East-Anglia, and taking Norwich, burnt the whole town to the ground. Ulfketel, governor of East-Anglia, unable to resist him, gave him a great sum of money, to prevent his doing any farther mischief. But upon receipt of the money, Sweyn breaks the treaty, and takes Thetford by surprise, a town then of great note, and served it as he had done Norwich. Incensed at this breach of faith, Ulfketel levied some troops with great expedition, and posted himself between the Danish army and fleet. Sweyn perceiving he intended to cut off his retreat to his ships, marched back to give him battle, before he should be reinforced with more troops. He found the English very advantageously encamped, expecting him with a resolution to stand their ground, and exert their utmost in defence of their goods and chattels, which their enemies were carrying away before their face. The ill fortune of the English was come to that height, that it was almost impossible they should so much as once get the advantage. The Danes obtained a signal victory, though not without great loss on their side. They even owned they were never in more danger of being defeated ^z. Ulfketel, though of Danish race, was the faithfullest as well as bravest of all Ethelred's subjects, and did him the most service. But it was not so with the other lords. All the historians agree, Ethelred was betrayed by all that approached him. Sweyn had his spies, not only in his court, but in his very

Sax. Ann.

Sweyn re-tires.

He returns and burns Norwich and Thetford.
Sax. Ann. Malmsh. Huntingd. S. Dunelm. Brompt.

Defeats the duke of East-Anglia
1004.

Ethelred betrayed on all hands.

^x Though the Annals tell us not the reason, Malmshury says it was for his father's perfidiousness, who had revolted several times.

^y Particularly Wilton and Sarum.
Sax. Ann.

^z The Saxon Annals tell us, the

sight was very sharp, and ended in a great slaughter on both sides, wherein abundance of the English nobility were killed. But if all the English forces had been there, the Danes had never reached their ships. Anno 1004.

council. The great men, for the most part were bribed, or at least, there was scarce one that served the king heartily, by reason of their little esteem for him. Whatever councils were held to consider of ways and means to resist the Danes, the dissensions between the nobles, too common in the courts of princes of little respected, prevented them from coming to any resolution, or executing what was resolved. The avarice of the clergy, and particularly of the monks, very much helped to encrease the disorder. Notwithstanding their great riches, they refused to contribute their quota in defence of the kingdom, pleading their privileges and immunities, as if they had no share at all in the danger. It is no wonder therefore the Danes obtained so many victories in a country so ill defended by them, who were so much concerned for its preservation. The famine that happened soon after, would have completed the misfortunes of the English, had it not accidentally proved the occasion of Sweyn's returning to Denmark for want of subsistence in England.

1005.
Famine in
England,
upon which
Sweyn re-
tires.
Sax. Ann.

Another
Danish
fleet.
Sax. Ann.

Upon the retreat of the Danes, and ceasing of the famine, the English began to entertain hopes of enjoying some tranquillity, when they saw another Danish fleet arrive at Sandwich in Kent. Ethelred immediately levied an army to give the new invaders battle; but after committing some ravages, they retired to the isle of Thanet, where it was not possible to attack them. They knew the English army consisting only of volunteers who served at their own expence, would soon disband themselves, as it actually happened. Winter coming on, the English returned to their homes, it not being in the power of the king to keep them any longer together. Then the Danes issuing from their retreat, renewed their ravages in Kent^a and the neighbouring counties, well assured they should meet with no opposition. Ethelred saw no other course to stop the progress of a mischief that threatened the whole kingdom, but to give them the sum of thirty thousand pounds, with which they were very well satisfied.

1007.

The king
marries his
daughter to
Edric, who
proves a
traitor.
Malmsb.
lib. ii. c. 10.
Huntingd.
M. West.

The king, being freed from this incumbrance, celebrated the wedding of one of his daughters with Edric, surnamed Streon^b, a very powerful lord, whom he had just made duke of Mercia. If hitherto Ethelred had lived in continual fears and troubles, it was nothing in comparison of the misfortunes he drew on himself by this fatal marriage. He had inconfi-

^a This was about Christmas: they plundered [not Kent] but Hampshire and Berkshire, as far as Reading, and burnt Wallingford. See Sax. Ann.

Hunting. p. 360. S. Dunelm. p. 166.
^b Camden says, Streon signifies the Acquirer, and therefore it was not a proper, but surname only. Rapin.

derately

derately taken into his family a traitor sold to the Danes, who never failed on all occasions to betray the king and kingdom to the foreigners.

Hardly was a year passed since the last treaty with the Danes, 1008, when they demanded the same sum again ^c, pretending it to be a yearly tribute due by contract from Ethelred. This demand was accompanied with threats of destroying the whole kingdom with fire and sword, if the money was not immediately paid. This new pretension of the Danes convincing the king and his council, there was no possibility of ever contenting their insatiable avarice, it was judged the money would be better laid out in equipping a fleet capable of defending the kingdom from their incursions. Necessity made them put this resolution so speedily in practice, that quickly after the king had a fleet well manned and victualled, the command whereof was given to Brithric, brother of Edric Streon, duke of Mercia. These measures obliged the Danes to retire, for fear of being forced to a sea-engagement, which their ships were not so fit for as those of the English ^d.

The first thing Brithric did, after his being made admiral, was to use all his interest to ruin Ulnoth, a lord of distinguished quality ^e, but his enemy. He accused him to the king of I know not what crimes, of which Ulnoth did not think fit to purge himself by a public trial, being sensible his condemnation was already concerted. He resolved therefore upon a voluntary exile, to screen himself from this persecution, and persuaded nine captains ^f to follow him with their ships. After which he infested the English coasts, and did as much mischief as the Danes. Brithric, enraged at his enemy's escape, and his daring to brave him thus, put to sea with eighty sail to give him chase, and endeavour to seize him alive or dead. But he met with so violent a storm, that the greatest part of his ships were lost, or fell into the hands of Ulnoth. Thus this great fleet, which could not be fitted out without a vast expence, was rendered unserviceable by the admiral's passion. The loss became still more irretrievable by the dis-

1008,
Ethelred fitted
out a great
fleet.
Sax. Ann.
Huntingd.
S. Dunelm.
Brompt.

The fleet
comes to
nothing.
Sax. Ann.

Moved.

c Which was paid them. Sax. Ann.
d The Saxon Annals tell us, this was the largest and best fleet England had ever seen. It was built after this manner all over England; every hundred and thirty hides of land were obliged to find one ship, and every eight hides a helmet and breast-plate. An. M VIII. MIX. It must be observed that the Annals tell us, the several sums paid

to the Danes, as well as this tax for building a fleet, were all levied with the joint consent of the king and his great council, or Wittenagemot.

e Thane of Sussex, earl Goodwin's father. Sax. Ann.

f The Saxon Annals, and the rest of the historians, say twenty. See Huntingd. p. 360. S. Dunelm. p. 266.

cession among the sea-officers, several of whom went and joined Ulnoth.

1009.
The Danes
arrive in
Kent.
S. Dunelm.
Sax. Ann.
Hunting.
Brompt.

In the mean time, the Danes took advantage of these disorders. The next spring two of their fleets arrived in England, one in East-Anglia, under Turkil, another in the isle of Thanet, under Heming and Anlaff. These leaders joining their forces in Kent, plundered the country, and then laid siege to Canterbury. The city would have infallibly fallen into the hands of the Danes, if the inhabitants had not purchased a peace with a large sum of money ².

Ethelred
levies an
army;

Whilst the Danes were pillaging Kent, Ethelred drew an army together to oppose their ravages. As soon as he was ready, he posted himself between them and their ships, to prevent their embarking and carrying off their booty. Probably, he would have executed his project, and perhaps gained some further advantage, considering the superiority of his forces, if Edric had not found means to save the Danes. The traitor perceiving their danger, represented to the king, his father-in-law, that it would be more advantageous to let them retire than hazard a battle, which might prove fatal to him. This pernicious advice made such impression on the king, that he suffered them to march by, with all their plunder, unmolested. But instead of sailing for Denmark, as 'twas expected, they threw themselves into the isle of Thanet; from whence, during the whole winter, they made incursions into the neighbouring counties. They even made several attempts upon London, but were always repulsed. Mean while, Ulfketel, duke of East-Anglia, willing once more to try the fortune of a battle in defence of his government, had the misfortune to be overthrown, and by his defeat left them masters of the country he intended to defend.

Hoveden.

but suffers
the Danes
to pass by
him unmolested by
Edric's advice.

Ulfketel
defeated.

The Danes
mount some
of their
troops, and
become
masters of
almost all
Wessex.
Sax. Ann.
Huntingd.
S. Dunelm.
Brompton.

Hitherto the Danes wanted cavalry, by reason of the difficulty of transporting horses from Denmark. But as soon as they were in possession of East-Anglia, a country abounding with horses, they mounted part of their troops, and by that means extended their conquests. Shortly after they subdued Essex, Middlesex, Hertfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Oxfordshire ^h, Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, Nor-

g Three thousand pounds. Sax. Ann. MIX. After they had got these three thousand pounds, they sailed round to the isle of Wight, and plundered Suffex, Hampshire, and Berkthire, burning several towns. And here it was

that Ethelred drew an army against them, not whilst they were ravaging Kent. See Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm.

^h Oxford being burnt that year by the Danes, all studies ceased there till the year 1133. Tho. Redburn.

thampton-

thamptonsire, Kent, Surrey, Suffex, Hampshire, Wiltshire, and Devonshire, whilst Ethelred, who had scarce any thing left, kept himself shut up in London, without daring to take the field and stop their progress. In all the abovenamed counties, London and Canterbury were the only places in the king's power. But at length they attacked the last so vigorously, that they took, plundered, and reduced it to ashes. ^{1012.} Elphegus, the archbishop, being taken prisoner, was afterwards murdered by these barbarians¹. They proceeded with the same cruelty towards the monks of St. Augustin's, whom they put under a decimation, destroying nine parts in ten².

England being reduced to this deplorable state, all the great men of the kingdom assembled at London with the king, to consult upon a remedy for such violent evils. The best expedient they could find, was to bribe these foreigners with money to leave the kingdom. The sum agreed upon amounted to forty-eight thousand pounds³, which having received, they departed with their booty⁴.

Though the retreat of the Danes cost England dear, the people thought themselves happy to be thus freed from their enemies, hoping they should repair by a peace, the damages sustained by the war. But they were far from seeing yet the end of their miseries. Hardly had they enjoyed any quiet, when news came that Sweyn⁵ was entered the Humber with a powerful fleet, threatening the whole kingdom with desolation and ruin. As this prince found the country unprovided with troops, and unable to defend itself, he quickly became master of Northumberland, East-Anglia, in a word,

¹ He was killed at Greenwich, to which place, the station of their ships, they had brought him prisoner. And therefore in the old church of Greenwich, on the top of the partition wall, between the nave of the church and the chancel, was this inscription, "This church was erected and dedicated to the glory of God, and memory of St. Alphage, archbishop of Canterbury, here slain by the Danes, because he would not ransom his life by an unreasonable sum of money. Anno 1012." He was first buried at St. Paul's in London, and afterwards removed to Canterbury. He was honoured as a martyr, and stands in the Roman Martyrology on the 19th of April.

² Florence of Worcester says, the burghers were served in the same manner; so that only four monks, and

about eight hundred laymen, were left alive. Lambard supposes there were about forty-three thousand two hundred persons massacred. *Peregrin. of Kent. Mat. West.*

³ *Sax. Ann. Huntingd. p. 361.* and Brompton say but eight thousand.

⁴ Forty-five of their ships submitted to Ethelred, and promised to defend the kingdom, provided he would allow them victuals and cloaths. *Sax. Ann. Huntingd. p. 361.*

⁵ The English historians have not told us the reason why Sweyn staid away so long, as from 1003 to 1013, eight years.

⁶ He came first to Sandwich, and from thence sailing to the mouth of the Humber, he went up the Trent, as far as Gainsborough. *Sax. Ann. Malmsb. S. Dunelm. Ingulph.*

of all the counties lying north of Watling-Street. But these conquests not satisfying his ambition, he takes hostages of all the principal towns, and leaving his son Canute to command the conquered counties, he advances southward, and on a sudden lays siege to London, where Ethelred was shut up. Though he was but ill provided with necessaries to besiege in form a place of that importance, he imagined the citizens would be terrified at his menaces. But finding they were not moved by them, he desisted from his enterprize, and went and ravaged the western parts of Wessex, where he found no opposition to his arms. However, as he could not be easy whilst London was out of his power, he resolved to besiege it once more. But whilst he was preparing for the siege with greater precaution than before, he had information of Ethelred's departure from thence. This unfortunate prince ever dreading to fall into the hands of an enemy he had so heinously injured, and perceiving himself unsafe at London, retired into Normandy with all his family. Whereupon the Londoners being left to take care of themselves, judged it a rash undertaking to maintain alone the rights of a prince relinquished by himself. They resolved therefore to submit to the king of Denmark, to whom all the rest of the kingdom was now subject. Presently after the surrender of London, Sweyn was proclaimed king of England without any opposition, no one person in the kingdom daring to dispute his title.

15. SWEYN king of Denmark, and first of the Danish kings in England.

THE first act of sovereignty exercised by the new king, was an immense tax on the kingdom for payment of the Danish troops who assisted him in his conquests. No historian mentions the coronation of this prince. Perhaps he neglected this solemnity, believing it unnecessary; or, it may be, matters of greater importance afforded him no time to think of it, during his short reign of less than a year. Some say he died a natural death, being choaked by a rheum. Others believe he was poisoned. Whatever was the cause, 'tis certain he died suddenly, which gave occasion to the legend writers to say he was killed with a club or lance by St. Edmund,

Sweyn imposes a great tax.

1014.

He dies suddenly.
Malmsh.
S. Dunelm.
M. West.

mund, formerly king of East-Anglia. It is pretended, this saint did it to save the town, where his body lay buried ^p, from being plundered for refusing to pay the tax imposed by the new king. The shortness of his reign, and perhaps his not being crowned, are the reasons historians, for the most part, have not reckoned this prince in the number of the kings of England.

ETHELRED II. restored.

UPON the death of Sweyn, his son Canute was pro- Ethelred II. 1014.
 claimed king of England by the Danes. But the Eng-
 lish recalled Ethelred, promising to support him in the throne,
 against all the attempts of the Danes, whose government was
 become insupportable. Ethelred at first was loth to trust to Sax. Ann.
 their promises, being apprehensive of a design to deliver him Malmsh.
 into the hands of his enemies. But being encouraged by the Huntingd.
 good reception his son met with, whom he had sent before to S. Dunelm.
 sound the people's inclinations, he returned to England. He
 was received with great demonstrations of joy, and his sub-
 jects swore allegiance to him again, as if he had begun a new
 reign, his flight being considered as a sort of abdication of
 the crown. For his part, he promised to reform whatever
 was amiss in the administration of the government before his
 retreat. The eagerness of the English to throw off a foreign
 yoke, made them flock to the king with such zeal and haste,
 that he soon found himself at the head of a powerful army.
 His first expedition plainly shewed, his misfortunes had made
 no great alteration in him. Instead of marching against the
 Danes, he made use of his forces to be revenged on the men
 of Lindsey ^q, who had some way displeased him. After he He chastises the Lindsey-men.
 had gratified his passion by the chastisement of these people,
 he prepared to march and fight the Danes, who little expected
 so sudden a revolution. Though Canute had for him all the
 Danes, and the same forces his father Sweyn had conquered
 England with, he did not think fit to hazard a battle. On
 the contrary, before Ethelred was advanced near enough to
 oblige him to fight, he led his troops to the sea-side, and em- Canute re- turns into Denmark: the reason of it.

^p St. Edmund's-bury.

^q One of the three divisions of Lin-
 colnshire, viz. Holland, Kesteven, and
 Lindsey. The Saxon Annals tell us,

the men of Lindsey had provided the
 Danes with horses, and designed to join
 with them in their ravages. An. MXIV.

barking them, set sail for Denmark. But before his departure, he ordered the hands and feet of the hostages he had in his power, to be cut off, leaving them thus mangled on the shore^r.

The cause
of his leaving
England.

The retreat of this prince cannot but seem strange, since he had never been worsted, and besides, had many strong places still in his hands. It is no less to be wondered, that the English historians should not explain the cause of so hasty a retreat. But what the English history passes over in silence, is supplied by the Danish. We are there informed, that Canute had a younger brother, named Harold, who being regent in the absence of his father Sweyn, seized upon the kingdom for himself. 'Twas this that obliged Canute to leave England, with a precipitation that seemed to be an effect of fear rather than sound policy, as it really was. This prince did not believe he ought to abandon the kingdom of his ancestors, for the sake of a strange and newly conquered country, ripe for a general defection. And indeed, if the revolt of the English had engaged him in a long war, as was but too probable, what assistance could he expect from Denmark, whilst the kingdom was in the hands of his brother? He made it but too visible afterwards, when having settled his affairs in the North, he returned with his victorious troops to England, that he was incapable of the fear that was laid to his charge.

Avarice and
cruelty of
Ethelred.
Sax. Ann.
S. Dunelm.

As soon as Ethelred saw himself freed from the Danes, he never thought of performing his promise to his subjects. On the contrary, he resumed his old maxims, and imposed, on several pretences, excessive taxes^s, which raised great murmurings among the nobles and people.

Put two
earls to
death for
their estates.
Sax. Ann.
Malmsh.
M. West.
S. Dunelm.

To these occasions of public complaint, he added others of a more private nature, which destroyed all the hopes entertained of his amendment. Morcard and Sifferth, lords of Danish extraction, who had all along firmly adhered to his interest of the king and their new country, were sacrificed to his avarice. To draw these two earls into his snare, the king convened a great council at Oxford^t, where he caused them to be murdered, and then seized their estates, as if they had

^r He sailed to Sandwich, where he set the hostages on shore, and then went away to Denmark. The historians say, he cut off their hands, noses, and ears, without any mention of their feet. Sax. Ann. Malmsh.

^s Particular y twenty-one thousand pound, for his fleet and army that was

at Greenwich. Sax. Ann. Huntingd, p. 362. S. Dunelm, and Hoved. fry, it was thirty thousand pound. p. 241. 433. — Anno, 1014. Sept. 28. there was such an inundation of the sea, that it overflowed several towns, and drowned abundance of people. Sax. Ann. Malmsh. t Of English and Danes. Malmsh.

been condemned by the common forms of justice". Alitha, widow of Sifferth, was shut up in a monastery, to which confinement she was indebted for her after greatness. Edmund, the king's eldest son, passing that way some time after, had a mind to see a lady so renowned for her beauty, and fell so desperately in love with her, that he married her, even against his father's consent.

The marriage of his son Edmund. Malmb.

The calm England enjoyed after the retreat of the Danes, lasted but one year. Canute having got possession of the throne of Denmark, immediately set out for England, and, when least expected, landed a numerous army at Sandwich. Ethelred being then out of order, Edmund his son, with Streon duke of Mercia, his son-in-law, commanded the army against the Danes. Edmund soon perceived his brother-in-law was a friend to Canute. This discovery made him invent some pretence to divide the army in two bodies, that he might be separated from him, not daring to punish the traitor, for fear of exciting a revolt in Mercia, where Streon's power was great. Besides, he dreaded his father's displeasure, who would never be persuaded, his son-in-law held intelligence with the Danes. Canute taking advantage of this division of the English forces, made large conquests immediately; and the treacherous Edric, who had joined Edmund with no other view but to betray him, finding he had lost his aim, openly declared for Canute. This would have been rather an advantage than a detriment to the king's affairs, if the traitor had not carried with him a considerable body of troops, with forty ships of war. This desertion, which proved very serviceable to Canute, was a mortal wound to Ethelred. The people went over in crowds to the Danes, in proportion as the king's affairs fell to decay. Even Wessex itself was not very secure.

1016. Canute returns to England. Is favoured by Streon. Sax. Ann. M. lxxxv. Huntingd. S. Dunelm.

Canute's expectation daily increasing by these successes, he turned his arms against those of the Mercians, who continued in their allegiance to the king, and at length, with the assist-

Canute subduces all Mercia, and resolves upon attacking Wessex.

a Florence of Worcester, and Matthew Westminster relate, that these two earls were privately accused by Edric, who gaped after their estate, of treasonable practices against Ethelred, by whose order Edric invited them to a feast, where he caused them to be treacherously murdered. Their dependants, who went about to revenge their deaths, were forced to fly into St. Frideswide's church in Oxford, which being set on fire, they perished in the flames. But the king repenting of his cruelty, caused the church to be rebuilt. In this, and

several other particulars, it is plain that Ethelred was egged on by the treacherous Edric, to make him odious to the people; and that he was not so bad as is represented, as appears from the good laws he made, which are still extant. He was so particularly careful of the execution of justice, that having found one Walgeatus, a judge, whom he loved, guilty of injustice, he deposed him from his office.

w Canute plundered Dorset, Wilts, and Somersetshire. Sax. Ann. Malmb.

Stroon does
him great
service.
Sax. Ann.

tance of Stroon; entirely subdued them. After which he formed a design to attack Ethelred in Wessex itself. He had the more reason to expect success in this enterprize, as Edric had artfully instilled into the Mercians that were in the English army, a notion that it was a sin to bear arms against a prince, in possession of their country. All that Edmund could obtain of these troops, was, that they would follow the king when he commanded the army in person, refusing to fight under any other general. In this extremity, Edmund used all possible endeavours to persuade the king his father, who feigned himself sick at London, to take the command of the army. But the more Ethelred was pressed, the more he was confirmed in his suspicion of a design to deliver him to the Danes, imagining the English had no other way to make a peace with them. As he durst not quit London, where he thought himself safe, he refused to go to the army; and the prince his son had the vexation to see his troops disperse, without being able to oblige them to stand a battle. In the mean time, Canute taking advantage of these disorders, enlarged his conquests with great rapidity.

Ethelred's
fears,

He promises
to head
the army.
Sax. Ann.

In these wretched circumstances, Edmund saw no remedy but to go himself to London, and try to persuade the king to head the army. He prevailed at last with great difficulty, and by his extraordinary care, raised another army more numerous than the former. His design was to give Canute battle, persuaded as he was, that nothing but a signal victory could retrieve the affairs of the English. Ethelred came to the army according to his promise, but, upon his arrival, was seized by his old fears. Whether he had any good ground for his suspicion, or it was instilled into him by the traitors about his person, he made but a very short stay, returning to London with all imaginable speed. After his departure, the army being much weakened by the retreat of the Mercians, who absolutely refused to fight without a king at their head, Edmund was obliged to keep at a distance from the Danes, for fear of engaging at a great disadvantage. Then Canute finding no farther opposition, became master of several counties in Wessex, and soon saw himself in condition to compleat the conquest of the whole kingdom.

He goes,
but suddenly
retires.

Edmund
goes into
the North
and joins
Uthred.
Sax. Ann.

Edmund perceiving he was unable to stop the progress of the enemy, resolved to go and join Uthred earl of Northumberland, who had levied some troops in the North. They ravaged together those parts of the country that joined with the Danes^a, whilst Canute and the duke of Mercia laid waste

^a Staffordshire, Shropshire, Leicestershire. Sax. Ann.

the southern counties that persisted in their obedience to Ethelred^y. But Canute did not long suffer his friends to be exposed to the ravages of the English. The moment he was informed of what passed in the North, he marched thither with the utmost expedition, and compelled Edmund and Uthred to retire into Lancashire, where they were not very secure. Uthred, finding he was no match for Canute, thought best to submit to the Danish king, who continued him in his government, though but for a little while. As he plainly saw the earl had changed sides purely by compulsion, and had reason to fear he would not remain faithful, he caused him to be put to death, and placed Eric, a Danish lord, in his room.

Canute follows him.

Uthred submits to him.

and is put to death.

Edmund being at a loss what to do, retired to his father at London, and earnestly pressed him to exert himself on the present occasion; but all to no purpose. Ethelred, who till then had feigned himself sick, fell dangerously ill, and died soon after in the fiftieth year of his age, and the thirty-seventh of his reign^z. Never was England in a more deplorable state, than in the reign of this prince.

1006. Ethelred dies.

He had by his first wife Elgiva^a, Edmund, who succeeded him; Athelstan, who died in his childhood; another son called Edwy, and three daughters. Edgiva, the eldest, was married to an English earl, who was slain in battle. Edgith, his second, had the misfortune to fall to the lot of the traitor Edric duke of Mercia. Edgina, the youngest, was wife of Uthred earl of Northumberland. By Emma of Normandy, his second wife, he had Alfred and Edward, and a daughter named Goda, who was first married to Walter earl of Mantes, and afterwards to Eustachius earl of Boulogne.

His issue.

Ethelred has commonly the surname of the Unready given him by the historians, either because he was often surprised by the Danes, or was never ready when he was to go to the wars. At his coming to the crown he found the kingdom in a rich and flourishing condition, but left it at his death in extreme poverty and desolation.

^y Buckingham, Bedford; Huntingdon, Lincoln, Nottingham shires; and so through Northumbria towards York. Sax. Ann. Malmsh.

^z He was buried in St. Paul's Cathedral, Malmsh.

^a Or Ethelgiva, the daughter of earl Egbert. Brompt. p. 877. He says in the same place, that he had his first children by a foreigner, that was his concubine:—by the daughter of earl Toroth, says Rievallensis.

16. EDMUND II.

surnamed IRONSIDE.

Edmund
proclaimed
king by the
English.
Higden.
Polychron.
The Danes
declare for
Canute.
Sax. Ann.
Malmsh.
Huntingd.
S. Dunelm.
M. Welf.

London be-
sieged twice,
and both
times re-
lieved.

A battle
where nei-
ther side had
the victory.

AFTER Ethelred's death, the city of London and all the lords there present, proclaimed his son Edmund king of England, who had already given signal proofs of his courage and conduct. But the Danes, and all the counties in their possession, declared for Canute^b. However, as the English obeyed him against their wills, many of them came and offered their service to Edmond, whom they looked upon as their lawful prince, though they were constrained to swear to his rival. By this means the two kings were more upon an equality, which occasioned many engagements with various success, that served only to prolong the war, but not to decide the quarrel. The city of London being a great support to Edmund, the Danish king thought of taking it from him, believing the depriving him of his chief strength would put a speedy end to the war. With this view, whilst Edmund was elsewhere employed^c, he approached London, and forming the siege, carried it on vigorously. But the brave resistance of the citizens giving Edmund time to throw in succours from the other side of the Thames, Canute was obliged to raise the siege. Having thus lost his aim, he used many stratagems to surprise the enemy, or draw him off from London. This last project succeeding, he went and laid siege a second time to the city: but he met with the same difficulties as before, the inhabitants, by a very obstinate defence, giving Edmund time to come to their relief.

Canute, vexed to see his measures thus broken, suddenly raised the siege, to go and offer Edmund battle, who was no less desirous of deciding the quarrel by one single action, and therefore, instead of retreating, marched towards him. In this battle, which was very bloody, they both gave signal proofs of their conduct and courage, without either of them being able to make victory incline to his side. After a long fight, the two armies were obliged to part, with al-

^b Simeon of Durham, and others, say, that the bishops, abbots, and many of the English nobles coming to Southampton, abjured the race of Ethelred, at the same time they chose Canute for their king, and swore fealty to him; who

also swore to them, in matters ecclesiastical and civil, to be their faithful lord.

^c He was gone to secure Wessex, which submitted to him. Sax. Annal. Huntingd.

most

most an equal loss. The English army however had like to have been worsted by the artifice of Edric Streon, who was on the side of the Danes: this lord perceiving the English troops contrary to his expectation, fought in such a manner as made the victory dubious, cut off the head of one Osmer, a soldier, who very much resembled Edmund, and fixing it on the top of his lance, advanced to the foremost ranks, and exposing it to the view of the English, cried out aloud, "Fly, fly, you scoundrels, behold the head of your king, in whom you trust." The English were thunder-struck at this sight, which would have occasioned their defeat, had not the king shown himself with his helmet off to his astonished troops, and by that means revived their courage, which the belief of his death began to cool. The battle lasting till night, without any visible advantage on either side, Edmund prepared to renew the fight the next morning: but Canute, who had other designs, retired, during the night^a, to his fleet that expected him, and embarking his troops, rowed along the coast for some time, to amuse the enemy, who could not guess his intention. When he thought he had deceived Edmund, he landed his forces, and besieged London a third time. But succeeding no better than formerly, he retired elsewhere.

Artifice of Edric to dishearten the English. Malmsh. H. Hunt. S. Dunelm. M. Westm. Brompt.

Canute withdraws in the night;

and besieges London again without success.

The particulars of this war would be curious enough, if it were possible to give a clear account of them: but we meet with extreme confusion in this part of the English history. What may be gathered from historians for certain, is this, that the two contending princes fought, within the space of one year, five pitched battles. One of these battles, fought in Essex, would have infallibly proved fatal to Canute, had it not been for the pernicious advice of Edric Streon, who, continually changing sides, was then in the English army.

Five battles between Edmund and Canute in one year.

1016. Sax. Annal. G. Malmsh. H. Hunting. S. Dunelm.

Edward had been so generous as to pardon him, and so easy as to give credit to his oaths of being entirely devoted to his service for the future. Nevertheless, this traitor, who was a creature of the king of Denmark, let no opportunity slip of serving the Dane: as he saw the Danes, hard pressed by the English, retreating in great disorder, he artfully persuaded Edmund to stop the pursuit of the fugitives, by making him apprehensive their despair might cause them to rally, and the victory, by some unforeseen accident, snatched out of his

The fatal advice of Edric to the king.

^d This battle was fought at Sceaftan, which Camden supposes to be Sherston, in Wiltshire. Others think it to be the place where four stones, called Shire-stones, part the four counties of Oxford, Gloucester, Worcester,

and Warwick: Milton makes the battle to have lasted two whole days, and Canute to have marched off the second night: so doth Matt. Westm. p. 498. and he relates Edric's stratagem under the second day.

hands. This artifice which had formerly taken effect with Ethelred, wrought likewise with Edmund, who suffered himself to be guided by this fatal advice. One is at a loss which to admire most, Edmund's imprudence in being governed by a man of known disloyalty, or the traitor's boldness and confidence. Tired at length with dissembling his real sentiments, he threw away the mask in the last battle, near Assandun^e.

The battle of Assandun, wherein Canute gains the victory by the treachery of Edric.

Sax. Annal. Brompton. M. Westm. Huntingd.

Whilst the two armies were engaged, he suddenly deserted his post, and joined the Danes, who received him as their friend. This treachery caused such consternation among the English, that throwing down their arms, they thought of nothing but saving themselves by flight. Edmund's loss upon this occasion was irretrievable, the flower of the English nobility being slain in this unfortunate battle. The earls Alfric, Godwin, Ulfketel, Ethelward, all of distinguished valour and loyalty, fell that day, with their swords in their hands, in defence of their king and country.

Edmund raises another army.

After this important victory, Canute looked upon himself as irresistible. He could not conceive Edmund would ever be able to bring another army into the field that durst look, him in the face. But as the English were in extreme danger, they made extraordinary efforts for their deliverance. Edmund had for him the hearts of his subjects, and particularly the Londoners, who were always ready to give him effectual proofs of their affection and loyalty: and therefore so far was he from being discouraged by this grievous misfortune, that he rallied his dispersed troops, and drawing together a more powerful army than what he had lost, went in quest of his enemy, who was marching to Gloucester. Canute, for his part unwilling to give him time to augment his forces, made haste to meet him, with intent to offer him battle. The two kings stood in sight of each other for some time, at the head of their respective armies^f, without either giving the signal of battle. The dread of the event held them equally in suspense: Edmund was sensible he should be irretrievably undone, if he lost the day; and Canute foresaw a general defection of the English, in case he were vanquished. Thus,

Sax. Annal.

^e Athdon, in Essex, near Walden. Canute built a church here in memory of this battle to pray for the souls of the slain; and caused four hillocks to be thrown up as monuments of those that were killed in the battle. Two of these monuments being opened, and searched into, there were found three stone-caskets, with abundance of pieces of bones

in them, and many chains of iron, like those on horses bits. These hills are commonly called Bartlow-hills, though they lie in Athdon parish. Some think it was Bartlow church that was built by Canute. See Mag. Brit. vol. i. p. 670. and Camden.

^f The place was Dretthurst, in Gloucestershire. S. Duclm.

in

in all appearance, the gain or loss of a great kingdom depended on the success of that important day. At last Edmund, who was strong and robust of body, and for that reason surnamed Ironside, sent Canute word, that, to prevent the effusion of blood that was going to be spilt in their quarrel, he judged it proper for them two to decide it by single combat. Canute returned for answer, that, though he came not behind his antagonist in courage, yet being of a weak constitution and small stature, he should take care how he engaged in so unequal a combat: adding, if Edmund was desirous to prevent any further effusion of blood, he was ready to refer the decision of matters to the principal officers of the two armies. This proposal was received with joy by the nobles of Edmund's party, who passionately desired to find some expedient to end so fatal a war. Edmund, on the contrary, would fain have decided the quarrel by arms, but however, durst not oppose the nobility, for fear it should occasion their desertion. Plenipotentiaries therefore were nominated on both sides, who met in a little isle in the Severn, called Alney, over-against Gloucester, to consult about settling the pretensions of the two princes. After a short conference, the peace was concluded by the partition of the kingdom. Wessex, that is, all the country, south of the Thames, with the city of London, and, part of the ancient kingdom of Essex^g, was assigned to Edmund. Canute had for his share the kingdom of Mercia, including Northumberland and East-Anglia. Every thing being settled, the two kings met in the Isle of Alney, and mutually swearing to preserve the peace, Edmund retired into Wessex^h.

Edmund sends a challenge to Canute, who refuses to accept it. Malmsh.

The peace is made by the division of the kingdom.

Sax. Annal. S. Dunelm.

Edmund's challenging Canute, has given occasion to some historians to affirm the two kings actually fought in the Isle of Alney. And to make this appear the more probable, they have taken care to be very particular in the circumstances of this famous duel: they tell us, that after it had lasted a good while, without any advantage on either side, Canute, finding his strength to fail him, lifted up the visor of his helmet, and proposed the division of the kingdom, which Edmund consented to immediately. It is further added, at the same instant they ran to embrace one another, to the astonishment of the two armies, who were spectators. But the best historians not mentioning this single combat, it cannot be conceived

Remarks on the pretended duel between the two kings. H. Hunting. Brompton. M. Westm. Ethel. Riev.

^g And all East-Anglia, Mat. Westmonasteriensis,

^h And Canute into Mercia. Sax. Annal.

they

they would have neglected to embellish their histories with so notable an event, had there been any foundation for it¹.

1017.

Edmund's death.

G. Malmsh.

H. Hunting.

M. Westm.

R. de Diceto.

Edmund did not long enjoy the peace that cost him so much pains. Edric Streon, his brother-in-law, fearing the union of the two kings might prove fatal to him, bribed two of the king's chamberlains to assassinate him. Some report he employed his own son in this execrable treason. Thus died that brave prince, who deserved a better fate². He had not sat on the throne a whole year. But in so short a reign he had given frequent proofs of an undaunted courage, a consummate prudence, and a generous temper.

He left, by Algetha, his wife, two sons, Edmund and Edward, of whom I shall have occasion to speak hereafter. He had also a natural son, named Edwy, who was afterwards put to death by Canute.

Canute's

promise to

Edric.

H. Hunting.

Ethel. Rie-

vallensis.

M. Westm.

The duke of Mercia, who was pleased with doing Canute so signal a service, made haste to bring him the first news of it, but Canute detested so barbarous a deed. However he concealed his sentiments, because he thought he should have farther occasion for the traitor, and even promised "to advance him above all the peers of the realm." He kept his word with him, but in a very different manner from what the villain expected.

i Ethelred, abbot of Rievall, gives a very particular account of what passed before, at, and after this famous duel. With him agree Huntingdon and Matthew of Westminster. Malmshury says, Edmund challenged Canute, but he declined the combat, and offered to divide the kingdom. Simeon of Durham, and Hoveden, mention nothing of the challenge or duel, but only speak of the division of the kingdom by the persuasion of Edric, in the same manner as the Sax. Annals. So great is the uncertainty of this fact.

k Malmshury and Brompton relate, that the two villains stabbed him with a sharp piece of iron, as he was eating nature. Some will have him to be taken off by poison: others, to be slain

by an arrow shot by an image made on purpose, which discharged itself upon the king's touching it. But this is improbable. See the various opinions about his death in Brompton, p. 906. The Annals say only, he died suddenly. He was buried by his grandfather Edgar, at Glaffenbury. With him fell the glory of the English Saxons, and by his death the Danes prevailed, and the Saxon monarchy in a manner ended, after it had lasted one hundred and ninety years from the establishment by Egbert, four hundred and thirty-two from the founding of the Heptarchy, and five hundred and sixty-eight from the arrival of the Saxons under Hengist.

17. CANUTE the Great, the second DANISH king of ENGLAND.

THE death of Edmund furnished Canute with an opportunity and pretence of becoming master of Wessex, which the lawful heirs were little able to dispute with him. It was not properly by force of arms that he undertook to carry his point, but by extorting the consent of the nobles. How adverse soever the English might be to the Danish government, he hoped the dread of plunging the kingdom into fresh calamities, would make a still deeper impression on them, and constrain them to comply with his desires: wherefore he required a general assembly to be called in Wessex, in order to set forth his claim; reckoning it would be time to use force if he met with too strong an opposition. Edmund having left two sons and two brothers, Canute did not seem to have any right to pretend to the crown. But he maintained, that in the treaty of the Isle of Alney, the agreement was, the survivor of the two kings should succeed the other. He moreover plainly intimated, he should not stand to the determination of the assembly, if the matter were decided against him. Edmund's two sons were very young, and his brothers in Normandy, where they thought of nothing less than obtaining the crown of Wessex. On the other hand, Canute was in great power, and threatened very heard. Besides his possessing half the kingdom, he had many friends among the West-Saxons themselves, without reckoning those who were persuaded any expedient was preferable to the renewing of the war. It was therefore scarce possible for the friends of the English princes to surmount so great obstacles. Had they been bent to continue the succession of the family of Edmund, they would have probably rekindled in the kingdom a war, which must have ended in its destruction. In this perplexity they were contented with insinuating, that they would agree Canute should be declared protector of Edmund's children, till the eldest was of age to govern. By this means, though they placed not these princes on the throne, at least they preserved their rights entire. But Canute was not satisfied with a borrowed power. He was resolved to succeed Edmund in his own right, by virtue of the treaty of Alney, a right which though all did not acknowledge, yet none durst openly

1017.
Canute gets
himself ac-
knowledged
king of all
England.

S. Dunelm.
Reg. Hav.
Brompton.

openly contest. Though the treaty did not expressly say what he asserted, he maintained it to be the true sense thereof, and that it could not be otherwise understood without infringement. To prove this to be the design and intent of the parties concerned in the treaty, he called to witness all those who were present at the conclusion of the peace, and demanded of them, whether there was any thing stipulated in favour of Edmund's sons? and upon their answering, there was no mention at all of the princes^l, he inferred from thence they had no right to succeed their father. This reasoning, weak as it was, being supported by the votes of his party, and moreover by the fears of the English in general, was sufficient to determine the assembly to comply with his will. His reasonings were thought, or feigned to be thought, very solid; and without a closer examination, he was acknowledged and proclaimed king of all England, and all the lords, both English and Danish, swore allegiance to him. Then he was crowned, and immediately after he divided the kingdom into four governments, Mercia, Northumberland, East-Anglia, and Wessex. The first he gave to Edric Streon, the second to Eric, the third to Turkill, reserving Wessex to himself, without appointing either duke or earl.

He divides
England in-
to four parts.
Malm.lib.ii.
cap. 11.
H. Hunting.
Sax. Annal.
He lays a
scheme to
get rid of
his enemies,
and gain the
love of the
people.
Malmsh.

Canute was too public not to know the motive of the English acknowledging him for their sovereign. Though all that came near him, took care to hide their sentiments, he was sensible an enmity of near two hundred years standing, and fomented by continual wars, could not be extinguished in so short a space. For this reason he resolved to use all possible precautions to hinder the revolt of the English. To this end two things were equally necessary, namely, the gaining the affection of his new subjects, and the getting rid of those that could give him any uneasiness. Though these two projects seemed inconsistent, he despaired not however of accomplishing them, and accordingly spent the beginning of his reign to that purpose. As he well knew the most effectual means of becoming popular, was to cause justice to be administered fairly and impartially, he publicly declared there should be, for the future, no distinction between the English and Danes. After this he published an edict^m, ordering that every county should be governed by the same laws as in the time of the Saxon kings. He excepted however the northern counties, because they were peopled with scarce any other but Danes, who had introduced particular laws of their

S. Dunelm.
Brompton.

^l S. Dunelm. and Hoveden plainly
say, that they lyed,

^m This was done by a witten-
gemot, at Oxford. Brompt. p. 908.

OWN

own, which there was no occasion to alter. The same edict denounced the severest punishments against malefactors, of what nation soever, the king's aim being to let the English see, they had no reason to fear any respect of persons. These wise precautions produced the intended effect. The people were never weary of testifying their satisfaction to see themselves governed by their ancient laws, under the protection of an equitable prince, who seemed to have no other view but the happiness of his subjects.

As soon as Canute saw the progress he had made in the hearts of the English, he believed he might venture without danger upon the second branch of his project, the freeing himself from those that gave him most uneasiness, and particularly the Saxon princes. Alfred and Edward, brothers of the late king, were retired into Normandy, with their mother Emma, plainly foreseeing it would not be in the power of the West-Saxons to do justice to the royal family. As for Edmund's two sons, they remained in England, being too young to think of providing for their safety. These two princes, notwithstanding their youth, made the new king somewhat uneasy, by reason of the people's affection for them. He would not have scrupled to put them to death, but he could not take such a step in England, without running the risk of becoming odious to the English, which was destroying his designs. However, as he did not think himself perfectly safe, whilst these two princes were alive, he gave them in charge to one of his domesticks to carry them into Denmark^a, under colour of sending them abroad to travel. But in reality it was only to have it in his power the more easily to dispatch them out of the way, when their absence should have lessened the affection of the people. The person entrusted with the princes, being conscious of the king's designs, was touched with compassion for these innocents, and instead of carrying them to Denmark, conducted them to the king of Sweden, discovering at the same time his master's intentions. The king of Sweden gave the English princes a very civil reception; but however, not to quarrel with Canute, he sent them to the court of Solomon, king of Hungary, his relation, who was willing to take care of their education. In process of time, Solomon gave one of his daughters in marriage to Edmund, and to Edward his sister-in-law Agatha,

He endeavours to get rid of the Anglo-Saxon princes. Sax. Ann.

Sends Edmund's two sons into Denmark. S. Dunelm. Brompt. Knighton. M. West.

But they are carried to Sweden;

and from thence to Hungary, where Edmund dies. Brompt.

^a All the English historians affirm, that Walgar (for that was the domestick's name) had orders to carry them to the king of Sweden, Swavorum, or Suevorum. Hoved, M. Westm. Flor. Worc.

daughter of the emperor Henry II. Edmund died soon after his marriage, but Edward had five children, of whom two died in Hungary; the rest were Edgar Atheling, Margaret, and Christian..

The two
Edwy's are
banished.
Sax. Ann.
Sim. Dun.

Recalls one,
and puts
him to
death.
G. Malmsh.
M. West.

Canute
marries
Emma of
Normandy.
Sax. Ann.
Malmsh.

One of the
marriage-
articles.

There were still in England two sons of Ethelred II. both named Edwy, of whom one was born in wedlock, the other a bastard. This last was called, but for what reason I know not, The king of the clowns. Canute was no less troubled about these than the other princes, every thing contributing to the suspicions of a prince, who not being satisfied with the lawfulness of his title, thinks himself unsecure in the throne. And therefore to make himself easy in this respect, he banished them the realm. But some time after, recalling the first, under pretence of being reconciled to him, found means to dispatch him out of the way. The other, after enduring many hardships in exile, returned into England, where he kept himself concealed, being privately supplied by his friends with necessaries for his subsistence.

Canute would have been very glad to be freed with the same ease, from the trouble occasioned by Alfred and Edward, brothers of king Edmund, who were retired into Normandy with their mother. But he knew not how to get them out of the hands of duke Richard II. their uncle. He was even apprehensive, the duke, whose forces were not to be despised, would one day espouse their cause. To prevent this danger, he bethought himself of gaining the duke of Normandy to his interests, by demanding in marriage his sister Emma, widow of Ethelred II. and by offering him at the same time Estritha, one of his sisters. These proposals being accepted, the two marriage-solemnities were celebrated in a magnificent manner. If Emma was pleased with being once more queen of England, it was not so with Alfred and Edward her sons, who openly shewed their dislike. Edward especially, never forgave her for thus scandalously espousing the mortal enemy of her first husband. Both of them were also extremely incensed against her for consenting, the succession to the crown of England should be settled, by the marriage-articles, on the heirs of her body by Canute. This was cutting off, as far as lay in her power, from the family of Ethelred, all hopes of ever mounting the throne.

o These two Edwy's are confounded by several historians; but they are plainly distinguished in the Saxon Annals, and in the genealogy at the end of the history of Alfred, written by Spelman. Rapin. As also in H. Huntingdon, who calls the first Edwigeorling, and the second Edwicheorling, p. 363. Malmshury says, Edwy-adeling was buried at Tavistock in Devonshire.

After

After Canute had by these precautions secured himself from all danger from the Saxon princes, he thought it time to get rid of some lords, whose fidelity he suspected, or whose power made him uneasy. The three principal were the duke of Mercia, the duke of East-Anglia, and the earl of Northumberland. These lords had done him signal services, but this was the thing that rendered them formidable to him, being sensible how it lay in their power to hurt him, if they should undertake it. He knew Edric Streon was a villain, and as he could not rely on his fidelity, since he had so often betrayed the two former kings, notwithstanding the obligations that ought to have attached him to their interests, he resolved to begin with him. He quickly found a fair opportunity to execute his design, by even doing an act of justice very acceptable to the English. This lord, having one day the insolence to upbraid him publicly, for not rewarding him for his past services ^p, and particularly for freeing him from so formidable a rival as Edmund, afforded him the pretence he had some time been seeking. Edric had no sooner dropt these words, but the king answered in a rage, since he was so audacious as openly to avow so black a treason, of which he had hitherto been only suspected, he should receive his due punishment. At the same instant, without giving him time to reply, he commanded him to be immediately beheaded, and his body thrown into the Thames ^q. It is said he ordered his head to be fixed on the highest Tower of London, that he might perform his promise to the traitor, "to raise him above all the peers of the realm." Thus Edric received at last the just reward of his treacheries. Eric earl of Northumberland, was banished the kingdom shortly after, under some pretence. Turkil duke of East-Anglia, frightened by these examples, and perhaps by the king's emissaries, voluntarily absented himself ^r, for fear something worse might befall him. Several other lords of less note falling in like manner a sacrifice to the king's jealousy or suspicions, their posts were filled with those in whom he placed greater confidence. From this time the English began to enjoy a state of tranquillity,

Canute did patches some lords he was jealous of. Sax. Ann. O. Malmsh. Huntingd.

Brompt. M. West. Knighten.

Edric Streon put to death. Brompton.

^p He upbraided him for having deprived him of the earldom of Mercia. M. Westm. p. 402.

^q He was beheaded in the king's palace, and his body flung out of a window, into the Thames. Malmsh. p. 73. M. Westm. p. 402. So that the king's palace stood close to the

Thames. Other historians say, that the body was cast upon the wall of the city, and left there unburied. S. Dunelm. p. 177. Hoved. Brompt. 903.

^r He went to Denmark, where, as soon as he landed, he was taken, and put to death. Malmsh. p. 73.

which appeared the sweeter to them, as they had been many years strangers to it, and had no reason to expect it. However, they were forced to pay a tax of fourscore thousand pounds ^s for the arrears due to the Danish army, great part of whom were sent back to Denmark ^t.

1019. Canute finding the whole kingdom in profound tranquillity, and having no reason to fear a revolt, resolved upon a voyage to Denmark. His presence was absolutely necessary there, on account of the Danes and Vandals being at war. He took with him such of the English lords as he suspected, lest his absence should encourage them to raise disturbances in the kingdom. For this reason also he carried with him the flower of the English troops, under the command of earl Goodwin, son of Ulnoth, mentioned in the reign of Ethelred II. Goodwin, who was a person of great experience, signalized himself in this war, by a very bold tho' successful action. The two armies of the Danes and Vandals being near one another, Canute designed to attack the enemies early the next morning. Whilst his troops were refreshing themselves, in expectation of the battle, Goodwin privately withdrawing from the camp, with the body under his command, fell upon the Vandals in the night, and putting them in disorder by this sudden attack, made great slaughter of them, and routed the whole army. At break of day, Canute preparing for the battle, and not finding the English at their station, did not question but they were revolted to the enemy. While he was perplexed in his thoughts, at this unexpected accident, he saw the English general arrive, who was come himself to bring him news of his victory ^u. Though this action was of a dangerous consequence, the king however was very willing, upon this occasion, to dispense with the rules of military discipline, which required that Goodwin should be punished for daring to fight without orders. He received him with many caresses, and as a reward for so signal a service, created him earl of Kent. I shall have frequent occasion hereafter to speak of this earl, who became at length the greatest lord in England.

A bold action of earl Goodwin.

^s The Saxon Annals, Anno MXVIII. say it was seventy-two thousand pounds, Huntingd. and Brompt. eighty thousand pounds, besides eleven (Florence says fifteen thousand paid by the city of London. Hence may be seen the flourishing condition of that city in those days, since it could pay almost a sixth

part of this great tax.

^t By the persuasion of queen Emma. M. Westm. Canute kept forty ships in England. Sax. Ann.

^u Huntingd. and Brompt. say, that Canute himself advanced as far as the enemies camp, where he found nothing but slaughter, &c.

This

This war being happily ended, Canute returned into England, where immediately after his arrival he convened the great council ^w, to confirm the Danish laws, which, for some time, had been observed in part of the kingdom, and particularly in Northumberland. There were then in England three sorts of laws, namely, the West Saxon, Mercian, and Danish laws ^x. But these last had not the sanction of public authority, till Canute, at his return from Denmark, put them upon a level with the ancient laws of England.

Sax. Annal.
S. Dunelm.
Brompt.

Three sorts
of laws in
England.

Canute after his return into England, lived in profound tranquillity, wholly employed in causing justice and peace to flourish, and rendering his subjects happy. But some time after he was obliged to discontinue these pacifick employments, and take a second voyage to Denmark, then invaded by the Swedes. This expedition was not very prosperous. The English troops he carried with him were great sufferers, and he had the mortification to meet with misfortunes he had not been used to.

1025.
Expedition
of Canute
against the
Swedes.
Sax. Ann.
Malmsh.
M. West.

Two years after, unmindful of his ill success in the last war with the Swedes, he entered into another, which made him ample amends for his former losses. He resolved to revive some old pretensions to Norway, which had never been fully cleared. Olaus, who then sat on the throne of Norway, was a weak and unwarlike prince. Canute thought it would be easier for him to prosecute his pretensions in the reign of such a prince, than at any other time. He began the execution of his design with privately forming a strong party among the Norwegian lords. As soon as matters were ripe, he sailed for Denmark with a considerable body of English troops, and suddenly landed them in Norway. Olaus, who had no intelligence of his practices, surprized at this attack, and more so, to see the major part of his subjects join with the enemy, found there was no remedy but to

1027.
He becomes
master of
Norway.
Sax. Ann.
Hoveden.
G. Malmsh.
Sim. Dan.
Brompton.

^w At Cirencester, at Easter: and there, "enjoined the observance of "the laws made by his predecessors." Malmsh. Flor. Worc. says, it was at Oxford, and that the English and Danes unanimously agreed to observe the laws of Edgar.

^x West-Saxenlaga, Merchenlaga, and D-nalaga. Bishop Nicholson in his letter to Dr. Wilkins, prefixed to his edition of the Saxon laws, makes it appear that this threefold division of the English laws is imaginary, and proceeded from the Norman interpreters

mistaking the meaning of the word Laga, which they thought was the same with Ley or Law. Whereas Laga signifies Region, Territory or Province, as is plain from several places in the Saxon laws, wherein Denalaga means the same as, among the Danes, or, in the territories of the Danes. See p. 53. and 135, of Dr. Wilkins's Anglo-Saxon laws. The author of the dialogue De Scaccario, was the first that led the way in this error, lib. i. cap. 16.

abandon his kingdom, and save himself by flight. Upon his retreat, Canute was crowned king of Norway, regardless of the right, so long as he had the power in his hands. Two years after the dispossessed prince attempting to recover his dominions, was slain by his own subjects, and Canute remained peaceable possessor of the kingdom. Olaus after his death, was ranked among the saints, and honoured with the glorious title of martyr.

Canute
turns his
thoughts to
acts of de-
votion.

Malmsb.
de Gest.
Pontific.
lib. ii.
Brompt.

The conquest of Norway fully satisfied Canute's ambition. From that time, laying aside all thoughts of warlike affairs, he gave himself up to acts of devotion, that is to say, he made it his principal business to enrich the churches and monasteries, as if the usurpation of two kingdoms and all the consequent evils could be repaired by so slight a satisfaction. Among other things he took particular care to give publick marks of his respect to St. Edmund, formerly king of East-Anglia, slain by the Danes. Perhaps he gave some credit to the story of his father Sweyn's being killed by that saint, or rather, was willing to stifle the report. However this be, he built a stately church over the grave of that prince, and very much enlarged the town where his body lay buried, which from him had the name of Edmundsbury. The monastery, which was in the same place, and called Bredicworth, had been endowed by Edward the Elder. Canute enlarging the building, and augmenting the revenues, this religious house became one of the finest and richest in the kingdom.

1031.
He goes to
Rome.
Sax. Ann.
G. Malmsb.

After he had shewn, as he thought, visible marks of his devotion, he resolved upon a journey to Rome, which he performed in 1031. Whilst he staid there, he made many rich presents to the churches, and confirmed all the grants of his predecessors to the church of Rome and the English college. He obtained for his part, certain privileges for the English churches, and some advantages for those who came to visit

y Leland, who was an eye-witness of this town and monastery in their splendor, gives this description of them: "A city more neatly seated the sun never saw, hanging upon a gentle descent, with a little river on its east-side; nor a monastery more great and stately, whether we consider the endowments, largeness, and unparalleled magnificence. The monastery itself looks like a city, so many gates it has (some whereof are brass) so many towers, and a church, than which nothing can be

"more stately, to which as appendage, there are three more of admirable beauty and workmanship in the same church-yard." There are two still entire; viz. St. Mary's and St. James's; the third, which lies in ruins, was the great church of the monastery. Besides the immense value of the gifts at St. Edmund's Tomb, the revenues at the dissolution amounted to one thousand five hundred and sixty pounds a year; a large sum in those days. See Camden in Suffolk.

the Tombs of the Apostles. But the most material privilege procured for the English, was an exemption from paying any toll as they passed through Italy. The emperor Conrades I. who was then at Rome, and with whom he had contracted a strict friendship, granted him the same privilege. The king of France was pleased also, on his account, to grant the same favour to the English in his dominions. By this means the English pilgrims and travellers were eased of a great expence, and freed from a thousand insults and oppressions to which they were most liable in France, Italy, and Germany. We have a large account of these matters in a letter writ by this monarch from Rome, to the assembly-general of the English nation, informing them what he had done in favour of his subjects. In this letter he professes a great piety, and a fixed resolution to govern his kingdom after the most exact rules of justice, desiring withal his nobles to assist him in this good design ^a.

His letter to the English.
Ingulph.
Malmab.
p. 75.

As soon as he returned to England, he applied himself to the dedication of the church of St. Edmund, which he had begun before his journey to Rome. In fine, having spent some years longer in continual acts of devotion ^a, he died in 1036, in the nineteenth year of his reign ^b.

He returns to England.

1036.
He dies.

Historians have not failed to give this prince the surname of Great, a title which seems peculiar to conquerors, as if true grandeur consisted in invading the rights and properties of others. But, not to confine grandeur within such narrow bounds, Canute may be said to merit this glorious title, if we consider only the latter part of his reign. The end of his life was very different from the beginning. One would have thought he had not been the same prince, who, to gain kingdoms that belonged not to him, had caused so much blood to be spilt, and trampled upon religion and justice. Some

His character.

^a This epistle, which is extant in Malmesbury, was sent into England by Livingus abbot of Tavistock. It was addressed thus: "To Æthelnoth bishop of Canterbury, to Alfric of York, with all the bishops and priors; and to all the English nation, as well nobles as plebeians, health, &c." In it he gives an account of the valuable presents made to him, whilst there, in gold and silver vessels, in curious garments, &c. by the emperor, and other princes who were there at that time.

^a He founded also the noted abbey of St. Bennet's in Holme in Norfolk.

He gave rich and extraordinary jewels to the church of Winchester, of which one is recorded to be a cross, worth one year's revenue of the kingdom. It was consumed with the abbey by fire in Henry I's time. He gave also to Coventry the arm of St. Austin the great doctor, which he bought at Pavia in his return from Rome, and is said to give for it a hundred talents of silver, and one of gold. Malmesb. p. 75. Brompt.

^b He died at Shaftsbury the 12th of November, and was buried in the old monastery in Winchester.

Malmsh.

Huntingd.
Brompton.
M. Westm.

years before his death, he became humble, modest, just, and truly religious. If there be no exaggeration in what historians say of him, from the time he was thoroughly settled on the throne of England, he gave daily marks of piety, justice, and moderation, which gained him the affection of his subjects, and an universal esteem among foreigners. We have the following story of him, which shews at once his good sense, and to what height courtiers are apt to carry their flatteries. One day, as he was walking by the sea-side^c, his attendants extolled him to the skies, and even proceeded to compare him to God himself. Offended at these extravagant praises, and willing to convince them of their folly and impiety, he ordered a chair to be brought, and seating himself in a place where the tide was about to flow, turned to the sea, and said: "O sea, thou art under my dominion, and the land I sit on is mine: I charge thee not to presume to approach any further, nor to dare to wet the feet of thy sovereign." Having said this, he sat still for some time, as expecting the sea should obey his commands. But the tide advancing as usual, he took occasion from thence to let his base flatterers know, that the titles of Lord and Master belong only to him whom the land and the sea obey. He is said, from that moment, never to wear his crown again, but ordered it to be put on the head of the Crucifix at Winchester.

R. de Diceto,
Brompton.
Knighton.

He left three sons, all of a fit age to govern, to whom he bequeathed his three kingdoms by will. Sweyn the eldest, and a bastard, had Norway for his share. Some affirm he was not his son, but imposed upon him for such by the mother^d. To Harold his second son, by the same woman, he gave England; and to Canute or Hardicanute, whom he had by Emma of Normandy, the kingdom of Denmark. Gunilda his daughter by the same prince, was wife of the emperor Henry IV.

As I shall soon have occasion to mix the affairs of Normandy with those of England, it will not be improper to give some account of what passed among the Normans.

Affairs of
Normandy.
W. Gemiti-
gens, lib. v.
c. 10.

Richard II. duke of Normandy, dying in 1026, Richard III. his son succeeded him, who reigned but one year, and by his death left the dukedom to Robert his brother; who

^c At Southampton.

^d She is called by the historians Algiva, Ailiva, or Alwina, (M. Westm. Hunting.) and by Flor. Worc. p. 622, and Brompt. said to be the daughter of Alfhelm earl of Northampton; being

barren, she feigned a lying-in, and got a priest's, or a nun's, son newly born, to be put upon her credulous husband. R. de Diceto, who calls her queen, says she did the same by a shoemaker's son also, which was Harold.

was no sooner in possession, but he shewed an inclination to espouse the interest of Alfred and Edward his cousins, sons of his aunt Emma and Ethelred II. As they were both at his court, and he could not help pitying their case, he believed his recommendation might procure them some favour in England. Persuaded of this, as soon as he heard of the death of Edmund's son, he sent ambassadors to Canute, to intreat him to give the two princes some part of the kingdom of their ancestors. This embassy arrived in England, when Canute found himself so firmly seated in his throne, that he thought he might safely disregard the solicitations of the duke of Normandy. Robert was so incensed at his refusal, that he resolved to compel him to do justice to the English princes. To that purpose he fitted out a powerful fleet, and embarking with a numerous army, resolved to make a descent upon England, where he did not question but the English would readily join him. But meeting with a violent storm, he had the mortification to behold the greatest part of his fleet perish, a loss which could not be easily repaired. In the mean time, these preparations satisfying Canute, that the duke of Normandy really intended to attempt the restoration of his cousins, he endeavoured to amuse him with offering them part of the kingdom of Wessex. But Robert would not have been imposed upon by this offer, had not his misfortune at sea constrained him to suspend the execution of his design, as it induced Canute also to go from his word. Some time after, Robert took a resolution to go in pilgrimage to Jerusalem, deferring, till his return, his intended invasion of England. But he died in his way home. He left only a natural son, called William, on whom, before his departure, he settled the succession. This is the same William the Bastard, whom we shall see hereafter ascend the throne of England.

Robert duke of Normandy protects the two brothers of Edmund. Brompt.

His fleet is destroyed by a storm.

He dies, and is succeeded by William his bastard.

18. HAROLD I. Surnamed HAREFOOT, the third DANISH king of ENGLAND.

WHEN Canute espoused the princess of Normandy, it was agreed, that the children by this marriage should succeed to the crown of England. Notwithstanding this agreement, Canute left England to his son Harold, born in Denmark, and gave Denmark to Hardicanute, his son by Emma

Harold I. 1039.

Emma of Normandy ^d. In all appearance, he did not think the English had been sufficiently inured to the Danish yoke, to venture to place on their throne his youngest son, who was not above fifteen or sixteen years of age, and of no great genius. However this be, that article of his will met with great opposition from the English. They looked upon Hardicanute, born in England, of a lawful wife, widow of one of their kings, as the only person capable of succeeding, whereas Harold was considered but as a foreigner and a bastard. The Danes, on the contrary, were firmly bent to perform Canute's last will and testament. This difference might have been of ill consequence, if Harold had not with the utmost expedition seized the treasure laid up by the king his father at Winchester ^e. By the help of this, he was enabled to make himself feared, and to gain several of his opposers. Consequently, in a general assembly in Mercia ^f, he secured a majority of voices, and got himself proclaimed king of England. The Danes were all for him, and of course the English Mercians, or the inhabitants on the north of the Thames, who looking upon the Danes as their masters, durst not directly oppose their will.

Harold proclaimed in Mercia, Sax. Ann. Malmsh. Ingulph.

and Hardicanute Wettex. Sax. Annal.

Mean time, the West-Saxons, who did not think themselves conquered, as soon as they came home, convened an assembly of the states of Wessex, and by the management of earl Goodwin, Hardicanute was elected and proclaimed king of Wessex, the West-Saxons leaving the Mercians free to acknowledge Harold for their king ^g. For the better understanding this matter, it must be remembered, there were Danes, or people of Danish extraction, dispersed all over England; but their chief settlements were in Mercia, East-Anglia, and Northumberland. And therefore, in all the country north of the Thames, called then by the general name of Mercia; there were more Danes than English. On the contrary, in Wessex, that is, south of the Thames, the English were the most numerous, having admitted among them such of their countrymen, who, to avoid living under the

^d She is called Elgiva by the Saxon Annals and others, which is the Saxon name for Emma. S. Dunelm. Tyrrel.
^e And which he had left to his queen Emma. S. Dunelm.

^f At Oxford, Ann. Sax. This contest about the election of a king, very much weakens the authority of Simeon of Durham and others, in relation to Canute's will, especially considering the

marriage articles with Emma, and the silence of the Saxon Annals. Besides, the states of the kingdom very seldom or never failed to elect whom the last king appointed in his will.

^g It was agreed amongst them, that Emma should live in Winchester, and keep possession of all Wessex; and that Goodwin should be general of the forces. Sax. Ann. Malmsh.

dominion of the Danes, had quitted the northern parts. By this means Wessex was very populous, and become more powerful than ever, being capable of bringing into the field as great armies as all the rest of England. After this manner the kingdom of Judah, in old time, grew strong at the expence of that of Israel. The forces therefore of the West-Saxons and Mercians being equal, it is no wonder they were jealous of one another, and every one desired to have for sovereign, him of the two princes that was like to be most favourable. It was very probable, this division would cause a war between the two nations. But Harold, who was not possessed of his ^{Ingulph} father's qualities, imagined he was not strong enough to undertake the conquest of Wessex. It was owing therefore to the equality of their forces, that the two kingdoms remained in peace.

Hardicanute, who was in Denmark ^h, made no haste to come and take possession of the crown of Wessex, whether he was detained by other affairs, or on this, as well as on all other occasions, gave way to his natural indolence. During his absence, earl Goodwin held the reins of the government in an absolute manner, independent of Emma, the queen-mother, who was not beloved by the West-Saxons. Meantime while Harold was contriving to gain by secret practices, a kingdom which he found himself unable to subdue by arms. As he had been deprived of it by the sole credit of earl Goodwin, he believed there was no readier way to ascend the throne of that kingdom, than by gaining the earl to his interest. He took advantage therefore of his brother's absence, to make Goodwin his friend, by means, which, though not declared in history, may be easily guessed at ⁱ. Be this at it will, he succeeded to his wish. Goodwin, who was not very scrupulous, finding his account in what was proposed to him by Harold, promised to place him on the throne of Wessex. This affair was so dexterously managed, that suddenly, on pretence that Hardicanute neglected to come into England, Goodwin procured Harold to be acknowledged king of Wessex. This change however was not made with the unanimous consent of the West-Saxons, but by the sole contrivance of Goodwin and some other lords, who engaged so heartily in the affair, that it was done before any measures could be taken to obstruct it. Thus the West-Saxons saw a new king on the throne, without having the liberty to deliberate whether they

Earl Goodwin regent of Wessex.

Delivers up the kingdom to Harold.

^h Ingulph says, that he was in England at the time of the election, and went back to Denmark.

ⁱ He is said to have promised the earl to marry his daughter.

should

THE HISTORY

should approve or reject him. This is not the only instance of the like intrigues producing the like events.

Emma
forms a de-
sign to place
on the
throne one
of her sons
by her first
husband.
S. Duncelm.
Ch. Mail-
sos.
Harold.
M. West.

Emma, mother of Hardicanute, was extremely surprised at this revolution, which not only deprived her son of the crown of Wessex, but herself also of the hopes of ever having any share in the government. She perceived, as matters stood, there was no possibility of recovering the crown for her son Hardicanute; and therefore turning her thoughts another way, she formed a project, the execution whereof seemed to her very practicable, which was, to cause one of her sons by Ethelred to mount the throne. She was in hopes the English would countenance with all their power an enterprize, tending to set the crown on the head of a prince of the race of their ancient kings. Perhaps the desire of humbling Goodwin influenced her as much as her son's advancement. To succeed in this design, there was need of great prudence and dissimulation. Above all it was necessary to find some pretence, without raising the king's jealousy, to send for the two princes her sons, who were in Normandy, that they might form a party for themselves. With this view, she feigned to be unconcerned at the expulsion of Hardicanute, confining herself to Winchester, where she daily frequented the churches, and seemed to be wholly taken up with the care of her soul. When she imagined the king was sufficiently convinced of her disregard of state-affairs, she begged leave to send for the two princes her sons at Winchester, whom she had not seen since her second marriage. Her request being granted, Alfred and Edward arrived soon after in England, without discovering any other intention but to visit their mother. They were caressed by great numbers of people, who, having English hearts, always firmly adhered to the antient royal family.

Alfred and
Edward
come into
England.

Goodwin
acquaints
the king
with the
queen's de-
signs.

He advises
them under
of the two
princes.
B. empty.

Goodwin, who was a person of great sagacity, quickly perceived the queen's design. It was difficult to impose upon so refined a politician. As soon as he began to suspect her, he employed so many spies, that he found at length his suspicions were not groundless. He acquainted Harold with the matter, who seemed startled at it. But the earl, who was not so easily alarmed, told him, the conspiracy was yet but in embryo, and might with ease be prevented; that the difficulty did not lie so much in avoiding the present, as in guarding against future danger: that to screen himself, once for all, from the like practices, he saw no better expedient than to make away with the two Saxon princes, since so fair an opportunity offered. Harold approving of this project, Goodwin advised him to put on a seeming security, to draw them the more readily

readily into the snare. This resolution being taken, Harold made as if he were ignorant of the queen's designs, and the two princes continued some time at Winchester, without his shewing the least uneasiness upon their account. At last, making use of an occasion, which naturally offered itself, he invited them to pass a few days at court, before they returned into Normandy, where he feigned to believe they intended to go very shortly. Emma was in great suspense on this occasion. She was very sensible it would be difficult for her sons to gain a powerful party among the nobility, without appearing at court, where the lords of the greatest credit were usually present. But on the other hand, she could not resolve to deliver them into the hands of a prince whose interest it was to destroy them. In this perplexity, she took a course, which she judged proper to prevent the apprehended danger. This was, to send Alfred her eldest son to the king, and detain Edward under some pretence. She imagined in case Harold had any ill design, he would defer the execution till he had both the brothers in his power, seeing it would be to no purpose to make away one, whilst the other was alive. Goodwin, pleased that his advice had thus far succeeded, managed so that he was sent to meet Alfred, seemingly to do him honour, but in reality, because he was unwilling to trust another with the execution of his designs. Alfred's little train, composed of Normans, were at first charmed with the respect Goodwin paid to the prince. But their satisfaction was quickly turned into a great consternation, when the prince and all his attendants were stopped at Guildford-castle, where they had been carried under colour of refreshing themselves. Alfred was immediately conducted to Ely, and, after his eyes were put out, shut up in the monastery^k. The unhappy prince had scarce time to be sensible of his misfortune, since he died a few days after, either out of grief, or by some more violent means. At least, Goodwin was afterwards charged with his murder^l. As soon as Edward was informed of his brother's tragical

1037.

Alfred's death.

^k His attendants were tortured in the most cruel manner, by Goodwin's order, and decimated, that is, nine were killed, and the tenth only saved; six hundred are said to have been put to death in that manner. S. Dunelm. p. 179. M. West. p. 410. Knighton and Brompton mention one hellish kind of torture, which, it may be supposed, was only practised then, and in the Irish massacre in 1641. They ript up

some of the people's bellies, and tying one end of their bowels to a post, made them turn round that post till they were all wound up upon it. Brompton, p. 935. Knighton, p. 2326. Rushworth,

^l This account of Alfred's death, Malmsbury says, was built on common report, and not being recorded, refuses to vouch the fact. But Matthew Westminster, and others, relate it without diffidence. Most of the ancient manu-

scripts

Edward
returns to
Normandy.
Sax. Ann.
Malmsb.

tragical death, he speedily returned into Normandy, for fear of the like treatment. Shortly after, Emma, receiving orders to depart the kingdom, retired to Baldwin earl of Flanders, who assigned her the city of Bruges to reside in. It seems somewhat strange, she should not go to Normandy to duke William her nephew; but probably, they who had the administration of affairs during the duke's minority, did not think proper to receive her. And indeed, it was to be feared this intriguing princess would increase the troubles of the dukedom, where William was not yet firmly established.

Mat. West.

1039.

Harold dies.
S. Dunelm.
Brompton.
Sax. Ann.

Whilst these things were transacting, Hardicanute waking at length from his lethargy, formed a design of recovering by arms the kingdom of Wessex, usurped by his brother. For that purpose he came to Bruges, to consult with the queen his mother. In all appearance he would have found it very troublesome to execute this design, had not the death of Harold, which happened at that very time, removed all difficulties. This prince died ^a in 1039 without issue, and without having done any thing memorable ^a. He was surnamed Harefoot, because his foot was all over hairy, or, as others affirm, because

Knighton.

script anals in the Cottonian library, as also a treatise called Encomium Emmae, (which, 'tis plain, Malmsbury never saw) being a panegyrick wrote on that queen, by a monk of her own time, relate the matter thus. Harold seeking by treachery to get these two young princes into his power, forged a letter in the name of Emma their mother, earnestly inviting them into England, wherein (personating her) "She gently chides them for their delay, " in not coming over to inspect their " own affairs, since they could not but " know that it daily confirmed the " usurper in his power, who omitted " no artifice to gain the chief nobility over to his party: yet assured " them the English had much rather " have one of them to reign over them; " and therefore urged them to come as " speedily and as privately as they " could, to consult what measures " were most proper to be taken." This letter was sent to Normandy by an express messenger, and received by the princes with joy, who sent word by the same hand, that one of them would be with her shortly, naming both the time and place. Accordingly Alfred

the youngest. (by others said to be the eldest) at the appointed time, with a few ships, and a small number of Normans, sailed for England; where they were no sooner landed, but they fell into the hands of Goodwin, who served them as Rapin has above related. What makes this account the more probable, is, that had both the princes come over in the manner abovementioned, Harold would certainly have put them both to death, since it would have been in his power. The Saxon Annals say nothing of Alfred's death, and some place it after Harold's decease. Such is the uncertainty of this matter; which makes it appear, how little traditional accounts are to be depended upon, though of no long standing, since this story, transacted but a few years before the Conquest, is told so many ways. Malmsb. Knighton, Brompt.

^m He died at Oxford, in the fourth year of his reign, and was buried at Winchester; or, according to Brompton, at Westminster.

ⁿ He laid a tax of eight marks on every port, towards fitting out sixteen ships. He made but one law, mentioned by Selden, which was, that if any

because he was light and swift of foot °. His death happened in one of the hardest winters that had ever been known in England p.

19. CANUTE II. or HARDICANUTE, the fourth DANISH king of ENGLAND.

AFTER the death of Harold, the great men of both nations unanimously made an offer of the crown to Canute, surnamed the Hardy, not to denote his courage, but his strong constitution r. He was then at Bruges, concerting measures with the queen his mother, for the recovery of the kingdom of Wessex, by means of a powerful aid promised him by the earl of Flanders. The news of Harold's death putting an end to their consultations, he came to England with forty ships he had brought from Denmark. He was received with great demonstrations of joy, both by the English and Danes: earl Goodwin himself, though he had no reason to rejoice at his arrival, after what he had acted against him, was the foremost to do him homage.

The new king began his reign with an uncommon act of cruelty: the ceremony of his coronation was hardly over, when, out of impatience to be revenged on his brother, though dead, he commanded his body to be dug up, and thrown into the Thames s. But all his care to prevent the body from being buried again, proved ineffectual: some fishermen finding the corpse floating on the water t, delivered it to the Danes, who interred it in the burying-place of their nation in London u. It is further added, the king being informed of

any Welshman coming into England, without leave, was taken on this side Offa's ditch, he should have his right hand cut off by the king's officer.

o Brompton says, he had his surname for refusing to ride on horseback, and chusing always to walk on foot, which, says he, was very unbecoming his royal state.

p The Saxon Annals say, that this year a sexter, or horse-load of wheat, was sold for fifty-five pence, and more.

r The word Hardy is rendered by those that wrote in Latin, by Durus,

and not by Audax. See Pontanus, Hist. Dan. Rapin.

s The persons employed in this affair, were Alfric archbishop of York, earl Goodwin, Styr the steward, Edric the sewer, and Trough the executioner: they cut the head off, and flung the body at first into a sink, and afterwards into the Thames. Malmsh. p. 76. St. Dunelm. M. Westm. Brompton.

t They pulled it up in their nets. S. Dunelm: Malmsh. p. 76.

u Which constant tradition affirms to be the church and church-yard of St. Clement Danes. Brompt. p. 933.

- it,

it, ordered the body to be thrown once more into the river; but being found again, it was privately buried at Westminster.

1040. Shortly after, Hardicanute imposed an exorbitant tax on the kingdom ^w, for the payment of the fleet sent back to Denmark. Though the English had often paid the like tax, termed Danegeld, they were dissatisfied to have it renewed on this occasion, when there appeared no necessity for it. The inhabitants of Worcester opposed the levying this tax with the greatest heat. They proceeded so far as to kill two of the collectors ^x. Whereupon the king immediately ordered Goodwin duke of Wessex, Leofric duke of Mercia, and Siward earl of Northumberland, to draw their forces together, march to Worcester, and destroy the city with fire and sword. These lords executed in part the king's orders, though with great reluctance. The city was burnt, after having been plundered four days together. But the inhabitants had leave to retire into a small island in the Severn, named Beverly, till the king was appeased ^y.

The city
burnt.

Not long after, prince Edward, son of Ethelred H. and brother of the king by the same mother, appeared at court. He met with a very civil reception, and presently demanded justice against Goodwin, charging him with the murder of his brother Alfred ^z. The king was well enough pleased with having an opportunity to punish the earl, not so much perhaps for the death of prince Alfred, as for what he had done in favour of the late king. He was cited therefore to appear and answer to what was alledged against him. But Goodwin, who knew the covetous temper of the king, wisely diverted the storm by a magnificent present before his trial. This present was a galley, with a gilt stern, manned with fourscore choice soldiers, every one of whom had upon his arm a gold bracelet weighing sixteen ounces, with helmets and swords all

Prince Ed-
ward comes
to court.
S. Dunelm.

Demands
justice
against
Goodwin.

Who gets
off by a no-
ble present
to the king.
Malmsb.
S. Dunelm.

^w Of twenty-one thousand and ninety-nine pounds for the army, and eleven thousand forty-eight pounds for his thirty-two ships. Sax. Annal. Malmsb. bury says, he gave twenty marks to every sailor; but others affirm, it was eight marks to every sailor, and ten or twelve marks to each of the captains. S. Dunelm. Mat. Westm.

^x Who were too busy and exacting. Malmsb. p. 76.

^y This city, the Branonium of Antoninus, and Branogenium of Ptolemy, whence called by the Welsh at this day Caer Vrangon, was named by the

Saxons, Wogarcester, Wegornacester, and Wirecester, perhaps from the forest Wire hard by. It was built by the Romans, as a frontier town against the Britons or Welsh. It was fenced formerly with high Roman walls, and has now a strong wall. It was made an episcopal see by Sexwulfus, bishop of the Mercians, in 980. It was soon rebuilt after being burnt here by the Danes. Camden.

^z Simeon of Derham says, it was Alfrie, archbishop of York, that accused Goodwin and Livingus, bishop of Worcester, of this murder. S. Dunelm. gilded,

gilded, and a Danish battle-ax, adorned with gold and silver, hanging on his left shoulder, and a lance of the same in his right-hand. Every thing in the gallery was answerable to this magnificence. By means of this noble present, the earl was acquitted, upon taking his oath he had no hand in the death of prince Alfred^a.

Hardicanute did not long enjoy a crown he was unworthy to wear. He died suddenly in the third year of his reign^b, at the nuptial feast of a Danish lord at Lambeth^c. Perhaps his death was hastened by poison^d; but his excessive cruelty and gluttony rendered him so odious, that he died unlamented, neither was any enquiry made into the manner of his death. All historians unanimously agree, he spent whole days and nights in feasting and carousing^e. There is one however that praises him for keeping open table four times a day, and exclaims against the niggardliness of the kings his successors, who ablished so laudable a custom.

1041.
Death of
Hardicanute

H. Hunting.

20. EDWARD III. the Confessor.

HARDICANUTE leaving no issue, Edward, son of Ethelred II. and Emma of Normandy, was the only prince then in England that had any pretensions to the crown. It was but reasonable the race of the Saxon kings should be restored to the throne of which they were unjustly dispossessed. But then it was no less right to recall out of Hungary

Edward III.
Difficulties
concerning
the succeffion.

^a This year also, as Brompton tells us, Hardicanute sent over his sister Gunilda to the emperor Henry, to whom she had been betrothed in her father's time; before she went, the king kept her nuptial feast with that magnificence in cloaths, equipage, and feasting, that Matthew Westminster says, it was remembered in his days, and sung by musicians at all great entertainments. After the princess had been some time in Germany, she was accused of adultery, and could find, it seems, no better champion than Municon, a little page she had brought with her from England, to vindicate her honour. She took it so heinously to be accused, that she forsook her husband, and retired to a monastery, where she ended her days.

M. Westm. Brompt.

^b Or rather in the second; for he reigned but two years wanting ten days. Sax. Annal.

^c i. e. A dirty Station. Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, exchanging a manor with the bishop of Rochester, began here a palace in 1183.

^d Most probably he died in a drunken fit. S. Dunelm. He was buried in the old monastery in Winchester, by his father Canute.

^e He allowed his court four meals a day. Huntingd. John Rouse relates, that the day of king Hardicanute's death was kept by the English as a holy-day in his time, four hundred years afterwards, and was called Hog's-tide, or Hock-Wednesday. De Regibus Angliz.

prince Edward, son of Edmund Ironside, and place him on the throne preferably to his uncle, who was one degree farther removed. On the other hand, the uninterrupted succession of four Danish kings, who had possessed the throne for the space of twenty-eight years, with the consent of the English, bred another difficulty, seeing Sweyn, son of Canute the Great, was still alive. It is true, he was reckoned by some as a bastard: but besides that the king his father had not treated him as such in the partition of his dominions, it might be said in his favour, he ought to have the same privilege with his brother Harold, to whom his being born of the same mother was no obstacle to his mounting the throne. It was therefore no easy thing to settle the succession to the satisfaction of all parties. On the contrary, it was to be feared, that, on this occasion, the old animosities between the two nations would be revived, and the kingdom plunged into its former calamities. Edward, son of Ethelred II. having spent most part of his days in Normandy, was little known in England. Besides, his merit, which was not very conspicuous, was incapable of adding any thing to his right. However, a fortunate advice, which necessity constrained him to follow, procured him a support, by which alone he was enabled to maintain his pretensions, I mean earl Goodwin. Though it was but a few months since, that Edward had prosecuted this lord as the murderer of his brother, he was advised to court his protection, which he obtained with greater ease than he durst have expected. Goodwin was so powerful, and of so superior a genius to the rest of the nobility, that it would have been almost impossible for Edward to succeed in his designs, if he had not gained him to his interest. He was already distinguished as well by his merit as birth, when Canute the Great intrusted him with the command of the English troops, in the war against the Vandals. After that expedition, wherein he gloriously signalised himself, Canute made him earl of Kent, Suffex, and Surry, and gave him in marriage Thyra, sister of earl Ulphon, to whom Canute had given his own sister Est-rith, widow of the duke of Normandy^f. Goodwin had by his wife a son, drowned in the Thames by an unruly horse. His second wife was Gith, sister of Sweyn, who was king of Denmark after the death of Hardicanute: by this wife he had seven sons, Harold, Toston, Swane, Ulnoth, Gurth, Elfgar, Lewin, and a daughter named Editha. His credit with

Edward
closes with
Goodwin.
Malmsh.
lib. li. c.
13.
Annales
Winton.

Goodwin's
rise.

^f Mr. Tyrrel and others say, that was only sister to Ulphon, brother-in-law to Canute, which is most probable. Goodwin's first wife was Canute's sister; but, according to Pontanus, she was Rapin. See Malmsh.

Canute the Great, the superiority of his genius, his noble alliance, his dignities of earl of Kent, duke of Wexsex, and high treasurer, conferred on him by king Harold, and lastly, the government of the counties of Oxford and Hereford, in the hands of his eldest son, had raised his fortune to such a degree, that it would hardly admit of any addition. His interest was somewhat eclipsed in the reign of Hardicanute, but he had the address to divert the danger he was threatened with. How great a grudge soever the late king bore Goodwin, he was such an enemy to business, that he could not resolve to undergo the necessary fatigue of governing a large kingdom, but left all to his management, as knowing him to be the most able of his subjects. Goodwin knew so well how to improve these favourable junctures to ingratiate himself with the nobles and people, that his power far exceeded that of all the other English lords. From what has been said, it plainly appears how necessary Goodwin's assistance was, in order to Edward's mounting the throne, though his pretensions had been still better grounded. However, Goodwin was not one that neglected his own, in promoting the interest of others: before he engaged in Edward's cause, he required certain conditions, and made him swear to marry his daughter Editha. The prince complied with these terms, notwithstanding his inward reluctance to espouse the daughter of a man, whom he looked upon as the murderer of his brother Alfred.

Edward promises to marry Goodwin's daughter.

As soon as Goodwin had received from Edward the assurances he demanded, he convened a general assembly, where, by his management, that prince was acknowledged, and proclaimed king^g, with unanimous consent^h. It was happy for

He is proclaimed king. Malm.

^g At Gillingham, or London. Malm. p. 80.

^h And chosen by the clergy and people. Ingulph. p. 62. Sax. An. M. West. p. 412, etc. He was advanced to the throne chiefly through the interest of Leofric earl of Chester, of Goodwin earl of Wexsex, and Lizing bishop of Worcester. Ingulph. ib. Knighton.

ⁱ He was crowned at Winchester in 1042. on Easter-day. Malm. Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm.

^k Brompton and some others relate this matter otherwise: upon Hardicanute's death, Alfred (whom some affirm to be slain in Harold's, some in Hardicanute's reign) being invited into England, Goodwin represented to the lords that he was coming with great

numbers of Normans, to whom he had promised to give estates. Upon which Goodwin was sent to meet him at Southampton, where, in order to make way to the crown for his own son by Canute's daughter, he served him in the barbarous manner before related in the reign of Harold. The English nobles, who had not approved of this treachery of Goodwin's vowed revenge; which Goodwin being informed of, fled into Denmark, and his estate in England was confiscated. After this, the English sent over to Edward, to desire him to come and take possession of the crown. Shortly after his coronation, Goodwin hearing of king Edward's gracious temper, returned into England, to petition for his pardon and estate again, and was

Sax. Annal. for the English there was then in the kingdom no prince of
 Ailred Rie- the family of Canute the Great, whom the Danes might have
 wellens. set up in opposition to Edward. If Sweyn, king of Norway,
 S. Dunelm. had been on the spot to head the Danes, it may reasonably
 Ingulph. be presumed either that his pretensions would have caused a
 civil war, or England been once more divided in two king-
 doms. Without doubt, the Danes would never have suffered
 the rights of the royal family of Denmark, four princes where-
 of had successively sat on the throne, to be thus destroyed.
 On the other hand, the English were so averse to a Danish
 government, that probably they would have ventured all to
 free themselves from that yoke. But the present juncture prov-
 ing favourable to the English, they not only place on the
 throne a prince of their own nation, but also deliver themselves
 from the fear of falling again under the dominion of the fo-
 reigners.

Goodwin's
 speech
 against the
 Danes.

In the general assembly, to which, in all likelihood, the
 Danes, being then without a leader, were not called, Good-
 win strenuously harangued, to demonstrate to the English,
 "that a favourable opportunity now offered to free them-
 selves from the oppressions under which they had groaned
 for so many years. He described, with his natural elo-
 quence, the calamities their country was overwhelmed with,
 "whilst in subjection to foreigners. He displayed the ex-
 treme pride of the Danes, who, not content with sharing
 "the kingdom with the English, treated them like so many
 slaves. He called to their remembrance the sad times,
 "when an Englishman and a Dane meeting on a bridge, the
 former durst not stir a step till the latter was passed over.
 "That if an Englishman did not make a low reverence to a
 Dane, he was sure to be soundly cudgelled. To all these
 "miseries he added that of the excessive taxes they had been
 "obliged to pay, particularly Danegelt¹, which was im-

accused by the king before an assembly
 held at London, of his brother Alfred's
 murder. But with much ado, by the
 intercession of Leofric and other peers,
 the matter was made up, and he was
 restored to all his lands. Brompt.Chron.
 p. 934, etc. Huntingdon agrees in the
 main with this relation; but says that
 Goodwin murdered Alfred, because he
 thought him of too high a spirit to
 marry his daughter, whom he aimed to
 make queen of England, by marrying
 her to Edward, an easy and simple
 prince. But this, Milton observes, is
 contrary to all records.

¹ This tax amounted to forty thou-

sand pounds a year. King Edward re-
 leased the nation of this heavy burden
 in the year 1051. The occasion of his
 so doing, though related by Ingulphus,
 will scarce be credited. As the king
 was one day brought to see the huge
 heap of money collected by this tax,
 he started back as in a great fright,
 and being asked the reason, protested
 he saw the devil capering and dancing
 over the money. Upon which he or-
 dered it to be all paid back to the people,
 and Danegelt to be abolished for ever,
 after it had been paid thirty-eight years.
 Ingulph. p. 65. edit. Gale.

“ posed for no other end but to satisfy the insatiable avarice
 “ of their greedy masters.” In fine he omitted nothing that
 could inflame the rage of the English. This harangue wrought ^{Brompton.}
 so upon the hearers, that it was resolved, no Dane for the ^{They re-}
 future should ever sit on the throne of England. Some add, ^{solve to ex-}
 the enumeration of the calamities they had so long groaned ^{pel the}
 under, made such an impresson on their minds, that with one ^{Danes, and}
 consent they came to a resolution to drive all the Danes out ^{do so.}
 of the kingdom, and instantly put it in execution.

This is one of the most difficult passages in the whole Eng- ^{The dif-}
 lish history; which way soever it is viewed, insurmountable ^{iculties in}
 difficulties arise. In the first place it is hard to conceive how, ^{this passage}
 in a general assembly of the kingdom, it was possible to come ^{of the Eng-}
 to a resolution to destroy all the Danes; and much more, how ^{lish history,}
 it came to be in the power of the English to put it in prac-
 tice. The Danes alone were in a manner possessed of all the
 eastern and northern counties; and in Mercia, that is, in the
 heart of the kingdom, were as numerous as the English.
 Four kings of their nation had successively reigned, who far
 from humbling them, had no doubt shewn them great favour,
 and given them the superiority. And yet, without any extra-
 ordinary event, except the death of Hardicanute, a prince of
 little merit and reputation, the English are said to become on
 a sudden superior. But this is not all; it is affirmed this su-
 periority was so great as to enable them to expel all the
 Danes out of the kingdom. How is it possible to believe,
 the Danes should suffer themselves to be thus mastered, with-
 out making the least resistance? for it does not appear there
 was any war or commotion in the kingdom on this occasion.
 The Danish historians make the matter still more improbable: ^{Pontanus:}
 they say, all the Danes in England were massacred in one ^{Meursius.}
 night by the treachery of Harold, son of Goodwin, who or-
 dered all the Danish soldiers to march out of the garrisons,
 under pretence of solemnizing the funeral of the late king^m.
 But this account has not the least appearance of truth; for,
 in the first place, Harold, who was then very young, had no
 share in the government, and consequently could give no such
 orders to the Danish officers. In the next place, how was it
 possible that all the English historians, Brompton only excepted,
 who, however says much less of the matter, should agree
 to pass over in silence so remarkable an event? Nay, how

m Eaque nox, exiguo temporis mo-
 mento, vetustam Danorum dominatio-
 nem ac longo multoque majorum sudore
 et sanguine partum imperium ita pef-

sumdedit, ut vix unquam postea Da-
 nos fortuna respexerit. Pont. in Vit.
 Mag. Boni. lib. v. anno 1045. Rapin.

could they write their histories without ever making the least allusion to it. If it is objected, they were silent as ashamed of their nation for so barbarous an action; what is the reason they had not the same scruple with regard to the massacre in the reign of Ethelred? These are difficulties that are not easily to be cleared. There seems, at first sight, to be a plausible way to resolve them, namely, to accuse the historians, as well English as Danes, of not telling the whole truth, or aggravating the facts they relate. But by this way, we run into still greater difficulties. It is most certain, since the beginning of the reign of Edward the Confessor, the Danes have been so far from making any figure in England, that they are not mentioned in history any more than if they had never been known, though just before they were masters of the whole kingdom. But whence could proceed so sudden a fall, or rather, how could they all vanish in a moment, if neither expelled nor massacred? Historians do not say, war was made against them, their strong-holds taken, and they brought under new laws. But, all on a sudden, these so powerful and formidable Danes are reduced to nothing, in the reign of a prince the most unwarlike that had ever sat on the throne. These are historical difficulties, the solution whereof I am forced to leave to others. But to return to England:

King Edward's character.

He was a prince of a weak constitution, and a narrow genius, not at all qualified to rule a large kingdom. His unsteadiness on important occasions, his inability in public affairs, and his continual attachment to trifles, gave the nobles opportunity of assuming an almost sovereign power. As soon as they perceived the weakness of this prince, they became so arbitrary in their governments, that they obeyed the king's orders no farther than was consistent with their own interest. Earl Goodwin especially usurped by degrees so great an authority, that he had almost the same deference paid him as the king himself. Perhaps the meanness of Edward's genius, was the principal motive of his procuring him the crown, to the end he might govern in his name. Nevertheless, how fair soever the king carried it towards him, in his heart he utterly hated him and his whole family. This was the true reason of his deferring his marriage with Editha as long as he could. But as he stood in fear of the earl, he durst not break his word with him; and therefore, after staying two years on several pretences, he espoused his daughter, according to his promise. However, he did not consummate the marriage, so great was his aversion to all that belonged to Goodwin. The queen, who was a person of strict virtue; and endowed with a greatness of soul,

soul, bore this usage with a wonderful patience. Instead of complaining of her hard treatment, she never opened her mouth about it; but finding it was not in her power to gain the affection of the king her husband, diverted her thoughts with study and acts of devotionⁿ. The author of the life of Ailred. Edward pretends, this prince made a vow of chastity, long before his marriage, and persuaded the queen to do the like. But Malmesbury does not know what to think of this strange p. 80. proceeding, and shews a strong inclination to believe, Edward's hatred to Goodwin was the real cause of his abstaining from his daughter. He durst not venture, however, to divorce her for fear of the earl, by whose interest he had mounted the throne, might still have it in his power to depose him, or at least create him a great deal of trouble. For this reason he continued to conceal, in all other respects, his aversion to him, and even to heap favours on him, in expectation of a favourable opportunity to shew his resentment. But he did not consider his dissimulation increased the earl's credit with the people, who imagining he was in great favour with the king, more firmly adhered to him. Goodwin wisely improved The state of the court. these advantages, and became every day more formidable to the king, by the great number of friends he acquired. In all probability, he would have grown, in time, as powerful as the Mayors of the Palace were formerly in France, if he had not met with a counter-weight, which prevented his rising to that degree of power, so fatal to the royal authority; I mean, Siward earl of Northumberland, and Leofric duke of Mercia. Siward had the reputation of the bravest and most worthy peer in the kingdom. His excellent qualities gave him great authority at court, and among the Northumbrians, who were under his government. Leofric was universally esteemed and respected for his merit: his power was so great in Mercia, that he was more a king there than Edward himself. These two lords uniting together, to prevent Goodwin from soaring too high, firmly adhered to the person of the king, and endeavoured to the utmost of their power to support his authority. Without their assistance, Edward, who, was naturally weak, would have found it very difficult

ⁿ Ingulphus says she was not only the most beautiful, chaste, humble, and modest lady of her time, but also very learned, insomuch that he tells us, when he was but a boy, and lived at court with his father, she was used to meet him coming from school, and took delight in posing him not only in grammar, but in logic also. And when she had done, would order her servant to give him some pieces of money. He farther says, she had nothing of her father in her. Whence it was become a saying, "Sicut Spina Rosam, genitrix Goodwinus Editham." Ingul. p. 62. Edit. Gale. See Ailred Rival. p. 377.

to secure himself against the artifices of so able and powerful a subject as Goodwin. Thus matters stood at the court of England, during the first years of this reign. It was necessary to premise this, for the better understanding the sequel.

Edward
takes from
the queen
his mother
all her estate
Sax. Ann.
S. Dunelm.

Edward, to whom given the glorious title of Saint and Confessor, mounted the throne with dispositions repugnant to sanctity. Besides his hatred to Goodwin and his own wife, he cherished in his breast against his mother a desire of revenge, which agreed no better with the maxims of the gospel. It is true, his mother, who had never any great affection for him, had done enough to exasperate her son in marrying Canute the Great, mortal enemy of her first husband. She had moreover given her consent, that the children of her second marriage should succeed to the crown of England, which shewed but little regard for those of the first. This thing made so deep an impression on Edward's mind, that all her endeavours afterwards to procure him the throne, were not able to efface it. As soon as he found it in his power to make her feel the effects of his resentment, he delayed not to satisfy his passion. On a sudden, when she least expected it, he came to Winchester, where her treasures lay, and without shewing the least regard for her, stript her of all, leaving her only a moderate pension for her subsistence. Thus this princess, widow of two kings, mother of two more, and daughter of a duke of Normandy little inferior to a king, saw herself in the latter end of her days reduced to extreme poverty by the rigour of her own son.

Sax. Ann:
104 2.

And makes
her go thro'
the ordeal
trial.
Brompt.
Knighton.
Camden.

But Edward was not content with shewing, by this act of violence, the little regard and affection he had for his mother. Several historians assure us, he moreover caused her to be accused of incontinence with Alwin bishop of Winchester. They even say, that, regardless of her quality, he was so hard-hearted as to make her undergo the ordeal trial. This trial consisted in obliging the party accused to walk bare-foot and hood-winked over nine red-hot plough-shares. It is pretended, Emma came off unhurt, and gave in memory of this deliverance nine manors to the next monastery. But, we have just observed, she had none left to give. However this be, she passed ten years in the sad condition she was reduced to by the king her son, living in Winchester as a sort of prison, from whence she was delivered by her death in 1052.

o This Edward did by the advice of the earls Leofric, Goodwin, and Siward. S. Dunelm. p. 182. Hoved. p. In Winchester.

q This trial of Emma is related by Brompton and Knighton, and embellished with some trivial circumstances by Harpfield. They tell us, Robert arch-

Whilst Edward was thus venting his resentment upon his mother, he received certain advice, that a great storm was gathering in the North. Sweyn king of Norway, son to Canute the Great, designing to prosecute his claim to the crown of England, was preparing for an invasion with all expedition, which put the English in dread of the like miseries, they had so long experienced, and from which for some time they had been happily freed. Edward, who was no less terrified than his subjects, made some preparations to repulse an attack which he was extremely alarmed at. Gunilda, niece of Canute the Great, fell a sacrifice to his fears. She was constrained to abandon the kingdom and her family, to prevent her contriving some plot in favour of the Danes. But by an unexpected happiness, a war, which suddenly arose between the kings of Denmark and Norway, broke the measures of the latter, and brought peace to the English contrary to their expectation. Some time after, Sweyn was deposed by Magnus son of Olafus thy martyr, whom Canute the Great had dispossessed of Norway. Magnus was no sooner master of that kingdom, but he carried the war into Denmark, with intent to dethrone the king, whose name was also Sweyn. This last demanding assistance of England, Goodwin was of opinion, that to keep up the war between these two princes, an aid of fifty sail should be sent him. But Siward and Leofric, for reasons unknown, prevented the council from coming to this resolution. For want of this assistance, Sweyn was dethroned, but restored to his kingdom, after the death of his enemy.

Sweyn king of Norway prepares to invade England.

S. Dunelm. Hoved.

Gunilda banished.

1043. Norway and Denmark at war.

S. Dunelm.

The troubles in Denmark hindered not the Danish pyrates from putting to sea, and carrying terror to the English coasts. In the year 1046, twenty-five sail of Danes arrived unex-

The Danish pyrates make a descent on England.

Sax. Ann. H. Hunting.

archbishop of Canterbury, a Norman, (whom Edward had brought over with him) accused the queen of consenting to the death of her son Alfred, of endeavouring to poison her son Edward, and of maintaining an infamous commerce with bishop Alwin. For which she was condemned by a council held on purpose to purge herself by the trial of fire ordeal, as she had offered to do, and as it is related above. But this whole matter admits of great dispute: for Malmesbury, Florence of Worcester, Huntingdon, Hoveden, and Westminster, who lived near the same time, say not a word of this miraculous purgation. Then again Brompton says, Robert immedi-

ately fled the kingdom; whereas he went not off, as Malmesbury assures us, till several years after upon another occasion, as we shall see: moreover, he could not be archbishop then, since Edfus lived till 1050, which was three years after Alwin's death, (according to Flor. West. Hoved. Chron. Mailr.) whom Brompton supposes to be alive at the trial; for he says, he also gave nine manors to the church of Winchester. The Saxon Annals say, Edfus died in 1047. and Alwin in 1045; and therefore Robert could not be archbishop till two years after his death, according to the Annals. Thus this whole story seems to be a mere fiction.

pectedly

pectedly at Sandwich, from whence they carried off a great booty. Then sailing for Essex, they carried away great numbers of slaves of both sexes and all conditions. The English were extremely terrified; but Goodwin, Siward, and Leofric took so just measures, that the Danes, alarmed in their turn, hastily retired, and carried their ravages elsewhere.

Swane, the son of earl Goodwin, banished.

Sax. Annal. Huntingd. S. Dunelm.

The retreat of the Danish pyrates did not entirely restore peace to the kingdom, the coasts being that same year infested by a new enemy. Swane, son of Goodwin, having despoiled an abbess^r, with whom he was in love, and not daring to stay in England after such an act, retired into Denmark, where he in vain expected his pardon, by the mediation of the earl his father. But whether Goodwin was willing he should be chastised, or found the king inexorable, Swane was not able to procure a pardon so soon as he imagined. When he saw, contrary to his expectation, he was made to wait for it a long while, he manned eight ships, and made open war upon the English, plundering the merchants, and committing such barbarities on the inhabitants of the sea-coasts, as exceeded those of the most cruel enemies. His insolence gave Goodwin's enemies a great advantage, who took occasion from thence to exasperate the king more and more against the earl and his family. He himself was in great perplexity about this affair. He was not willing to appear openly for his son, lest he should be charged with abetting his rebellion. On the other hand, he could not but be extremely concerned at Swane's being considered as an enemy to the public. To free himself from this situation, he desired earl Beorn, son of Ulphon and Efrith, sister of Canute the Great, to use his interest with the king in behalf of his rebellious son. Though Beorn had openly declared against Swane, he was prevailed with by Goodwin to speak to the king, who complied with his request upon certain conditions. The mat-

He kills earl Beorn.

ter being thus in a fair way, Beorn went to Swane, to persuade him to submit to the king's mercy; but Beorn was ill rewarded for his pains. Swane imagining the earl was come to betray him, slew him with his own hand, and ordered his body to be thrown into the sea^s. This brutal action prevented a reconciliation for the present. But the king forgave him afterwards, notwithstanding the complication of his crimes: so much did this weak prince stand in fear of Goodwin's re-

^r The abbess of Leon (or Lerrminster in Herefordshire). He left England because he could not obtain leave to marry her. S. Dunelm. p. 183.

^s The Annals say, they buried his

body in a certain church; but that afterwards his relations and the mariners of London digged up his body and buried it at Winchester by king Canute. Sax. Ann.

vengeing himself, in case he continued inflexible. Thus Goodwin, though hated by the king, obtained as many favours as if he had been really beloved by him. But these favours, instead of producing a mutual affection, served only to foment their dis-union. The earl did not think himself at all obliged to the king for benefits proceeding from the sole motive of fear; and the king increased his hatred, in proportion as he was forced to conceal it.

Besides the private resentment of the king towards Goodwin, the earl had also to deal with other enemies, who were continually exciting that prince against him. I mean the Normans, who were very numerous at court, and in great credit there. These looked upon Goodwin as a professed enemy, because he loudly complained of the great regard the king had for them, and made no scruple to say, they would soon become as troublesome as the Danes. His complaints were not altogether groundless. Edward, who was educated among the Normans, went into all their manners, and expressed such an affection for them, as raised the jealousy of the English. The Norman language was more generally spoken at court than the Saxon. The king's favour to the Normans rendering them insolent, they would have all the world cringe to them. They who could not bring themselves to this, seldom failed of feeling the effects of their resentment. Goodwin was of this number. He believed he was powerful enough to support himself without their assistance. Instead of seeking their protection, he affected by his continual raileries to shew, he thought it not in their power to hurt him. Robert, archbishop of Canterbury, of all the Normans, was in greatest credit at court. The king had taken him from a monastery in Normandy to promote him to the bishopric of London, and afterwards to the archbishopric of Canterbury, to the great regret of several English bishops, who aspired to that dignity. This prelate, who was naturally haughty, and whom the royal favour made still more arrogant, kept no measures with Goodwin, who, on his part, shewed the utmost contempt for him. The archbishop, incensed to see himself thus treated, made use of all his address to have a wrong interpretation put on all the earl's actions, and to inflame the king's hatred to a higher degree.

Matters standing thus at court, an accident happened when least expected, which brought earl Goodwin to the brink of destruction, and gave the king room at last to discover his enmity to him. Eustace, earl of Boulogne[†], being come to visit the

[†] He was father to the famous Godfrey of Boulogne, who won Jerusalem from the Saracens.

1048.
Great interest of the Normans with the king.
Malmsh.
Ingulph.

Archbishop of Canterbury enemy to Goodwin.

Earl of Boulogne comes into England.
Malmsh.
Sax. Ann.

king

Quarrel between him and the townsmen at Dover. Sax. Ann. Malmsh.

king his brother-in-law, was honourably and kindly received, Edward having a particular affection for him. Some time after, as he was on the road, in his return to France, one of his people, who was sent before to provide lodgings at Dover, picked a quarrel with a townsman and killed him". This accident making a great noise among the inhabitants, they ran to arms, to seize the murderer, who stood upon his defence, with some of the earl's domestics that were with him. Eustace, entering the town in the midst of this tumult, and seeing his people attacked, was obliged to take their part, without having time to enquire into the occasion of the quarrel. But being overpowered with numbers, twenty of his retinue were killed on the spot, and himself narrowly escaped with his life.

He demands justice.

Inraged at this affront, he returned to the king at Gloucester, where the court then resided, and loudly demanded satisfaction. Edward, willing to do him justice, ordered Goodwin to march immediately with some forces, and chastise the rioters that were under his government. But instead of obeying the king's order, the earl warmly replied, "It was not the custom in England to punish people unheard, and the rights and privileges of the subjects ought not to be violated: that the accused should be summoned, and make satisfaction with their bodies or estates if guilty, or if innocent, should be discharged. Adding, in a very haughty tone, that being earl of Kent, it was his business to protect those that were under his government, against the insults of foreign reigners." Some say, he even charged the king to deliver up the earl of Beaulogne into his hands, that he might be punished upon the place, if found guilty of this riot. Edward was extremely provoked with this bold answer, which was not only a refusal to obey his commands, but also a stinging reproach for his partiality to foreigners. The archbishop, and the rest of the Normans, eagerly improved this occasion to exasperate him against the earl, and to blow up a flame, which was already but too much kindled.

The king is resolved to punish Goodwin.

How angry soever the king might be, he was forced to conceal it, not being in condition to punish on the spot, a lord who rivaled him in power. Siward and Leofric being absent, there was no appearance of succeeding, should he attempt any thing against Goodwin, without being first assured

that Eustace's men insisted upon having lodgings in the Dover man's house, in spite of his teeth, and wounded him in the struggle; whereupon the townsman killed the other upon the spot. In this

fray were nineteen Dover people slain, and twenty-one of Eustace's, many others being wounded. Sax. Ann. Malmsh. p. 81. S. Dunelm. p. 184. Brompt. 942.

of their concurrence. Mean while, as he was in the utmost impatience to be revenged, he dispatched trusty messengers to these two lords, to inform them of his resolution to chastise Goodwin, and to order, or rather desire them, to repair to him immediately. How privately soever this matter was transacted, Goodwin had notice of his design, and took his measures accordingly. As he was very sensible he should be infallibly ruined, was he not beforehand with his enemies, he drew together some troops, which were soon reinforced with others from his son's government ^w. An incursion of the Welsh at the same time into Herefordshire, furnished him with a pretence to levy this army. He pretended these forces were designed to drive the enemy out of the kingdom, though he had received no orders to that purpose. In the mean time, the king causing him to be summoned before a general assembly convened at Gloucester ^x, he came with his sons, but so well attended, that he had nothing to fear. Thus guarded as he was, it would have been so dangerous to call him to an account, that the king was advised by the most prudent to hide his resentments. They represented to him, if the earl stood on his defence, as he seemed resolved, it was to be feared, he would draw to his side the majority of the people, whose interests he seemed to espouse; and therefore the affording him a pretence to carry his audaciousness any farther, could not be done without danger. In pursuance of this advice, such a peace was made as Goodwin desired; that is, he was cleared for some excuses which related more to his manner of acting, than the thing in question. ^{Goodwin prepares to defend himself.} ^{Is reconciled to the king.}

This reconciliation was of no long continuance. Edward, who could not digest the affront he had received, took new measures against Goodwin, in gaining some of his principal friends by presents and promises. As soon as matters were ordered to his mind, he convened a general assembly, where Goodwin and his sons were summoned to appear. But being informed a design was laid to apprehend them, they refused to ^{He is persecuted again and banished.} ^{Sax. Ann. G. Malmab.}

^w He drew together some troops out of Kent, Essex, and Wessex; as his eldest son Swane did out of his earldom, i. e. out of Oxford, Gloucester, Hereford, Somerset, and Berkshire; and Harold out of his, i. e. out of Essex, East-Anglia, Cambridge, and Huntingdonshire: all these forces met at Beversham in Gloucestershire. King Edward hearing of Goodwin's great preparations, sent orders to Siward and Leofric to raise likewise an army, which

they did out of Mercia and Northumbria. Sax. Ann. Brompt.

^x And to come attended with twelve persons, but he refused to appear. In the mean time finding his army had deserted, he fled in the night to Thorny Island, and from thence went and embarked at Bosham in Sussex, with his son Swane. Harold and Leofwin came to Bristol, and finding there a ship got ready by Swane, they went over to Ireland, S. Dunelm. p. 185. Brompt.

come,

Edward
sends away
the queen.

come, without a safe-conduct, and hostages for their security. Upon which, they were banished the kingdom, and the combination against them was so strong, that they saw themselves abandoned on a sudden by their principal adherents, and forced to submit to the sentence passed upon them. Edward not content with being thus freed from Goodwin, shut up the queen in the nunnery of Wharwel¹, with design, in all appearance, never to take to her again. Goodwin retired to the earl of Flanders, father-in-law of his son Toston, and Harold sailed for Ireland, where he hoped to meet with assistance. To deprive the earl and his sons of all hopes of returning, the king disposed of all their posts, the chief whereof were conferred on Alfgar son of Leofric.

1052.
Goodwin
takes mea-
sures to re-
store himself
to his for-
mer state.
Sax. Annal.
Malmsb.

In the mean time, Goodwin, who thought himself unjustly oppressed, took measures to right himself by arms, there being no other remedy, as matters stood between the king and him. The earl of Flanders furnishing him with some ships, he infected the eastern coasts of England, whilst Harold his eldest son did the same to the western. But these faint attempts were to little purpose, seeing their forces were not very considerable. Wherefore Goodwin returned to Flanders, where for two years together, he did all in his power to persuade the earl his protector, it was for his interest to lend him a powerful assistance, and to have such a friend as he in England. Baldwin being at length prevailed with, granted him an aid capable of rendering him formidable, whilst on the other hand, Harold equipped a good number of ships in Ireland. Edward having intelligence of these proceedings, fitted out a fleet with all expedition, the command of which was given to Randolph of Mantes his nephew², and another lord named Odda. These two admirals hearing Goodwin had been seen off Rumney point, resolved to go and attack him, but he had time to retire elsewhere. His measures being thus broken by the king's expedition, he steered his course again for Flanders, and sent back Harold into Ireland. His view was to make the king believe he gave over his undertaking, by reason of the obstacles he met with. Mean while, he kept his fleet always ready, that he might improve any occasion that should offer. Shortly after one presented itself, which he did not fail to seize. Whether the two admirals were wanting in point of duty or conduct, or through court-intrigues, which history has not

Edward pre-
pares to re-
pulse him.

¹ In Hampshire; of which his sister was abbess. Sax. Ann. Malmsb.

² He was son to Goda, sister of Edward, and the earl of Manton. Rapin.

—In 1052. Emma, king Edward's mother, died at Winchester, where she was buried. Sax. Ann. Huntingd.

taken care to discover, Edward on a sudden removed these two lords from the command of the fleet. This alteration, and the breaking some of the inferior officers, raised such discontents among the sailors, that they deserted in crowds. Thus the king's ships not being in condition to keep the sea, were brought up the Thames in order to be new manned. Goodwin by his spies being informed of this disorder, puts to sea immediately, and makes a descent on the isle of Wight, where he extorted great sums from the inhabitants, whilst he waited for his son Harold to join him. After their junction, they sailed up the Thames, and advanced towards London, where the king's fleet lay. Edward giving way to his passion, would have gone himself with such ships as were ready ^a, and tried the fortune of a battle; but his council opposed it. They represented to him, that instead of hazarding his person in an action, the consequences whereof might prove very fatal, it would be more for his own and the kingdom's advantage, to try to make Goodwin return to his obedience, by gentler methods. This was wholesome advice: but the king would hardly have followed it, had not Goodwin, who was informed of what was transacting at court, smoothed the way, by saving him the shame of making the first advances. He sent the king word, that he was not come to fight against his sovereign, but most humbly to intreat him to hear his justification: that his coming thus armed was only to defend himself against the insults of his enemies, and he should always glory in being the most faithful of his subjects. How respectful soever this message might be, Edward, looking upon it as a sort of banner, flatly refused to hearken to any accommodation, affirming, he could not resolve to pardon his brother's murderer. His obstinacy had liked to have produced a fatal effect. Goodwin's army, entirely consisting of foreigners, who were in hopes of enriching themselves with the plunder of London, were for engaging the king's fleet without delay. But the earl, who was perfectly informed how the council stood disposed, checked the ardour of his soldiers, and behaved very submissively with regard to the king. His moderation was attended at last with the success he expected. Edward was prevailed with by the principal lords, and especially Stigand bishop of Winchester, a great friend of Goodwin's, to receive the earl into favour again, at least, as to outward appearance. He even agreed, he should be acquitted, by the general assembly of the kingdom, of the murder of prince Alfred,

Goodwin enters the Thames, and comes up to London.

Goodwin makes his peace with the king;

^a Which was fifty. Sax. Ann.

which

and gives
him hos-
tages.
Sax. Ann.
Knighton.
Brompt.

which he was charged with afresh, but on condition he should give hostages for his good behaviour for the future. Goodwin submitting to the king's terms, put into his hands his son Ulnoth, and his grandson Hacune, who were immediately sent into Normandy, Edward not thinking he could secure them in England. Goodwin and his sons were restored to their estates and dignities, and the king honourably took again the queen his wife, whom he thought he had been rid of for life.

The arch-
bishop of
Canterbury
banished.
Sax. Ann.
Malmsh.
S. Dunelm.
Stigand is
made arch-
bishop.

Upon the first news of the agreement between the king and the earl, the archbishop of Canterbury retired to the monastery of Jumiege in Normandy. Shortly after his departure, he was banished the kingdom by an assembly general, as an incendiary and fomentor of divisions between the king and his subjects^b. Stigand was made archbishop in his room, on supposition the see was become vacant by his banishment, a supposition that the court of Rome would by no means allow. Thus ended the affair of Goodwin. This lord, in all appearance, was like to have been ruined for ever; but, contrary to the expectation of his enemies, his disgrace tended only to render him more powerful and formidable. This same year he lost his third son Swane, who going in pilgrimage to Jerusalem, died on the road in some place in Syria, where he fell into the hands of robbers^c.

Malmsh.

The duke of
Normandy
visits Ed-
ward.
Ingulph.
S. Dunelm.
Brompt.
R. Higden.

The court of England enjoying a profound quiet after Goodwin's return, William the Bastard, duke of Normandy, took this opportunity to pay a visit to Edward^d. Some say, Edward sent him word by archbishop Robert, that he designed to make him his heir, and that his aim in this visit was to get a confirmation of this promise. But this is only conjecture. However that be, during William's stay in England, the king took a pleasure in showing his gratitude for all the civilities he had received, both from him and the duke his father. It is pretended, after having thus publicly testified his gratitude, he privately gave him a more substantial mark of his affection, by making his will, and nominating him his heir and successor^e. If it be true that Edward made such a will, which how-

Edward
pretended
will in his
favour.

^b And the rest of the Frenchmen that were in England, fled, and were also banished. Sax. Ann. See the names of such Normans as staid in England, in S. Dunelm. p. 136, 137.

^c Simeon of Durham says, being pricked in conscience for the murder of earl Beorn, he went from Flanders barefoot as far as Jerusalem, and in his re-

turn homeward died of a cold he got in Lycia.

^d Brompton says, he came in 1050, and S. Dunelm. 1051. They all agree that it was during Goodwin's banishment. See Higden, p. 279.

^e Ingulph expressly says, that William had then no hopes of succeeding to the crown, neither was there the least

however no body ever saw, it is more probable he did it at this time, than when he was in Normandy. Whilst the throne of England was filled by the Danes, whilst Alfred his brother, and also the children of Edmund Ironside were alive, how could Edward foresee he should ever be king of England? But at the time William the Bastard was in England, Edward, bearing still a mortal hatred to Goodwin in his heart, notwithstanding their feigned reconciliation, might suspect the earl of aspiring to the crown, and hope by this settlement to break his measures. But after all, it is much more probable he made no will, but contented himself with giving the duke of Normandy some verbal promise. However this be, it was this will, real or forged, or this verbal promise, that furnished the duke with a pretence of becoming master of England after the death of Edward. But it is very likely, Goodwin knew nothing of this will, or verbal promise, which may be plainly inferred from his taking no measures to prevent a Norman prince from reigning over the English, though he was a sworn enemy to the Norman nation. By the way, the situation of affairs then in England, wherein Goodwin almost equalled the king himself in power, renders incredible what some have ventured to advance, that Edward got his will in favour of duke William confirmed by a general assembly.

Edward in vain used all sorts of means to obstruct Goodwin's advancement. This earl's power was grown to such a height, that it might have proved of dangerous consequence, had not death freed the king from this hated, and then most formidable, subject. If we believe certain historians, Goodwin's death was attended with extraordinary circumstances, deserving a serious regard, were they better attested. They say, as the king was one day sitting at table with the earl, he let fall some words, which plainly showed the murder of the prince his brother was not yet thoroughly blotted out of his mind. They add, Goodwin taking it as a reflection upon him, rose up, and addressing himself to the king, "I perceive, my lord, (says he with great emotion) by what you just now said, you still think me guilty of the death of the prince your brother, though I have been publicly acquitted of it. But to give you a fresh proof of my innocence, I pray God that this morsel I am going to eat may choak me this moment, if I had any hand in the death of that prince." It is pretended, that upon saying these words, he went to swal-

1052.

Goodwin's death.

Brompton.

Rievallensis

M. West.

Huntingd.

Ingulph.

least mention made of it between them regni spes adhuc, aut mentio nulla facta
at this time.—De successione autem inter eos fuit,

low the fatal morsel, but it stuck in his throat and choaked him immediately, to the great astonishment of the standers-by. But this circumstance, had it been true, was too remarkable to be omitted by the historians of the best credit, who make no mention at all of it. They agree, Goodwin died suddenly, as he sat at table with the king, but say not a word of the above-mentioned circumstances, which probably were invented to blacken the memory of the earl and his family. Harold his eldest son succeeded him in all his posts, those he had himself before his father's death being given to Alfgar, son of Leofric duke of Mercia.

Sax. Ann.
S. Duncelm.

Harold his
son succeeds
him.
Sax. Ann.

Harold's
prudent
conduct.

The death of Goodwin caused no great alteration. Harold had the same friends, the same creatures, and the same interest as the earl his father when alive. All the difference to be observed between the father and son, was, that the son was of a temper more courteous and pliable, carried himself with much less pride, and behaved in a more respectful and submissive manner to the king. He was in hopes, by this carriage, to remove the king's inveterate hatred to his family; but it was to no purpose. Edward perhaps had not so great an aversion for him as he had for his father; but he feared him as much, and indeed, very justly. Harold, of as great parts and abilities as his father, but withal of more honour and conscience, firmly gained to his interest both the nobles and people, by his civil and obliging behaviour; whereas Goodwin's haughtiness and pride frequently lost him many friends. Mean while the same reasons that constrained the king to carry it fair with the father, obliged him to do the same with the son. Though he lov'd him not, he durst not show his ill-will, lest it should prove the occasion of a rupture, which must have been of very bad consequence, considering Harold's great credit at court and with the people.

1054. If the overgrown power of the Goodwin family created uneasiness in the king, it was in some measure alleviated by the satisfaction he had to see his kingdom exempt from war,

of The Saxon Annals say only, this year earl Goodwin deceased the 17th of the kalends of May, and was buried in the old monastery of Winchester, anno MLIII. Almost all our historians say, king Edward celebrating the feast of Easter at Winchester (some say Windsor) earl Goodwin was taken speechless as he sat at table; and being carried into the king's chamber by his sons, he lay in a languishing condition four days, and died the fifth. This is the

account of his death: but the Norman monks, and such as write in favour of them, add the above circumstances, which show either his guilt or their malice. He was a man of an active or turbulent spirit, nor over conscientious in getting or keeping what he could. But had he not been so great a lover of his country, and an enemy to foreigners, those who wrote in the Norman times would have given him a siffer character. S. Duncelm.

EVER

ever since his accession to the throne. But this tranquillity, War for which could not but be very grateful to a prince of so unwar- Cumberland- like a temper, was a little disturbed by a quarrel with Mac- S. Dunelm. beth king of Scotland, who had made himself master of Cum- Huntingd. berland. This little kingdom, which had been long under the Brompt. protection of the crown of England, was contended for be- Ingulph. tween Macbeth and Malcolm, a lord of the royal family of Cumberland. Edward espousing the cause of Malcolm, com- missioned Siward to restore him to his kingdom. This war was of short duration. Siward by one decisive battle obliged Macbeth to abandon Cumberland, and leave his rival in pos- session ^s. Siward had scarce finished this affair, when he was seized with a distemper ^h that laid him in his grave. When he found he was near his end, he got upon his legs, and caus- ing his armour to be put on, expired in that posture, declaring it dishonourable for a brave man to die in his bed ^l.

After the death of Siward, the government of Northum- Toston berland was conferred on Toston, brother of Harold ^k, Ed- Harold's ward not having resolution enough to refuse him that favour, brother though he dreaded nothing more than the advancement of made earl of Northum- that family. Some will have it, this was done out of policy. berland. They pretend, the king, by feigning to gratify Harold, filled Sax. Annal. the vacant post with the properest person to give a check to Ingulph. his ambition, by reason of the mutual jealousy between the Brompt. two brothers. But it does not appear Harold and Toston were then at variance, though it be true, they became enemies afterwards. 'Twas therefore great imprudence to trust any one family with two such important posts as duke of Wessex, and

^g Matthew Westminster says, but without any authority, that king Edward conquered all Scotland, and bestowed it on Malcolm to hold it of him. Others seem to say he destroyed Macbeth, and made Malcolm king of Scotland. S. Dunelm. But most probably it was only of Cumberland.

^h A bloody flux. He was buried in the cloyster of St. Marv's monastery, without the walls of York, which he had built. Brompt. Ingulph.

ⁱ Simeon of Durham says, earl Siward's son was slain in the battle with Macbeth; and Huntingdon adds, that when the news was brought him, he asked, "Whether he had received the wound before or behind?" and being told, before, he only replied, "I am glad to hear it." Brompton says, he was a man of almost a gigantic stature, and gives us this strange account

of his grandmother the daughter of a certain Danish earl. As she was one day walking in a wood near her father's house, accompanied only with her women, a huge bear rushing from among the trees, and frightening away her attendants, carried off the young lady alone; and getting her with child, she had a son by him, named Bernus, who was born with bear's ears; however, by his mother's right he succeeded to her father's earldom. In process of time he proved a vallant soldier, and marrying, begot the brave earl Siward, who came and settled in England. Brompt.

^k Because Waltheof, Siward's son, was too young; but to make some amends, Edward gave him the government of the counties of Northampton, Huntingdon, &c. Brompt. Hunting. p. 366. Ingulph. p. 66.

earl of Northumberland, which put one moiety of the kingdom in the power of the two brothers. Thus the king, though he stood in the greatest dread of the Goodwin family, either out of weakness, or ill policy, did every thing to render them more powerful.

Harold's credit increases.

Alfgar Leofric's son banished. Sax. Annal. Huntingd. S. Dunelm.

Retires to Wales, and joins king Griffin.

They are defeated by Harold.

Alfgar restored.

It was not only by the king's favours that earl Harold daily got ground, his personal merit and liberal temper daily procured him such friends, as were able to support him against the attempts of the king himself. Though he had married the duke of Mercia's daughter, Alfgar his brother-in-law carried it very coldly towards him, purely out of envy at his greatness. This lord, being of a restless and turbulent spirit, entered into a dangerous conspiracy, and privately held intelligence with Griffin king of Wales, to the detriment of the public. Edward being informed of it, caused him to be accused of treason, and condemned to banishment. Alfgar retired to his friend Griffin, who received him with open arms, and cherished his discontent to the utmost of his power¹. Some time after they made an inroad together into Herefordshire and defeated Radulph of Mantes earl of that county, who had attempted to drive them thence. Encouraged by this success, they began to make farther advances², when they met earl Harold, who stopped their career. He had of his own accord levied an army in his governments, and boldly marched towards them, to give them battle. They quickly found the difference between him and Radulph. Harold, superior in valour and conduct, put them to rout, and compelled them to retire into Wales, from whence they durst not come forth any more. A peace being the consequence of this victory, Harold used all his interest to obtain a pardon for Alfgar, and got him at length restored to his estate and honours. By this uncommon act of generosity, he gained the friendship of Alfgar, and exceedingly increased the esteem, people already had for him.

¹ Historians are divided in their opinions, whether this earl was banished justly or not. The Sax. Ann. and Huntingd. p. 366. say, that he was convicted of treason: But S. Dunelm. p. 187. Brompton, and Ingulph affirm, he was unjustly banished. Simeon of Durham and Brompton say, he went to Ireland first, and procuring eighteen ships, went and joined Griffin. He was banished again in 1052, but, by the assistance of Griffin, and of a

Norwegian fleet, was restored. S. Dunelm. p. 189. Ingulph. p. 66.

² They took and sacked Hereford, burning the church and monastery with the relics of king Ethelbert treacherously slain by king Offa. Hereford i. e. the ford of the army, was built as a frontier in the time of the Heptarchy. This was the only misfortune that ever happened to this city. Camden.

The reputation acquired by Harold in his last expedition, his generosity to Alfgar, his affable and obliging behaviour, his beneficent temper, entirely gained him the hearts of the people. It began to be the public discourse, that since the king had no heirs, no one was more worthy to succeed him than Harold. The affection of the English for the earl, very sensibly touched Edward, who had all along lived in expectation of an occasion to ruin him. Hitherto this prince seems to have intended to leave the crown to the duke of Normandy; since he was not ignorant he had a nephew in Hungary, and yet had never once thought of recalling him home, and securing him the succession. But the moment he found earl Harold aspired to the crown, or at least, that the people marked him out for his successor, he judged it would be very difficult to set up a foreign prince, against an English earl of so great power and credit. This consideration probably induced him at last to send for his nephew Edward, son of Edmund Ironside, out of Hungary. He should have done this long before, had he not designed to dispose of the crown in favour of another. Prince Edward came into England in 1057, bringing with him his young son Edgar, with Margaret and Christiana his daughters, who were all three born in Hungary. The arrival of this prince, son of a king of England, whose memory was dear to the nation, could not but be very agreeable to the English; and therefore, without hesitation, they considered him as the king's presumptive heir, their esteem for Harold giving place to their affection for the royal family. Indeed, there was no contesting this young prince's right to succeed his uncle, since, had he not been absent when it was debated who should sit on the throne after Hardicanute, he would have been unquestionably preferred even to king Edward himself. Which consideration was probably the reason of his uncle's leaving him so long in Hungary, lest his presence might occasion some dangerous commotions. But this prince, who seemed designed for the crown, died soon after his arrival in England, leaving his just, though empty title to Edgar his son, surnamed Atheling.

Leofric, duke of Mercia, quickly followed him, this same year. Historians give this lord a great character; but

1057.
The people
talk of Har-
old's suc-
ceeding to
the crown.

Edward
sends for his
nephew
from Hun-
gary.
Sax. Ann.
Knighton.
S. Dunelm.
Brompt.

Death of
prince Ed-
ward,

and of Leo-
fric, duke
of Mercia.
Sax. Ann.

n (i. e.) Truly noble, to denote his being of royal blood. His father, prince Edward, surnamed the Out-law, was buried at St. Paul's, London. Sax. Ann. MLVII.

o He was buried in Coventry-mo-

nastery which he and Godiva built; and to which they gave so much gold, silver, and precious stones, that it was reckoned the richest in England. Huntingd. p. 366. S. Dunelm. p. 189.

Godiva's
adventure.
Brompton.
M. West.

especially they extol Godiva his wife, above all the women of her time. It is related of this lady, that in order to free the inhabitants of Coventry from a heavy tax laid on them by her husband, she readily consented to a very extraordinary condition, on which the earl promised to ease them of their burden, namely, that she should ride stark naked from one end of the town to the other. This condition gave the burghers little hopes of being relieved. But Godiva performed it, covering her body with her hair, and commanding all persons to keep within doors, and from their windows, on pain of death. Notwithstanding this severe penalty, there was one, who could not forbear giving a look, out of curiosity, but it cost him his life. In memory of this event, there is a statue of a man looking out of a window, always kept in a certain house at Coventry^p. Alfgar succeeded to his father's earldom, by Harold's interest, who earnestly interceded for him^q.

Sax. Ann.

1062.

Harold aspires to the crown, and demands the hostages given the king by Goodwin. Eadmer,

Harold's ambition and hopes were revived by prince Edward's death. That prince indeed had left a son who inherited all his rights, but so young, that it seemed very easy to supplant him. Besides, he might possibly die before the king. Accordingly, Harold resolved to improve the present favourable conjuncture. But before he openly discovered his designs, he thought it requisite to get out of the hands of the duke of Normandy, Ulnoth his brother, and Hacune his nephew, whom the earl his father had given for hostages to the king. But though he demanded them very urgently, alledging, since Goodwin was dead, there was no reason to detain them, and unjustly deprive them of the benefit of an English education, yet he could not prevail with the king. Edward always put him off with saying, they were not in

but cannot obtain them.

^p But whether this be so or no, there is a procession or cavalcade still made there every year, in memory of Godiva, with a figure representing a naked woman riding through the city. The pictures of Leofric and Godiva were also set up in the windows of Trinity Church, with this inscription:

I Luric, for the Love of thee,
Do set Coventry Toll-free.

This city had its name either from the convent new built and richly endowed by Leofric, or as some will have it, from a rivulet running through, now called Sherburn, but in an old charter

of the priory, Cuentford. This city was famous for its walls, which were demolished in Charles the II^d's time, and the gates only left standing. In one of which named Goffard, is to be seen the vast shield-bone of a boar, which they tell you was slain by Guy earl of Warwick, after he had with his snout turned up the pool or pond now called Swanefwell Pool, but in ancient charters, Swineswell. Here is also a fine cross built (33 Hen. VIII.) by Sir William Hollis lord-mayor of London. Camd.

^q He died in 1069, and was buried at Coventry, by his father. Ingulph.

h is

his power, but the duke of Normandy's, and therefore to that prince he must make application. Harold perceiving he could obtain no other answer from the king, desired leave to go into Normandy, and solicit the duke for their deliverance. His request was readily granted. Nothing could be more agreeable to the king, than the earl's resolution of going to Normandy, where he did not question but the duke would detain him. At least, he hoped duke William would take such measures as would free him from all obstacles, the earl might lay in his way.

Harold having obtained the king's consent, embarked for Roan, without the least suspicion of the danger he was running into, being ignorant of the king's intention concerning the succession'. Hardly was he at sea, when a tempest arose, which drove him into Picardy, and compelled him to put in at one of the ports of the earl of Ponthieu, where he was immediately seized. As soon as he was known, he was carried to the earl of Ponthieu, who, glad to find himself master of so rich a prize, resolved to set a round price on his head. It would have been difficult for Harold to get off, had he not, whilst he pretended to treat about his ransom, found means to inform the duke of Normandy of the accident befallen him. As soon as the duke received the news, he sent and demanded the prisoner of the earl of Ponthieu, telling him he had no right to detain a stranger that was coming to Roan, and by a storm cast on his coasts. The earl not daring to dispute with the duke, set the prisoner at liberty, who immediately went on to Roan. Duke William not being ignorant of Harold's design with respect to the crown of England, was at a loss how to behave. He had but two ways to take, both equally dangerous. Harold was either to be detained by force, or gained by fair means. If he took the first method, he was apprehensive of declaring too soon, since it was not for his interest the English should yet know, he had any thoughts of the crown. Besides, Harold had so

He sets out for Normandy. Malmsh. Brompt. S. Dunelm.

Is seized by the earl of Ponthieu.

Is set at liberty, and comes to Roan. The duke at a loss how to act.

r Harold's going to Normandy is variously related as to the time, manner, and occasion of it. With our author agree Simeon of Durham, Brompton, and Eadmer, only with this addition, that king Edward foretold him what would happen to him. Malmshbury says the occasion of it was this. Harold being at his house at Bosham in Sussex, had a mind to go out in a father-boat for his diversion, but sailing

further than he was aware, a tempest arose and drove him as is here related by Rapin. Matthew Paris believes also he was driven by a tempest to Normandy, where to gain his liberty, he was forced to do as is here related. So uncertain are traditional accounts! Our author's conduct through this whole affair seems to be the most natural and likely.

THE HISTORY

He endeavours to gain him by disclosing to him his designs.

many friends in the kingdom, that it was to be feared, his detention would occasion a rupture between England and Normandy, which would break all the measures the king should take in his favour. And indeed, in case Edward died during the war, how was it possible for him to leave the crown to a prince actually in arms against the English nation? Moreover, Harold being duke of Wëssëx and earl of Kent, all the strong places in the southern parts were in the hands of his creatures, and it was this chiefly that could most obstruct the duke's designs. The duke had not perfect information what steps Harold had made to pave his way to the crown, as on his part, Harold was ignorant of the designs of the king and duke. The duke considered further, that by detaining Harold, he should break the most sacred rights of hospitality, which a great soul cannot be guilty of without offering extreme violence to itself. These considerations induced him to take the other course, though it was no less dangerous. By discovering his intentions to Harold, he put it in his power to prevent their execution. However, believing he should gain him by this proof of his confidence, he plainly told him his hopes of one day mounting the throne of England, founded on the good-will the king bore him *. This discovery was followed with promises, in case he would support his pretensions, and the assurance of a reward proportionable to so important a service. He let him know, moreover, that his ambition to aspire to the crown, though not of the royal family, was no secret to him, and endeavoured to make him sensible, how difficult it would be to attain his ends. To divert him from his purpose, he represented to him all the obstacles he was of course to expect, as well from Edgar, as the other English lords, who would look on his ambition with a jealous eye. To these considerations he added another that was no less urgent. He plainly told him, though he should be so fortunate, as to surmount all other obstacles, he would still find in him an enemy, who wanted neither money, nor arms, nor friends to support a right he was resolved to defend to the last drop of his blood. In short, he represented to him, that if he was bent to pursue his first project, instead of securing, as it was in his power, a grandeur, second to none but the supreme, he hazarded a certain good, for a very uncertain prospect.

* Simeon of Durham says, the duke told Harold, that Edward, whilst at his court, promised to settle the crown of England on him.

Harold

Harold was too wise not to see, that on this occasion, he had but one course to take, which was, to pretend to be convinced by the reasons the duke had alledged. He returned him therefore in answer, that indeed, before the arrival of prince Edward, he had believed if the king died without heirs, he was as worthy to ascend the throne as any other nobleman of the kingdom. He even owned, he had begun to take some measures, which inspired him with hopes of success, but had dropt his design since the coming of Edward, being sensible there was no room to pretend to the crown, as long as there were princes of the royal family in England. He added, since he was acquainted with his pretensions, and the king's pleasure, which till then he had been ignorant of, he had much rather the kingdom should be governed by so great a prince as the duke, than by Edgar Atheling, who scarce knew how to govern himself. To convince him the more of his sincerity, he required certain conditions, and among others, demanded one of his daughters in marriage, as a reward for his future service. Whatever Harold required was immediately and gladly complied with. But as the princess, the duke designed for him, was too young, the intended marriage was deferred till a more convenient time. Mean while, duke William not trusting wholly to Harold's bare word, made him swear on the gospels that he would punctually perform his promises, especially, that he would never attempt to mount the throne of England. This agreement being made, they parted both of them extremely well satisfied in outward appearance, and Harold returned into England^t.

He was no sooner at liberty, but he considered his oath as extorted, and consequently not binding. He could not understand upon what foundation the duke of Normandy pretended to the crown of England, or by what right Edward could transfer it to a foreigner. And therefore, so far was he from any thoughts of standing to his engagements, that he resolved to take advantage of the duke's confidence, and contrive juster measures to frustrate his designs. From thenceforward he used a double diligence to strengthen his party in such a manner, as should put it out of the power of the king or duke to lay any obstacles in his way. If hitherto he had entertained any scruple with regard to prince Edgar, it en-

^t The duke made Harold swear to deliver up Dover as soon as king Edward was dead. Then loading him with presents, dismissed him with his nephew Hacune, promising to bring over Ulnoth his brother when he himself should come into England. Sim. Dunelm. p. 196.

tirely vanished upon consideration that in mounting the throne himself he should do no injury to that prince, since the crown would be otherwise disposed of even by his uncle the king. He laboured therefore to secure an interest in all the great lords of the kingdom, to which he found the way very open. The duke of Normandy was absent, and but little known in England, where moreover the Normans were extremely odious. Prince Edgar, by reason of his youth, was in no condition to oppose designs so detrimental to him. As for the king, he was so unresolved in the affair of the succession, that he promoted the interest neither of the prince his nephew, nor of the duke. He was no doubt at a loss how to reconcile his promise to the duke of Normandy, with his recalling his nephew from Hungary. He thought only of passing his days in peace, without troubling himself about what should happen after his death. Thus every thing concurring to favour Harold's designs, he neglected nothing that might serve to confirm the good opinion conceived of him by the English. Two opportunities that offered themselves presently after, were very favourable to him.

1063.
Harold sub-
duces the
Welsh.
S. Dunelm.
Flor. Wig.
Sax. Annal.
Malmsh.
S. Dunelm.

The Welch renewing their incursions under the conduct of Griffin their king, Harold and his brother Toston joined their forces to repulse them. They were so fortunate in their expedition, that, after several advantages gained upon the Welch, they compelled them to dethrone Griffin, and become tributary to England. Griffin being afterwards restored, and renewing the war with the English, Harold marched to the frontiers, and struck such a terror into the Welch, that they sent him the head of their king^a. This event, which showed how formidable Harold was to the enemies of the state, confirmed the English in their opinion that he, who knew so well how to defend it, deserved to wear the crown.

Toston
drove out of
Northum-
berland.
Malmsh.
S. Dunelm.
Brompt.

Harold had another opportunity to add new lustre to his glory, as it enabled him to give proofs of his moderation and equity, as he had lately done of his valour and conduct. Toston his brother, earl of Northumberland, treated the Northumbrians with such severity, and committed so many acts of injustice, that at last, the people not being able to

^a He was beheaded Aug. 7, 1064. This was the end of Griffith ap Llewelyn, to whom the Welsh Chronicles give the character of a valiant and generous prince, and for the most part victorious, till now he perished by the treachery of his own people.

Harold sent the head with the gilded stern of Griffin's ship, which the Welch had brought with the head, to the king at Gloucester. Florence of Worcester adds, that the brothers of Griffin swore fealty to Harold as well as to the king.

bear

bear his oppressions any longer, took up arms against him, and expelled him Northumberland. This action being of a dangerous consequence, Harold was ordered to chastise them, and restore his brother. As soon as he approached the borders, the Northumbrians sent deputies to inform him of the reasons of their insurrection. They told him, they had no design of withdrawing their obedience from the king, but only from an unjust and cruel governor, who exercised over them a tyrannical power, to which neither they nor their forefathers had ever been subject. Intimating withal, they were resolved to hazard their lives rather than submit to the like power again. However, they solemnly protested, provided the king should set over them one that would govern them according to the laws and customs of their country, nothing should be able to shake their fidelity. To these remonstrances they added a long list of their grievances they had suffered under Toston, intreating Harold to prefer the good of the publick before the interests of his own family. Harold finding this affair related chiefly to Toston, and that the king was not directly concerned in it, sent an impartial account of the whole matter to the court. At the same time he interceded for the Northumbrians, and not content with obtaining their pardon, procured them Monkard, son of Alfgar duke of Mercia, for their governor^v. By this equitable proceeding, he entirely gained the affection of the northern people, and contracted a stricter friendship with Alfgar than before. This union was absolutely necessary for the execution of his projects.

Malmesb.

But if this action strengthened the people's esteem and affection for him, it exasperated to the last degree his brother Toston, who never forgave him. But as it was not in his power to vent his fury on Harold's person, he turned his rage upon some of his domesticks^x, whom he caused to be cut in pieces, barrell'd up, and sent to his brother for a present. After so barbarous a deed, not daring to stay any longer in

A barbarous act of Toston's. Huntingd. M. Westm.

^v Whom they themselves earnestly desired to have. The occasion of their insurrection at this time was this: One Gospatric, a great officer in Northumberland, having been murdered at Court by queen Editha's order, (though this seems contrary to her meek and pious temper) on account of a quarrel between him and her brother Toston, and he likewise killing in his own lodgings two of Gospatric's

friends, and besides having laid intolerable impositions, or tribute, on all Northumberland, the people incensed at it, and his other grievances above-mentioned, rose to a man, and were not appeased till he was banished the land. Flor. Wig. Sim. Dun.

^x In a house of his at Hereford, where he had prepared a great feast. Huntingdon,

England,

England, he retired into Flanders to earl Baldwin his father-in-law ^r.

1065.
Edward pre-
pares for the
dedication of
the church
of West-
minster.
Ailred Rie-
val.

Camden in
M.d.dlesex.

Whilst Harold was thus paving his way to the crown, Edward never concerned himself about the succession, which he had greatly embroiled by his engagement with the duke of Normandy. His thoughts were wholly employed about the structure of the church and monastery of Westminster, on which he laid out the money he had vowed to expend on a journey to Rome, which was dispensed with by the pope upon that condition. There was formerly in the same place, called Thorney by the Saxons, a famous temple sacred to Apollo. Sebert, king of Essex, embracing the gospel, converted this pagan temple into a christian church, which was destroyed by the Danes. This church having been long buried in its ruins, Edward undertook to rebuild it, with an adjoining monastery, which from its lying west of London, was called Westminster ². In process of time a city was built here by degrees, which almost rivals London itself, and keeps the name of the monastery. These two cities, separated only by a gate, have distinct magistrates and privileges, though they are often confounded under the name of London. The church and monastery being finished about the latter end of the year 1065, Edward was desirous the dedication should be performed in a very solemn manner ³. To this end he summoned to meet at London a general assembly, at which were present all the bishops and great men of the kingdom, to be witnesses of this ceremony. At this very time it was, that the king was seized with a sudden illness, of which he died in a few days. As soon as he found the time of his dissolution approaching, his principal care was to finish the

y Huntingdon (who had heard many tales about the hatred of Goodwin's sons to one another) tells us another story of this matter. The king as he was at dinner ordering Harold to serve him with the cup, Toston was so enraged at his being preferred before him, that he flew in his face in the king's presence, and pulled him down to the ground by his hair. But the soldiers coming in and parting them, Toston in a rage left the court, and going to his brother's country house, served his domesticks as is above related. Upon which the king commanded him to be banished, and the Northumbrians expelled him their country. But this does not seem probable; for what oc-

casion had the Northumbrians to rise against him, seeing he was banished before by the king?

² It was dedicated to St. Peter. This fabric of Edward's was demolished by Henry III. about one hundred and sixty years after, who erected a new one, which was fifty years in building. The abbots very much enlarged it on the west-side, and Henry VII. added to the east a chapel, which Leland calls, the Miracle of the World. Edward was buried the next day after his death, in his newly dedicated church.

³ The dedication was performed December 28. Sax. Annal. M. Westm. p. 431.

cere-

ceremony for which the great men were assembled^b. As for the succession, he would not meddle with it, surrounded as it was with so many difficulties. In his own mind he was for the duke of Normandy: The right was manifestly in prince Edgar his nephew; but Harold had the hearts and hands of the English. So many difficulties, upon which he could never determine whilst in health, becoming insurmountable in his present condition, he resolved to leave the decision to God alone.

Mean while, Harold was not idle. Almost all the lords of the kingdom, both spiritual and temporal, being then assembled at London, he found means to induce them to act in his favour, and come to a resolution of sending deputies to the dying king, to intreat him to name a successor. But withal, these deputies had orders to insinuate to the king, that in case he nominated any but Harold he would infallibly involve the kingdom in endless troubles, which would be inconsistent with his wisdom, and the affection he had all along expressed for his people. Edward, not being then in a condition to examine a proposal of this nature, replied, that since they were met in a body, he left it to them to chuse the person they judged most worthy to rule over them. He died a few moments after^c, leaving the succession as unsettled at his death as it was during his life.

This prince, who was born at Gillingham^d, near Oxford, reigned twenty-four years, without ever suffering any misfortune from foreign enemies. However, he cannot be said to have reigned happily, since he lived in continual fears, occasioned by the overgrown power of earl Godwin and his family. His mild and peaceable temper were a great means however to procure him some tranquillity. Had he attempted to humble Godwin's pride, and lessen Harold's power, he would certainly have been involved in troubles, from whence he would have found it difficult to extricate himself. But by shutting his eyes at their secret practices, and feigning to know nothing of their designs, he prevented them from acting more openly, caused them to lay more distant schemes,

^b The great men also signed the charter of the privileges and immunities granted to the church, to which was annexed, as is said, the first great seal used in England: though Tyrrel thinks other kings might have seals to their charters, though they are now defaced. Book vi. p. 99.

^c On January 5, 1066. Sax. Ann. S. Dunelm. p. 193.

^d Now Islip. In the chapel here, called the King's Chapel, not many years since stood a font, the same, as tradition has constantly delivered it down, wherein Edward the Confessor was baptised. But being put to an indecent use, was at last removed to the garden of Sir Henry Brown, bart. of Nether-Riddington, in Oxfordshire. Add. to Camden.

and thereby gained time to arrive at the end of his days. He was remarkable neither for his virtues nor vices, and his natural parts were but mean. His piety has been highly extolled, and has acquired him the glorious title of Confessor, and yet we do not find he was any sufferer on account of religion, unless we consider as a sort of martyrdom, the mortifications he privately laid upon himself from a religious motive. It is certain he was very charitable, and expended in alms the sums vainly lavished away by other princes upon their pleasures. This joined to his good-nature, of which he gave from time to time uncommon instances, made him pass for a saint among the people, and particularly among the monks, who reaped great advantages from his liberal disposition. They have not been satisfied with extolling his virtues to the skies, but have even, if I may so say, canonized his very faults, and endeavoured to represent them as so many proofs of his sanctity. Of this we need no other witness but his own historian or rather panegyrist, who attributes his voluntary chastity to a vow made before his marriage. This writer assures us, Edward espoused Editha, daughter of Goodwin, purely to exercise his virtue by a continual temptation. But it is easy to see he acted from a very different motive, since he parted with his wife the moment he thought he could do it with safety. However, the opinion of his sanctity taking by degrees deep root in the minds of the people, he was canonized by pope Alexander III. under the name of Edward the Confessor^e.

Ailred.
G. Malmsh.

It was not thought sufficient to allow this prince all the virtue necessary to carry him to heaven, unless he had a place given him also among the saints of the first class. We are told he was favoured with several revelations, with the gift of prophesy, and many other miraculous powers, in proof of which such weak and trifling instances are produced as are not worth mentioning. However, I cannot pass over in silence one special privilege he is said to receive from heaven, of curing the king's evil. Nay, it is affirmed this privilege has descended to the kings of England his successors: hence the custom in England of the king's Touching for the Evil at a certain time of the year^f. But the late king William III. of

^e About two hundred years after his death. There was likewise a bull of pope Innocent IV. to fix the anniversary, and order the solemnity of the festival. Martyrol. Rom. Baronius, Jan. 5.

^f It will not be amiss to relate the first instance of this hereditary miracle, as Mr. Collier calls it. A young married woman having the misfortune to be barren, and troubled at the same time with the distemper since called the

of glorious memory, was so persuaded he should do no injury to persons afflicted with this distemper, by not touching them, that he refrained from it all his reign. The kings of France also have claimed the same privilege ever since the time of Clovis, the first Christian king of that kingdom².

What has been most commended in king Edward, was his good-nature, of which I shall content myself with producing two instances as a specimen of the rest. One day being laid down upon the bed, one of his domestics, who did not know he was in the room, stole some money out of a chest he found open, which the king let him carry off, without saying a word: presently after, the boy returning to make a second attempt, the king called to him without the least passion, "Sirrah, you had best be satisfied with what you have got; for if my chamberlain comes and catches you, he will not only take away all you have stolen, but whip you severely³."

Another

King's Evil, was, after all human means had been tried in vain, admonished in a vision to go to the king, by whose merits she should be cured, upon his washing, touching, and signing with the cross the parts affected. The woman runs to court next morning, overjoyed, and tells the king the whole matter; who thereupon disdains not to wash, touch, and cross her putrified sores, which immediately breaking, and corruption and worms bursting out, the parts were in a few days healed without the least scar remaining; and moreover her barrenness was removed, and she soon became the joyful mother of children. This is the first act, as it is given us by Ailred, in his History of the Life and Miracles of Edward the Confessor, of that supernatural power enjoyed by the kings of England ever since. But though Mr. Collier says, to dispute this matter is to go to the excesses of scepticism, yet there are some who doubt of it on the following accounts.

I. This power is generally fixed to the lineal succession; whereas it is plain there was no such thing in those days, neither was Edward himself the next heir.

II. It is plain from Ailred that this privilege was given him not as a king, but as a saint; and Malmshury says, they are to be blamed that attribute it to his royalty, and not to his sanctity. Consequently there is no reason his successors, who were certainly no saints,

should be so high'y favoured of heaven.

III. Ailred reckons up many other miracles which he performed, as the restoring to their sight six or seven blind men, etc. but does not say a word of his power of curing the evil descended to his successors, any more than his power of restoring the blind to their sight, or of his removing barrenness, which one would think should be joined to the other, since they were cured both by the same touch.

IV. As there is no evident reason why the kings of England should have this privilege above any other Christian prince, so if Heaven had granted such a power to our kings, one would think they should have it in such a degree as to render it visible to all, and that the cure should immediately follow the touch: whereas multitudes are not cured at all, those that are pretended to be so, not till a considerable time after they have been touched.

g This miracle is appropriated by Laurentius, physician to Henry IV, to the crown of France; but Dr. Tecker is even with him, for he makes the kings of France to do it by virtue of their alliance to the royal family of England. And Mr. Collier will have the antiquity of this power to be on the side of England, since he says, Lewis the Godly was the first that touched for the evil, two hundred years after our Edward. Ecclesiast. Hist.

h The story goes on, that the chamberlain coming in after the boy was

Malmsh.

Another time, as he was hunting, a countryman maliciously spoiling his sport, he galloped up to him, and said to him in anger, "By our lady, I would be revenged on thee, if it was in my power." These are the incontestable proofs of his extraordinary good-nature, which, according to his panegyrists, advanced him so far above all other men.

Edward was the last king of Egbert's race, though not the last Saxon king, as some have affirmed, since his successor was of that nation. Had not this weak prince preposterously abstained from conversing with his queen, a very beautiful and virtuous lady, he might perhaps have had children, and thereby prevented a revolution, which involved the English in slavery.

Union of
three sorts
of laws under
Edward.
Brompton.
Knighton.

Before the reign of Edward, the West-Saxon, Mercian, and Danish laws were observed in England, namely, the first in Wessex, the second in Mercia, and the last in Northumberland. This prince reduced them all into one body, and from that time they became common to all England, under the name of the Laws of Edward, to distinguish them from those of the Normans, introduced afterwards¹.

21. HAROLD II.

Harold II.
1066.

Elected by
the assembly
general.
Sax. Ana.
S. Dunelm.

IF the great men assembled to appoint a successor to Edward had been swayed only by justice, equity, and the ancient customs of the kingdom, they would not long have debated to know to whom the crown was devolved: Edgar Atheling was the only prince of the family of their ancient kings, and consequently the only person who had a right to the crown. But Harold had so well laid his measures that he was unanimously elected, without any regard to the right of the lawful heir. As for the duke of Normandy, his pretensions, grounded on the late king's promise, do not seem to have been considered at all. It is certain the duke had never publicly declared his design of aspiring to the crown of England: and therefore the English lords might be ignorant

gone, and missing the money, fell into a great rage: but the king calmly said to him, "Be contented, it may be the poor rogue that has it, wants it more than we do: there is enough left for us," Alfred VII, Ed. p. 376, X. Script.

¹ Concerning this threefold distinction of the laws, see what has been said above, and also in the following dissertation, under the head of the Laws of the Anglo-Saxons.

of the matter, or at least pretend to be so. But supposing they had been informed of his pretensions, it would have served only to furnish them with a fresh motive to place on the throne a king more capable than Edgar Atheling of defending the kingdom against the attacks of a foreign prince.

The manner of Harold's succeeding to the crown is variously related by historians. Several affirm^k, he was elected with one common voice, and without any constraint, by the wittenagemot then assembled, and crowned the day after his election by the archbishop of York. Others say, he usurped the crown by compelling the great council to elect him, after extorting his nomination from the late king just as he was dying^l. There are some who look upon this election as a fiction, affirming, Harold, without troubling himself about the consent of the nobles or people, put the crown on his head himself without any formality^m. The reason of this diversity among the historians proceeds from their espousing either the right of Harold, or of the duke of Normandy, as if prince Edgar's claim was to be reckoned as nothing, whereas in truth he alone had a right to succeed to the crown. But as among this variety of opinions, one is in danger of being swayed by the passions and prejudices of the historians, rather than by justice and equity, it will not be amiss to explain this matter, by laying before the reader what might be alledged for and against each of the three competitors.

Various opinions about Harold's succeeding to the crown. Sax. Annal. S. Dunelm. G. Malmsh. M. Westm. Brompt.

As for prince Edgar, it suffices to say for him, he was the sole prince of the royal race. It is true, his being born out of the kingdom might be objected against him. But as prince Edward his father was not legally banished, his being forced by Canute to live in exile, ought not to have prejudiced his son's right.

Edgar's title.

As for the duke of Normandy, he can hardly be imagined to aspire to the crown of England without some foundation, and yet it cannot be conceived upon what title he supported his pretension, so great is the diversity of opinions about it. Some tell us he was invited over by the English to free them from the tyranny of Haroldⁿ. Others say, Edward, when in Normandy, promised him, if ever he came to the crown, to make him his heir. Several affirm, that Edward appointed him his successor by his last will; and some even assure us this

The duke of Normandy's right enquired into. Knighton. Brompt. Ann. Margam.

^k Saxon Annals and Floeden, with some other of the English writers. The bishops were all for Harold to a man.

^l William of Malmshury, and such as espoused the title of the duke of Normandy.

^m Huntingdon is of this opinion, and

Vol. I.

adds, several were for setting up Edgar Atheling. Ingulphus more cautiously says, Harold forgetting his oath, made to duke William, intruded himself into the throne.

ⁿ I believe Knighton to be the only one that said this, Rapin.

I i

will

will was confirmed in Edward's life-time by the general assembly of the nation ; but this pretended will was never produced : neither does it appear that duke William ever founded his claim upon any such thing, as if it were known, or he had it in his hands. In all probability therefore the foundation he went upon was some verbal promise made him by Edward, when he was in England. It was doubtless in consequence of this promise, that he required Harold not to oppose him. Had the English done Edgar justice, and placed him on the throne, it is not likely duke William would have attempted, upon so trifling a pretension, to wrest the crown from a prince to whom of right it belonged. But he had to deal with Harold, who being only a private man, had procured himself the crown by indirect practices, and without any manner of right. Accordingly, setting aside prince Edgar, he compared his right only with that of the reigning king. His interest induced him to think, that Edward's promise was equivalent to an election, since it was thought proper to exclude the lawful heir. To this may be added, that he looked upon the crown of England as what he could not fail of, especially after binding Harold by an oath : and therefore, the indignation at being deceived, the desire of revenge, and chiefly his ambition the root of the quarrel, all concurred to inspire him with a resolution to make an attempt upon the English crown, in spite of all opposition. Persuaded as he was, that he had no less right than Harold, he thought he might use force to wrest the crown from a prince, who had naturally no title to it. These, probably, were the motives that engaged duke William in so great an undertaking, the success whereof seemed very doubtful.

The examination of Harold's title.

As for Harold's right, it ought to be considered under a double view, with regard to the duke of Normandy, and with regard to prince Edgar. If we examine the election of this king, in opposition to the duke, we find nothing but what was regular and according to form, and against which the duke could have any just reason to object. It is certain, supposing Edward had nominated duke William his successor, either by will or otherwise, the nomination would have been of no force, unless confirmed by the assembly of the states. Accordingly this is what some affirm, being sensible the duke's title without this approbation was little worth. And in truth, where is the nation, that, without being forced to it, would suffer their king, by his own bare nomination, to subject them to a foreigner, in exclusion of the princes of the royal blood, or even of the most worthy lords of the kingdom? If this were

were ever the case, it was done by surprise, before the people had time to oppose it. The election therefore of Harold was very lawful, at least with regard to the duke of Normandy, since it was made by the assembly general, whose power duke William had no right to dispute.

But in comparing Harold's title with prince Edgar's, it is hard to give it so favourable a construction. It may indeed be supported by the opinion of those who maintain, that, during the Saxon government, the crown was elective, and the nobles and people had a power of giving it to whom they pleased. But besides the difficulties attending this opinion, supposing that were so, this argument would not be sufficient to justify Harold's election. How extensive soever some would make the privileges of the assembly-general in the time of the Saxon kings, yet no one, I believe, will affirm they had a power of conferring the crown on a private person, in prejudice of the princes of the royal family. At least it would be very difficult to produce any instances from the history of the Anglo-Saxons to establish this opinion. The question then amounts to this, whether the nation had a right to elect Harold in exclusion of Edgar; or, whether, on this occasion, they did not stretch their power beyond its natural bounds. As I design to treat of this matter in another place, I shall not undertake to decide the question at present, but only remark, that supposing the nation had such a power, yet it must be owned it was abused at this juncture, and that Edgar had great injustice done him. But notwithstanding all its defects, this election gave Harold an incomparably better title than the bare nomination of king Edward gave duke William, granting the will was as real, as it appears to be imaginary. From what has been said, it is easy to see the duke of Normandy's claim was built on a weak foundation. But to return to our history.

After Harold was crowned, there was not a person in the kingdom but what owed him for sovereign, and paid him obedience. But though he found no opposition at home, it was otherwise abroad: not to mention the duke of Normandy, who, before he discovered, put himself in a condition to execute his designs, earl Toston was preparing to disturb the king his brother in the possession of his new dignity. He could not forgive his impartial proceedings, when, in favour of the Northumbrians, he dispossessed him of his government. Though Harold's accession to the crown should have rendered him more formidable to him, this consideration served only to inflame his hatred the more, and put him upon devising all possible means to dethrone him. As he was not

Toston prepares to disturb his brother.

S. Dunelm G. Malm.

ignorant of the duke of Normandy's intentions, with whom he had contracted a strict friendship, on account of their marrying two sisters, daughters of the earl of Flanders, he went to concert measures with him against the king his brother. There is no doubt but duke William encouraged him to execute his designs : but it does not appear that he furnished him with any money, troops, or ships, of all which he had himself so great need against his intended invasion. Probably therefore it was the earl of Flanders, his father-in-law, that supplied Toston with ships, by means of which he infested the English coasts, and plundered the Isle of Wight.

He plunders the Isle of Wight, and lands at Sandwich, and then in the north.

After which he landed some troops at Sandwich, but being informed the king was marching towards him, he set sail for the north, and entering the Humber with his little fleet^o, made a descent on Yorkshire, and committed ravages as if he had been in an enemies country. Harold, not thinking it advisable to leave the southern parts, commissioned earl Morcard to go against his brother, who, having been made governor of Northumberland in the room of Toston, was particularly concerned to put a stop to his incursions. As for the king, he remained at London, that he might have an eye to Edgar's party, and prevent them from exciting any troubles upon that young prince's account. This seemed to him, at that time, to be what he had most to fear, being sensible the injustice done Edgar sat heavy upon the minds of those who were well-affected to the ancient royal family : and therefore, to prevent their discontents from breaking out into action, he caressed the prince as well as those of his party. He even insinuated from time to time, that he had accepted the crown purely on account of Edgar's youth, willing they should understand, as if he meant to restore it to the prince when he was of age to govern. With this view he created him earl of Oxford, and seemed to take a very particular care of his education, as it were to qualify him for the government of the kingdom.

Harold's behaviour to Edgar.

Morcard drives Toston to his ships. Sax. Ann. Malmsh.

Mean while Morcard, accompanied with his brother Edwin, earl of Chester, marched with all expedition against Toston, who was now on the south-side of the Humber. He came upon him unawares in Lincolnshire, and put his little army to flight, compelling him to betake himself to his ships. Toston finding he could do nothing considerable with so small a number of forces, steered towards Scotland, in expectation

^o It consisted of sixty ships. Malmsh. p. 94. Sax. Annal. Others say of forty. Brompt. Mat. Westm.

of assistance from thence. But perceiving the king of Scotland was not disposed to support him, he puts to sea again, with design to make another descent on England. Prevented by contrary winds, he was driven on the coast of Norway, where he accidentally met with what he had been seeking so industriously. He is driven to Norway. Sax. Ann,

Harold Harfager king of Norway, had lately taken some of the Orcaades^p, which belonged to Scotland, and was fitting out a more numerous fleet in order to carry on his conquests. Toston being informed of this prince's designs, went directly to him, pretending he was come to propose to him a more noble undertaking. He represented to him, that a favourable opportunity offered to conquer England, if he would but turn his arms that way. The better to persuade him, he told him, there were in the kingdom two powerful factions, both enemies to the king, the one for prince Edgar, the other for the duke of Normandy; and therefore, the English being thus divided, it would not be difficult to subdue them. Adding, that he himself had a strong party in Northumberland, which would very much promote the execution of this design. He made him believe the king his brother was extremely odious to the English, and would be certainly deserted by them, as soon as there appeared in England a foreign army strong enough to support his enemies. Harfager, greedy of fame, and already devouring in his imagination so noble a prize, wanted not much solicitation to engage in this project. Prepossessed by Toston of the practicableness of the thing, he resolved to employ all his forces in making so glorious a conquest.

^p They are now called the Isles of Orkney. Whatever the ancients have said of their number, there are but twenty-six inhabited, the rest are used only for pasturage, and are called Holmes. Orkney lies north of Caithness, in the latitude of fifty-nine and sixty degrees. Eagles are in such plenty here, and do so much mischief, that whoever kills one, is entitled to a hen from every house in the parish. The largest of these isles is Mainland, anciently Pomonia, twenty-four miles long, whereon stands the only remarkable town, called Kirkwal, famous for St. Magnus's church, and the bishop of Orkney's palace. The isles were first inhabited by the Picts, who kept possession of them till destroyed in 839, by Kenneth II. of Scotland; from which time they were subject to

the Scots, till delivered up by Donald Ban the usurper in 1099, to Magnus king of Norway; but in 1263, they were surrendered to Alexander III. king of Scotland, by treaty with St. Magnus king of Norway, who is said to build the stately cathedral at Kirkwal. They have since remained annexed to the crown of Scotland. In Hoy, one of these isles, lies a stone called Dwarfie Stone, thirty-six foot long, eighteen broad, and nine thick, hollowed by art with a square hole of two foot high for the entry. Within, at one end, is a bed big enough for two men, excellently hewn out of the stone, with a pillow; at the other end is a couch, and in the middle a hearth for a fire, with a hole over it for the chimney. Orkney gives title to an earl.

The duke
of Normandy
prepares
for the in-
vasion of
England.
S. Dunelm.
Camden.
M. West.
Ingulph.

Whilst the king of Norway was making his preparations, the duke of Normandy was no less seriously thinking of means to wrest from Harold a crown, he had so long been in expectation of, and which he could not bear to see on his head without extreme regret. Though his rival, in all appearance, was firmly seated in his throne, the duke imagined he was able to pull him down, since the way by arms was still open, when all other methods failed. However, to proceed regularly, he sent ambassadors to Harold, to require him to deliver him up the crown, and in case of refusal, to charge him with the breach of his oath, and declare war against him. Harold told the ambassadors, " Their master had no manner of right to the crown of England: that supposing the late king had disposed of it in his favour, a thing the English knew nothing of, it was contrary to the laws of the land, which allow not the king to give away the crown according to his fancy, much less to a foreigner. As for his part, he had been elected by those, who had the power of placing the kings on the throne, and therefore could not resign it, without the breach of that trust reposed in him by the English. As for the oath, the violation whereof he was charged with, it having been extorted from him at a time when he had not the power to help himself, it was null and void, by the laws of all the nations in the world. In fine, he added, that he knew how to defend his right against any person that durst dispute it with him." This quarrel being of too great consequence to be decided without a war, each party took such measures as he judged most likely to prove successful ^q.

Duke William continues his preparations. Harold gains the affections of the people. Dunelm. Brompt.

The duke's vexation to be deceived, the desire of revenge, the shame of renouncing his pretensions, and the pleasing hopes of being master of England, spurred him on to use all possible endeavours to succeed in his designs. On the other side, Harold finding he was like to have so formidable an adversary, thought nothing would be of more service to him, than gaining the people to his interests. To this purpose, he made himself more popular than ever. He lessened the taxes, and caused justice to be duly and impartially administered. In fine, he forgot nothing that might serve to confirm his subjects in the esteem and affection they already had for him. His la-

^q Brompton says, duke William sent a second message to king Harold, offering to desist from his claims, provided he would marry his daughter. But this

is very improbable; for besides that our best historians tell us the young lady was dead, it is not likely the duke's ambition would be so easily satisfied.

hour was not in vain. The English, charmed with his first proceedings, which afforded them so pleasant a prospect, resolved to sacrifice their lives and fortunes to support him on the throne to which they had raised him. Duke William, for his part, not being ignorant of the resolution of the English, perceived he had no other way to attain his ends, but by having forces proportionable to those of the enemies he was resolved to attack.

The main difficulty was, to raise a sum of money sufficient for the charge of so great an undertaking. His first method was, to convene an assembly of the states of Normandy, to obtain their concurrence. But he found them very backward to comply with his desires. They told him, that "Normandy Duke William endeavours to raise money.

"having been drained of men and money by the late wars, The states refuse to contribute. Camd. Brit. Normans. Brompton.

"they were so far from being in a condition to think of making new conquests, that they were hardly able to defend their own territories against the attacks of a powerful invader. Besides, how just soever the duke's claim to England might be, they could not see that any advantage would accrue to their country from this expedition. In fine, that they were not obliged by their allegiance to serve in foreign wars, wherein the state had no concern." This stout answer destroying the duke's hopes of raising money in a public way, he bethought himself of an expedient, which succeeded to his wish. This was to borrow money of private persons, and gaining some of the chief men, the rest were inspired with an emulation who should be most zealous in assisting their prince. William Fitz-osbern undertook to fit out forty ships at his own expence. The most wealthy, every one according to his ability, subscribed very large sums: so that the duke by this method raised more money than he could have done by a public tax. But as this was not sufficient, he engaged several of the neighbouring princes to furnish him with troops and transports, on condition of their having lands assigned to them in England after the conquest. He even demanded the assistance of France; but it was not the interest of that crown that the duke of Normandy should become more powerful. Very fortunately, king Philip, who was then a minor under the care of the earl of Flanders, obstructed not his proceedings, which a prince that had been old enough to have known his own interests, would infallibly have done. It France lets him proceed without obstruction.

r The earls of Anjou, Poitou, Maine, Boulogne, and Alan earl of Bretagne. Camd. Introduc.

is true indeed, the court of France endeavoured to dissuade the duke from this enterprize, but to no purpose ^a.

The pope
applauds his
design.
G. Malmsb.
Ingulph.

Mean time duke William, who was too wise not to be sensible of the weakness of his title, omitted nothing that might serve to give it some colour of justice. With this view he bethought himself of an expedient very proper to blind the eyes of the world; which was, to procure the pope's approbation of his undertaking, to whom, it is said, he made a promise of holding the kingdom of England of the apostolic see. However this be, the pope very heartily espoused his cause, and sent him a consecrated banner ^t, as a mark of his approbation. Moreover, willing that all christians should know that religion was concerned in the affair, he solemnly excommunicated all that should dare oppose the duke in the execution of his project. This approbation was of great service to the duke, as it furnished him with means to justify his intended expedition, and at the same time removed the scruples of such, as he was endeavouring to engage in his quarrel. But it had not the same effect in England. Whether the English knew nothing of the pope's excommunication, or looked upon it as a great partiality, it prevented not Harold from equipping a large fleet, and raising a numerous army, with which he resolutely expected his enemy.

Harold dis-
misses his
army upon
a false in-
formation.
Camden.

The charge of keeping so considerable an armament, could not but be very burthenſome to the people, a thing the king would have gladly avoided. After he had in vain expected some months the arrival of Duke William, finding he did not appear, and the autumnal equinox approached, he imagined (pursuant to some false informations he had received) that the duke had deferred his expedition till the spring. Accordingly, he thought he might safely lay up his ships for the winter, and disband his troops ^u, to save an unnecessary expence.

The king of
Norway ra-
vages Nor-
thumb-
land.
S. Daniel.

But as he was returning to London out of Kent, where he had given his last orders for disbanding the army, news was brought him that the king of Norway, accompanied with earl Tofton, was entered the Tyne, with a fleet of five hundred sail ^w. Surprized at this unexpected invasion, he hastily drew his army together again, which were dispersing themselves. But before they were ready to march, the Norwegians had

^a William, and the emperor Henry, entered into a league, by which Henry bounds himself to march with all the German force, against any one that should attack Normandy, during William's expedition into England. P. Daniel.

^t With a golden Agnus Dei, and one of St. Peter's hairs.

^u This was about September 3. R. de Diceto. p. 479. Brompt.

^w Malmsb. Huntingd. and Sax. Ann. say it consisted only of three hundred; and Ingulph says of two hundred.

made a great progress. Having sacked the counties on both sides the Tyne, they put to sea, and entering the Humber, landed their forces on the north side ², and ravaged the country with inexpressible cruelties. Morcard and Edwin endeavoured to stop their career, with some troops levied in haste; but were vanquished, and their whole army destroyed ³. Flushed with this success, the Norwegians advanced towards York, and laid siege to the city, which they quickly became masters of; the inhabitants, who were unprovided with all things necessary for their defence, chusing rather to surrender upon terms, than to expose themselves to certain ruin. Mean while, Harold advanced with all expedition to give the Norwegians battle, who having left their fleet in the Humber, were marching towards the North, to compleat the reduction of Northumberland, before they proceeded to other conquests. As they marched but slowly, and as Harold made all possible haste, he came up with them at Stanford bridge, on the river Derwent, a little below York ⁴. The Norwegians, upon his approach, intrenched themselves in so advantageous a post, that it seemed impossible to force them. They were posted on the other side of the river, where there was no attacking them but by the bridge, of which they were masters. Notwithstanding this, Harold, who was very sensible how much it behoved him to come to a battle, ordered the bridge to be instantly attacked. The Norwegians stoutly defended it, but could not withstand the efforts of the English, though animated by the astonishing valour of one of their own men, who alone defended the bridge against the English army for a considerable time. At length, the brave Norwegian being slain ⁵, Harold became master of the bridge, and passed his army over. Then furiously falling upon the enemy, after an obstinate fight, entirely routed them. There had never been in England an engagement between two so numerous armies, each having no less than threescore thousand men. The battle, which was very bloody, lasted from seven in the morning till three in the afternoon. Harfager and Toston were both slain, and Harold obtained a compleat victory. Of the whole army that came from Norway in five hundred ships, the remains was carried off by Olaüs, son of Harfager, in twenty vessels, with the conqueror's leave. The booty which

Defeats
Morcard
and Edwin.
Sax. Ann.
Brompt.

The battle
of Stanford
bridge.

Malmesb.
Brompt.
Huntingda.

Harfager
and Toston
slain.

x At a place called Richale in the east-riding of Yorkshire. S. Dunelm. Camden.

y The place was Fulford near York. S. Dunelm.

z Which Camden says, is also called

Battle-Bridge, from this engagement between Harold and the Norwegians, In Latin, Pons belli.

a He is said to have killed forty men with his own hand, Brompt.

Malmsh.

was taken upon this occasion was very great, since there was found in the camp all that the Norwegians had brought from home, and all they had plundered in the kingdom^b. But Harold having been so impolitic as to retain the spoil to himself, raised such discontents in his army, as proved of very ill consequence to him afterwards^c. One would think this prince, who was naturally generous, should have secured the hearts of his soldiers, by a liberality which would have cost him nothing, especially at a time when he stood in so great need of their service. But he considered, the expending this booty in the war against the duke of Normandy, would very much ease the people, whose affection he was desirous to preserve at any rate. Nevertheless, he should have considered the gaining the hearts of his soldiers was no less necessary. Doubtless it would have been better for him to cultivate their affection, as he too plainly discovered to his cost on another occasion. It has been often observed, that soldiers are never so little regarded, as when by their bravery they have procured their masters some signal advantages, because their own victories serve to render them useless. But 'tis no less certain, that sooner or later a discontented army give their prince or their general cause to repent of using them ill.

The duke of
Normandy
invades
England.
Sax. Ann.
S. Dunelm.
M. Westm.
Malmsh.

Whilst Harold was busied in the North, in rectifying the disorders occasioned by the Norwegian invasion, the duke of Normandy, who had long waited for a wind at St. Valery, set sail about the end of September, and had a speedy passage to Pevensey^d in Suffex. 'Tis affirmed, that in leaping ashore, he fell all along on his face; at which one of the soldiers said merrily, "See, our duke is taking possession of England," which the duke took as a good omen. No body appearing to oppose his landing, his first care was to run up a fort near the place where he disembarked^e, to favour his retreat in case of necessity. Some however will have it, that he sent his ships back to Normandy, to let his army see they had nothing to trust to but their valour^f. After some days stay at Pevensey, he marched along the shore as far as Hastings^g, where he built

Hastingd.

^b Adam Bremenſis ſays, they took ſo much gold among the ſpoil, that twelve young men could hardly bear it on their ſhoulders. This battle was fought nine days before William the Conqueror landed.

^c It was the cuſtom in thoſe days for all the ſpoils to be fairly divided among the officers and ſoldiers.

^d Now Pemſey. He landed September 29, after having been near a month upon his paſſage. Sax. Ann. Malmsh.

Knigh-ton ſays, that he landed part of his forces at Pevenſey, and the other part at Sandwich.

^e In which he lay ſtill for fifteen days, and kept his ſoldiers from plundering the neighbouring parts. Malmsh.

^f Camden ſays, he ordered his ſhips to be burnt.

^g The chief of the cinque-ports, whoſe Burgeſſes retain the old title of Barons.

a ſtronger

a stronger fort than the former, resolving there to expect his enemy, of whom he had no intelligence. 'Twas here he published a manifesto, showing the reasons of his coming into England; namely, first, to revenge the death of prince Alfred, brother of king Edward. This, if ever any, was a frivolous pretence, since earl Goodwin, the contriver of that murder, was dead, and Harold never charged with it. Secondly, to restore Robert archbishop of Canterbury to his see. This was no better reason than the first; for Robert was banished by the general assembly in Edward's reign, and consequently the present king could not be blamed for it. 'Tis very likely this article was inserted in the manifesto on the pope's account, to serve as a cover for his partiality to the duke. Thirdly, and principally, to offer the English his assistance to punish Harold for presuming to seize the crown, without any right, and directly contrary to his oath. It is to be observed, he made no mention either of Edward's will, or verbal promise, and that his silence on that head renders this third motive very trifling. For indeed, without such a will or promise, what pretence could the duke of Normandy have to concern himself with the affairs of England? Some affirm he founded his right on his kindred to Edward; but he was related to the late king, only by Emma of Normandy, who had never any title to the crown; and besides, he was himself a bastard. But he did not so much build his hopes on his manifesto, as on the strength of his army. He was very sensible, if he obtained the victory, his reasons would be readily admitted. Mean while, not to terrify the English, he charged his army to injure none, but such as were actually in arms against him. But neither this precaution, nor his manifesto gained him any friends. The English could not conceive upon what foundation he had entered the kingdom with an army, or what advantage any one could have by taking his part.

The news of the descent of the Normans was quickly brought to Harold, who was still in the north, little expecting this invasion till the spring. As soon as he was informed of it, he marched to give these new enemies battle, whom he did not think more formidable than the Norwegians. By hasty marches, he came to London, where, upon a review, he found his army very much diminished, not only by the battle of Stamford; but by unusual desertions, occasioned by the discontent of his troops. However, all the nobility of the kingdom repaired to him, and offered their assistance on an occasion where it was no less their interest than his, to repel the foreigners. Whilst he expected at London some of his

He publishes
a manifesto.
Camden.
Brompton.

Harold
comes to
London.
S. Dunelm.

The nobility
come in
to him.

Ambassa-
dors from
the duke,

and from
Harold to
the duke.

Harold en-
camps near
the Nor-
mans.
Malmsh.
M. West.

Gurth's
speech to his
brother.
Malmsh.
M. Westm.

Harold's
answer.

his troops that were behind, duke William sent ambassadors to require him to resign the crown, and to charge him with breach of oath. He was so moved at the haughtiness wherewith the ambassadors addressed him, that he could hardly refrain from using them ill. However, he governed his passion, but in return sent him a menacing and insulting message. The duke patiently heard what Harold ordered to be said to him, and dismissed the ambassadors without any answer.

Mean time, Harold having drawn all his forces together, encamped about nine miles from the Norman army, with a resolution to give them battle. Whilst the two armies lay thus near one another, spies were continually sent out on both sides, each leader being equally desirous to know the strength and posture of his enemies. But the English spies magnified in such a manner the number and discipline of the Normans, that the principal officers began to doubt of the success of the war^b. Gurth, brother to Harold, took occasion from these reports, to persuade the king to defer the battle.

He represented to him, "That by prolonging the time, he would find his army to increase continually, whereas the enemy's forces would daily be diminished. That nothing could annoy the Normans more than wintering in an enemy's country, where they had not yet so much as one fortified town, and from whence, in all probability, they want of necessaries would compel them to retire. That, as he was accused of breach of oath, he had reason to fear, in case he was guilty of the charge, heaven would not prosper his arms: nevertheless, if he was absolutely bent to come to an engagement without any farther delay, it would be most proper for him, not to be present himself in the battle, that he might discourage the enemies with the dread of having a fresh army to deal with, though they were so fortunate as to obtain the victory. In a word, if he would trust him with the command of his forces, he would promise him, not indeed the victory, which was in the hand of God alone, but to die in the defence of his country." The king was deaf to all his brother's reasons, replying, "That by his former actions he had gained the esteem of the English, and therefore could not think of losing it again by an inglorious flight. That he had rather run the hazard of a battle, the success whereof was yet uncertain, than forfeit his reputation, as he should

^b Some of the spies took the Normans to be an army of priests, because they were shaven, it being the custom then among the English to wear long beards. Mat. West.

“ most assuredly do, if after so near an approach to the
 “ enemy, he should be known to withdraw. That after all,
 “ the Normans were not more formidable than the Nor-
 “ wegians; and if he was to fight, he could not do it at
 “ a better time, than whilst his army was flushed with their
 “ late success. In short, that he was resolved to let his sub-
 “ jects see he was not unworthy of the crown he wore.”
 Duke William perceiving by all Harold's motions, that he was
 bent to give him battle, advanced a little to seize an advan-
 tageous post, where he could conveniently draw up his army.

Whilst they were preparing for a battle, which was to
 decide the fate of both princes, duke William seemed to
 abate something of his haughtiness. It is to be presumed, the
 thoughts of a battle in an enemy's country, where his loss
 would be irretrievable, inspired him with some dread of the
 event. On the other hand, he could not well forbear re-
 flecting on the blood that was going to be shed in a quarrel,
 the justice whereof he could not be thoroughly convinced of,
 how much soever he seemed to be so. Be this as it will, The duke
sends pro-
posals to
Harold.
 before they engaged, he sent the king by the hands of a cer-
 tain monk these four proposals, for him to take his choice.
 The first was, to resign the crown, as he was bound by oath.
 By the second, he offered to return into Normandy, provided
 Harold would do him homage for the kingdom of England.
 By the third, he was ready to refer the differences to the
 judgment of the apostolic see. Lastly, he proposed the de-
 ciding of their quarrel by a single combat. It is no wonder
 Harold rejected these four proposals, seeing they were all so
 advantageous to the duke. As for the two first, it is visible,
 how detrimental they were to Harold. The third seemed
 something fairer; but the pope having already declared in fa-
 vour of the duke, what justice could Harold expect from him?
 As for the fourth, the advantage plainly lay on the duke's
 side, since in a single combat, he hazarded only his person,
 whereas Harold ventured his crown with his life. The victory
 would have procured the duke of Normandy a noble kingdom,
 whereas it would have only acquired the king the glory of con-
 quering. Besides, Harold was of opinion, the decision of an
 affair, where the whole nation was concerned, ought not to
 depend on the strength and skill of a single arm. His answer
 therefore was, God should determine on the morrow the justice
 of their rights. Malmsh.
M. West.

The English spent the whole night in carousing and sing-
 ing, as if they were sure of the victory. The Normans, on
 the contrary, were employed in preparing for the battle, and
 offering up prayers to God for success. At length, on the
 14th The battle
of Hastings.
Malmsh.
M. Westm.

14th of October, Harold's birth-day, but much more memorable for one of the greatest events that ever happened in England, the two armies engaged. In the front of the English stood the Kentish men, a privilege they had enjoyed ever since the time of the Heptarchy. Harold placed himself in the center, and would fight on foot, that his men might be the more encouraged, by seeing their king exposed to equal danger with the meanest soldier. The Normans were drawn up in three bodies. Montgomery and Fitz-obern conducted the first. Geoffrey Martel commanded the second, and the duke himself headed the body of reserve, to succour those who should most want it¹. The Normans began to fight with a volley of arrows, which being shot upward, were like a thick cloud over the heads of the foremost body of the English. As their ranks were very close, the arrows did great execution.

The victory
a long time
doubtful.

The English not being used to this way of fighting, were at first put into some little disorder. The Normans willing to take advantage of it, vigorously attacked them. But the English immediately falling into good order again, gave them so warm a reception, that they were obliged to draw back and take breath. Quickly after, they renewed the attack, but met with as brave a resistance as before, neither was it in their power to break their enemy's ranks. The English chusing rather to die than give way, and the Normans ashamed to retreat, both sides fought stoutly for a considerable time, without either gaining ground. The presence of their leaders animated the soldiers, they every where fought with equal bravery, without the least signs of advantage on either side. We may judge of the valour of the troops in both armies by the length of the fight, which began at seven in the morning, and lasted till night.

The duke's
stratagem.]
Hupitingd.

I shall not take upon me fully to describe this bloody battle. I find so much confusion in the accounts of the historians, that I dare not flatter myself with being able to give a clear and distinct notion of the thing. I shall content myself therefore with the mention of two circumstances, which all historians unanimously agree, gave the Normans the victory. The fight had lasted all day, and the success was yet very uncertain, when duke William bethought himself of a stratagem, which made victory incline to his side. This prince,

¹ The chief of William's generals were, Eustace earl of Boulogne, William Fitz-Richard, earl of Evreux, Geoffrey son of Rotrou earl of Mortaigne, Robert son of Roger earl of Beaumont, Almeri de Touars, Hugh earl of Exuples, Walter Giffard, Hugh de Grentemesnil, and William de Warren. P. Daniel.

who

who was very experienced, perceiving there was no breaking the ranks of the English, ordered his troops to retreat as they fought, as if they were discouraged, but withal, to be very careful to keep their ranks. This order being executed, the English looked upon the enemies retreat as the beginning of their victory. Possessed with this notion, they encouraged one another with reiterated shouts, to press the retiring enemies. Their eagerness made them break their ranks, that they might push them with the greatest impetuosity, imagining they were upon the point of taking to flight. Then it was, that the Normans, finding their stratagem had taken effect, stood their ground, and by a discipline they had long been used to, closed their ranks, and falling on the disordered English, made a terrible slaughter of them. Harold, enraged to see the victory, which a moment before he thought himself sure of, snatched out of his hands, used his utmost endeavours to rally his disordered troops: His labour was not altogether in vain, for at last he drew up, on a rising ground at a little distance from the field of battle, a good body of foot, which became at length very considerable; by being continually joined by the flying troops. The duke of Normandy's victory being yet far from complete, whilst so strong a body of the English kept together, he ordered them to be attacked with great fury. But the English received them with that bravery, and the Normans lost such numbers of their men, that the fortune of the day seemed still very doubtful. The approach of the night, and the resolution of the English, making the duke despair of penetrating their ranks, he began to think himself conquered, since he was not entirely victorious. Probably, the English army might have retreated in good order, by favour of the night, if Harold could have resolved to leave his enemy in possession of the field of battle, at a time when the loss on both sides was pretty equal. But apprehending his retreat might be prejudicial to his affairs, and derogatory to his reputation, he would maintain his post, and not give the enemy that advantage. Besides, he was in hopes of rallying his whole army during the night, and renewing the fight the next morning.

Mean time, the duke perceiving the night was like to rob him of the glory of a complete victory, made one effort more to drive the English from their post. In this last onset, Harold was slain by an arrow shot into his brains*. His

* R. de Diceto and Huntingd. say, but the multitude rushing on made an effort that Harold was not killed outright, and of him,

and the Eng-
lish entirely
routed.
Malmsh.
Hunting.

troops disheartened at this fatal accident, began to give ground, and betake themselves to flight. Thus Harold's death was the second thing that procured the Normans the victory, and put the English entirely to rout. They were pursued as long as day lasted; and in this pursuit it was, that a terrible slaughter was made, the conquerors killing without mercy all they could overtake, to save the trouble of guarding the prisoners. The darkness of the night however saved a good part of the English army, who retreated under the conduct of Morcard and Edwin. These two lords, who had all along firmly adhered to Harold, seeing he was slain, as well as Gurth and Lewin his brothers, submitted at length to providence, having given, the whole day, visible marks of their valour. This long and bloody battle cost the duke of Normandy six thousand men¹; but the English lost a much greater number^m.

3. Dunelm.

Malmsh.

Duke William, at the height of his wishes, gave orders for the whole army to fall on their knees, and return God thanks for so signal a victory. After discharging so just a duty, he caused his tent to be pitched in the field of battle, and spent the residue of the night among the slain. On the morrow he ordered his own dead to be buried, and gave the English peasants leave to do the same office for the others. The bodies of the king and his brothers being found, he sent them to Gith their mother, who gave them as honourable a burial as the circumstance of the time would permit, in Waltham-Abby, founded by the king her sonⁿ.

Harold's
character.

Thus fell Harold, sword in hand, in defence not only of his own, but of his country's cause, against the ambition of the duke of Normandy. The historians, who wrote in the reigns of the conqueror and his sons, have endeavoured to blacken the memory of Harold, to justify, in some measure,

¹ He had three horses killed that day under him, without losing one drop of his blood. Malmsh.

^m This battle was fought near Heathfield in Suffex, in the place where the town of Battle now stands, so called from this day's action, wherein our modern historians say were slain above three-score thousand Englishmen.

ⁿ An ancient manuscript in the Cottonian library relates, that the king's body was hard to be known by reason of its being covered with wounds, but was at last discovered by one who had been his mistress, by the means of cer-

tain private marks known only to herself. The duke sent the body to his mother without any ransom, though she is said to have offered him its weight in gold. But though all others agree that Harold fell in this battle, yet Knighton from Giraldus Cambrensis asserts he was not slain, but escaping retired to a cell near St. John's church in Chester, and died there an anchorite, as was owned by himself in his last confession when he lay a dying. In memory whereof they shewed his tomb when Knights wrote.

the

the ambition of the duke. But all they have said against this last Saxon king, tends only to the imputation of breach of oath, on which we have seen what he alledged in his own vindication. He might have been much more justly blamed for his secret practices, in procuring prince Edgar to be excluded from the throne, who alone had a right to aspire to it. But the sticklers for the duke took care not to dwell on that head, since their reproaches against Harold would have touched the duke no less than his adversary. However this be, Harold may be said to have been more worthy of the crown, had he been less forward to obtain it. He gained the love and esteem of the English whilst he was but a private man, and acted nothing during his short reign ^o, which tended to lessen their affection. He fought, within the space of a few days, two great battles, with very different success. In the first, his conduct and valour procured him a signal victory over the king of Norway; and his unhappy success in the last, must be wholly ascribed to his ill fortune. As for his other personal qualities, he was honest, obliging, affable, exceeding generous, in a word, he was endowed with all the virtues which form a great prince.

Harold was twice married. By his first wife, whose name ~~His wife~~ is unknown, he had three sons, Edmund, Goodwin, and Magnus, who retired into Ireland after the death of their father. By his second wife, Algitba, sister of Morcard and Edwin, he had a son called Wolf, who was but a child at the time of the battle of Hastings, and was afterwards knighted by William Rufus. By this second marriage, he had also two daughters; of whom Gunilda, the eldest, falling blind, passed her days in a nunnery. The youngest was married to Waldemar king of Russia, by whom she had a daughter, who was wife to Waldemar king of Denmark ^p.

Thus ended in England the empire of the Anglo-Saxons, which began above six hundred years before in the person of Hengist the first king of Kent. We shall see in the following book how England fell under the dominion of the Normans.

^o Of nine months and nine days. Denmark of that name. From whom
^p Tyrrel says, (from Speed) she was the Danish king for many ages after
 mother to Waldemar the first king of succeeded.

STATE of the CHURCH.

FROM THE

Reign of **ETHELRED II.** to the Norman Conquest; that is, from 979, to 1066.

State of the
Church:

AFTER having seen what passed in England from the beginning of the reign of Ethelred II. to the end of the dominion of the Saxons, it is not to be expected that this period should afford much matter for an ecclesiastical history: in general, this century may be termed the age of ignorance, with respect to all Europe, but more especially with regard to England. If there was occasion, it would be very difficult to assign the causes of this universal ignorance, not only in this kingdom, but in all other christian states. But it will suffice to alledge one, peculiar to England; I mean the wars the kingdom was perpetually troubled with. The arms of the pagans, which triumphed throughout the whole kingdom, scarce left the English the liberty of professing their religion, and consequently, our knowledge of the affairs of the church in those days must be very imperfect. Accordingly, I shall confine what I have to say on this subject to a few heads, concerning the doctrines, councils, some particulars relating to certain sees, and the most noted persons among the clergy.

The sense of
the church
of England
relating to
the eucha-
rist.

What attempts soever have been made at sundry times to prove the antiquity of transubstantiation, it could never be shown to be the doctrine of the church of England, before the time I am speaking of. On the contrary, it evidently appears from the homilies or sermons which were read in the churches for the instruction of the people, that the church in those days was very far from believing any such thing. There is still extant a translation of those homilies^q, ascribed to Elfric, who lived under Ethelred II. from whence any man may be convinced, that the church of England was then of a quite

^q These homilies are in Latin styled *sermões Catholici*; the translation of them into old English is preserved in the

Bodleian Library, and in that of Bennet College in Cambridge.

contrary opinion. But that the reader may judge for himself, I shall lay before him an extract of one of these homilies relating to this subject:

“ There is a great difference between the invisible virtue Extract of a Saxon homily on this subject.
 “ of this sacrament, and what it appears to us in the qualities of its own nature. In its own nature 'tis corruptible bread and wine; but by virtue of the divine institution, 'tis truly the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, after consecration, not in a corporeal but spiritual manner. The body in which Jesus Christ suffered, and the eucharistical body, are widely different. The first was born of the blessed Virgin, and consisted of blood, bones, nerves, limbs, animated with a rational soul. But the body which we call eucharistical, is made up of several grains of wheat. It has neither blood, bone, nerve, limb, nor soul in it. We are therefore not to form any corporeal idea of it, but to understand it wholly in a spiritual sense. In the eucharist, whatever repairs our nature, and forms us to a better life, proceeds entirely from a mystic virtue, and spiritual operation. For this reason the eucharist is called a sacrament, because one thing appears to our senses, and another to our understanding. What in the sacrament is the object of sight, has a corporeal figure: but what is represented to our understanding, has a spiritual force and efficacy. Moreover, the body of Christ, who suffered and rose from the dead, is eternal and impassible, and no more subject to decay or death; whereas the eucharist is not eternal, but corruptible, subject to the force of time, and divisible into many parts. 'Tis ground by the teeth, and passes through the common channels of the body; but notwithstanding, the spiritual efficacy of it remains in every part. A great many persons receive this holy body or eucharist, and yet the multitude of receivers weakens not the force of the operation, the virtue of the sacrament being lodged in every part of what is consecrated, the least part having as much efficacy as the greatest. The reason is, because the virtue does not operate in proportion to the corporeal magnitude, but by means of the divine institution.

“ The sacrament is a type and pledge, but the body of our Lord Jesus Christ is the truth and reality of the representation. God has vouchsafed to give us this pledge or earnest, till we come to the truth itself, and then the pledge will disappear. For, as hath been observed, the holy Eucharist is the body of Jesus Christ not corporeally but spi-

- 1 Cor. x. " ritually". The apostle St. Paul, speaking of the Israelites
 " has these words: I would not that you should be igno-
 " rant, how that all our fathers were under the cloud, and
 " passed through the sea; and were all baptized unto Moses,
 " in the cloud and in the sea; and did all eat the same spi-
 " ritual meat, and did all drink the same spiritual drink: for
 " they drank of the spiritual rock that followed them, and that
 " rock was Christ. That rock, from whence the water
 " flowed, was not Christ in reality, but a type and represen-
 " tation of Jesus Christ, who made this gracious declaration
 John vii. 38. " to all the faithful: If any man thirst, let him come to me
 " and drink; and out of his belly shall flow rivers of living
 " water. By this he understood the Holy Ghost, which
 " those that believed on him should receive. The Apostle
 " declares, that the children of Israel, who were in the wil-
 " derness, eat the same spiritual meat, and drank the same
 " spiritual drink, because the manna, with which they were
 " supported forty years together, and the water which flow-
 " ed from the rocks, were types of the body and blood of
 " Jesus Christ, which are daily offered in the church. That
 " manna and that water were the same which we now offer,
 " not corporeally, but spiritually. To understand this, ob-
 " serve that our Lord Jesus Christ, before his passion, conse-
 " crated the bread and wine into the sacrament of the eucha-
 " rist, and said, This is my body; This is my blood: al-
 " though his passion was not over when he pronounced these
 " words, yet by a mystical operation, he changed the bread
 " into his body, and the wine into his blood, just as he had
 " done in the wilderness before his incarnation, when he
 " turned the manna into his flesh, and the water that flowed
 " from the rock, into his own blood."

Anglia
 Sacra, vol. i.
 p. 125.

As this explanation is a clear evidence, that at the time this homily was penned, the church of England believed not transubstantiation, so it is no less manifest that Elfric, who translated it into Latin, was of the same opinion with the author. 'Tis true, there is some dispute about the person of the translator. Some believe him to be Elfric archbishop of Canterbury. Others say it was Elfric the grammarian, surnamed Putta, who was archbishop of York. But which ever of the two it was, they both lived in the reign of Ethelred II. and neither of them was ever accused of herodoxy. But as it might be objected, that Elfric was not of the same opinion with the author, whom he translated, though that is not very likely, the contrary is evident from the following words of

r Non corporaliter sed spiritualiter.

the

the same Elfric, in one of his letters to the clergy, "The sacrifice of the eucharist is not the body in which our Saviour suffered for us, nor the blood he shed for our sakes; but 'tis the same body and the same blood spiritually, just as the manna was which fell from heaven, and the water which flowed from the rock." 'Tis therefore most certain, from the testimony of a prelate, who was at the head of the church of England, that the doctrine of transubstantiation was not introduced into that church in the time of Ethelred II. who ascended the throne in 979. There is no way to evade the force of this proof, but by asserting the homily to be spurious. But this is much easier said than proved.

It is not the same with regard to the invocation of the blessed virgin, and of the saints in glory, since, on the contrary, we find it was practised in England in this very century. This is manifest from Canute the Great's charter to the abbey of Glasenbury, where there is mention of the blessed virgin, and all the other saints. But as the authority of the charters of those days is not equally admitted by all, the same thing may be proved from a public litany then read in the church. Here we see that after the invocation of the holy Trinity, these words are thrice repeated, O holy Mary, pray for us: After which the angels and saints were addressed to [by name]. It is to be observed, when this practice was first introduced, the application to the blessed virgin and saints was not so direct; "May the holy virgin the mother of God, and all the saints intercede for us." These are the words in the public office of canonical hours used by the Anglo-Saxons. This office, which is in Latin, affords this remark, that although the lessons, prayers, psalms, lord's prayer and creed, are in the same tongue, yet at the end of each article of verse, there follows a Saxon translation in a paraphrastical way, that the people might understand what was said.

Among the canons, which go under the name of Elfric, Elfric's canons. who lived in the reign of Ethelred II, the XXXIII^d obliges Spelman. priests to have by them two sorts of consecrated oil, one for Conc. children, and another for the sick; and enjoins that the sick Tom. I. should be always anointed upon their beds, and should con- P. 572

"Sancta Dei Genetrix virgo Maria & omnes sancti Dei intercedant pro nobis peccatoribus ad dominum, ut mereamur ab eo adjuvari & salvari, qui vivis & regnas Deus." Now this amounts to no more than a wish for their intercession, and is far from a direct invocation. This office is translated by Mr. Elphinstone. Immediate address, as far as we can discover, did not prevail in England till the tenth century: At which time, in the homily of the assumption of the Blessed Virgin, there is a direct prayer to the Blessed Virgin to intercede for them. Coll. Eccl. Hist. p. 214.

Extreme
unction.

fels themselves before the ceremony of anointing passed upon them, which no priest was to presume to perform till desired by the sick person. Whence it may be inferred, they did not stay till the sick were in their last agonies, before they administered the extreme unction ^t.

In the XXXIII^d canon, the four first general councils ^u are put upon the same foot with the four gospels; but those of later ages are not of so great authority. Hence 'tis evident that the author of these canons did not think all the general councils were infallible. Had he been of this opinion, he would not have given a greater authority to the four first than to the other councils ^v.

From the beginning of the reign of Ethelred II, to the Norman conquest, we find in the ecclesiastical history of England but two councils. In all appearance, the wars with the Danes prevented the bishops from assembling more frequently, or rather were the reason that the acts of these conventions are lost. Both these councils ^x, one at Engsham, and the other at Haba, were held, whilst Elphegus was archbishop. The most remarkable canons are as follow.

The synod
of Engsham,
Spelman,
Conc.
Tom. I.
p. 513.

In the council of Engsham, the II^d canon enjoins the ce-
libacy of the clergy.

The IXth forbids all persons to do any wrong to the church, or eject a clergyman out of his benefice without the consent of the bishop.

By the XVIIth, every Friday was to be a fast, unless it fell upon a holiday ^y.

The XXth enjoins frequent confessions, and the people are ordered to receive the sacrament three times, at least, in a year ^z.

Synod of
Haba.

The council of Haba has but one canon worth notice. By the second, every christian was obliged to fast three days with bread and water, before the feast of St. Michael, and to distribute among the poor what he should have eaten in these three days.

^t The XXIII^d orders the priest to read, on sundays and holydays, the Gospel, the Lord's Prayer, and Creed in English.

^u Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon.

^v This is directly opposite to the doctrine of the modern church of Rome, which pays the same submission to the decrees of the council of Trent as of Nice, and reckons the church in all ages alike infallible.

^x They were made up of Seculars as well as Ecclesiasticks, and the constitutions passed there related both to church and state. Coll. Eccl. Hist. p. 208.

^y The XIXth enjoins widows to stay twelve months after the death of their husbands, before they marry again.

^z The XXIII^d orders, that the yearly naval expedition be performed sooner after Easter.

This

This is all worth remarking in these two synods. But to supply the want of councils we have the ecclesiastical laws of Canute the Great, and Edward the Confessor; some of which I shall insert to shew the great regard these two princes had for the clergy. The following ones are Canute's^a.

The IVth enjoins all christians to pay great respect to the clergy, because their sacerdotal functions are extremely beneficial to the people. Canute's
Ecclesiasti-
cal laws.

By the Vth, if a priest was accused of any crime, he had the liberty of purging himself by saying mass, and receiving the eucharist.

The XIIth recommends celibacy to the clergy, and ranks them among the Thanes of the second class, that is, among the gentry^b.

The XXth ordains, that at funerals the dues shall be paid upon the breaking up of the ground; and that the dues shall be paid to the parish the deceased belonged to, though he was buried elsewhere.

The XXIIId enjoins the observance of Sunday from Saturday three a-clock in the afternoon, till Monday break of day.

The XXIIIId determines the times of fasting, and places the vigils of the festivals of the blessed virgin, and of the apostles among the fasts.

There are several others relating to the payment of tythes and peter-pence, the violators of the privileges of the clergy, and the like in favour of the church.

It is likewise decreed by these laws, that every christian should learn the Lord's Prayer, and the Apostles Creed; otherwise, they were allowed neither to stand godfather, nor receive the communion, nor have christian burial.

The ecclesiastical laws of Edward the Confessor run chiefly upon the protection of the church and clergy.

The Ist forbids the molesting a clergyman contrary to the tenour of the privileges of the church.

The IId appoints certain days, whereon all proceedings in the courts of justice were to cease. Ecclesiasti-
cal laws of
Edward,
Spelman, p.
625.

By the IIIId, the church's causes are to be tried first.

^a In the preamble, it is said these laws were drawn up at Winchester by the advice of the wise men of the nation, that is, the prelates and nobles.

^b This in Dr. Wilkins is the Vth.

The law says, if a priest abstains from a woman, may God have mercy upon him, and let him have the worldly honour of a Thane. Wilkins, p. 129. c. 6.

THE HISTORY

The IVth firmly establishes the immunities of those who in any wise depend on the church, and ordains that they shall not be obliged to answer any plea, &c. except in the ecclesiastical court.

The Vth confirms the privilege of sanctuary to churches, and extends it even to priests' houses.

By the VIth, if any person broke in upon the privileges of the church, he had no way to get off, but by submitting to the sentence of the bishop.

The VIIth orders the punctual payment of tythes, and sets forth what is to be paid.

The IXth determines the circumstances relating to the ordeal trial.

The XIIth settles the fine of Manbote, or the sum to be paid to the Lord for killing any of his vassals or slaves. The king's, and the archbishop's Manbote is fixed at the same sum.

By the XIIIth all found treasure belongs to the king, unless it be found in a church or church-yard; then the gold is the king's, and the silver the church's.

It is visible throughout these laws, that the clergy took care of themselves, when they met with devout and easy princes, or such as stood in need of their interest.

Elections of
bishops and
abbots.

But notwithstanding the great condescension of the Saxon kings for the clergy, they could not retain the privilege of choosing their bishops and abbots. Whilst the prelates confined themselves within the bounds of their pastoral functions, and meddled not with civil matters, the power of electing was freely left to the chapters. But when the bishops were become rich and popular, and began to interpose in state-affairs, by reason of the fiefs they were possessed of, it was of great consequence to the kings, to have such bishops and abbots as were in their interest, or at least, were obliged to them for their preferments. Accordingly, the kings began to interpose in elections, by way of canvassing, or recommendation, and very often by refusing to put in possession of the fiefs belonging to the church or abbey, such prelates and abbots as they did not like. In fine, the authority of the court by degrees prevailed so, that in the time of Ethelred II, the monks had entirely lost the privilege of choosing their abbots, as appears from Ingulphus. "In those days, says he, the monks and abbots seldom resorted to court. But ever since the kings have dis-

Ingulph.
p. 63.

c The original law in Dr. Wilkins, the silver, and the other half goes to the lay, the gold is all the king's and half church.

"posed

"posed of the Abbies, the Monks have made interest with the courtiers, which sometimes cost them very dear." This historian loudly complains of this abuse, though he himself was installed in the abbey of Croyland by the same method, that is, by the sole will and pleasure of William the Conqueror.

There were but two removals of bishops sees within the period I am going over. The see of Kirton in Wessex^d was removed to Exeter^e, and the see of Lindsarn, in Northumberland to Durham. Aldhun bishop of Lindsarn, being disturbed in that little island by the incursions of the Danes, resided at Durham, carrying with him the relicts of St. Cuthbert. He built a cathedral, and fixed his see there, where it has remained to this day^f.

In 981, the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury acquired a new jurisdiction in Wales. Gucan, a Welch priest, being chosen bishop of Landaff, and consecrated by archbishop Dunstan, this precedent was followed by his successors, who like him owned the archbishop of Canterbury for their metropolitan. Some infer from hence, that all the British bishops at the same time owned the superiority of the church of Rome. But this consequence cannot be admitted. It is certain the bishop of St. David's all along exercised the archiepiscopal functions in Wales, till the time of Henry I, and that without the ornament of the pall, the mark of submission to the pope.

As the archbishops of Canterbury and York made the greatest figure among the English prelates, during the last period of the Saxon monarchy, it will not be amiss briefly to carry down the succession of each of these sees. This will be of service towards clearing what has been already, or shall be hereafter related of the affairs of the church.

Ethelgar, Dunstan's successor, was archbishop but one year and three months, and was succeeded by Siricius. This

^d Crediton or Kirton stands on the Creden in Devonshire; there are now no footsteps of its having been a bishop's see, but a great meadow called My Lord's Meadow.

^e This city stands on the river called Ife by the Britons, and Ex by the Saxons, whence the name Iſca and Exancester. The Welsh call it to this day Caerſc. It was made a bishop's see by Edward the Confessor, in 1048. Leofric a Burgundian was the first bi-

shop. Here are sixteen churches. The organ in the cathedral is the largest in England, the greatest pipe being fifteen inches diameter. The city is about a mile and half in compass.

^f Durham being almost surrounded with the river Were, was called by the Saxons, Dunholme, Dun signifying a hill (the city being seated on one) and Holme, that is, a river island; it was built about the year 995.

Translations of sees.

S. Dunelm.

The bishops of Landaff first consecrated by the archbishop of Canterbury.

Succession of the archbishops of Canterbury. Malmab. de Pontific. Gervasii. A.G. Pent.

prelate

Osbern.
Hoveden.
Zadmer.

A great
change in
St. Augus-
tin's mo-
nastery.
Gavern.

prelate is blamed by all historians, for advising Ethelred to give money to the Danes, which served only to allure them hither, instead of keeping them away. But perhaps they who exclaim against him most, would have given the same advice, had they been in his place. Elfric, translator of the Saxon Homilies, succeeded him in 995, and was followed in 1006, by Elphegus, who was murdered by the hands of the Danes. Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury in the conqueror's time, very much questioned whether Elphegus might properly be called a martyr, since he was not massacred on account of religion, but only because he would not consent the people of his diocese should be taxed to pay his ransom. Anselm, Abbot of Bec, whom he consulted on this occasion, told him, he who chose to die rather than to do an unjust thing, received by his death the crown of martyrdom. Livingus succeeded Elphegus in 1013. He was kept prisoner some time by the Danes, and after the recovery of his liberty, retired into France till the storm was over. Afterwards, he returned to his see, and died in 1020. Egelnoth, called the Good, was his successor. In the time of these two archbishops, St. Augustin's monastery was much degenerated, by the licentious lives of the monks, who indeed wore the religious habit, but with little observance of the rule. The cause of this alteration was, the massacring of all the monks, except four, when Canterbury was taken by the Danes. The secular clergy, who afterwards supplied the place of the dead monks, were willing to enjoy the revenues and privileges of the monastery, but not to be tied to the rule observed there before. They took greater liberties than the old monks, and gave the title of Dean to their superior, instead of that of Abbot, which remained till the time of archbishop Lanfranc, who changed it into Prior. But to return to Egelnoth. This prelate raised the see of Canterbury to its former lustre, being supported by Canute the great, with whom he was much in favour^s. He was succeeded by Edsius, who had been king Harold's chaplain^s. He governed the church till the year 1050, either by himself, whilst his health permitted, or by a

g Egelnoth, who was archbishop seventeen years, refused to crown king Harold, telling him he was enjoined by Canute his father to set the crown upon none but the issue of queen Emma. Then laying the crown on the altar, he denounced an imprecation against any bishop that should venture

to perform the ceremony. Harpsfield. This, if true, is another argument against Canute's will.

h Edsius crowned or anointed king Edward the Confessor, on Easter-day, and then preached upon the occasion. Sax. Ann. MLXII. This is the first coronation-sermon we meet with.

chore-

chorepiscopus, when disabled by sickness. This chorepiscopus, who exercised all the archiepiscopal functions, resided at St. Martin's in the Fields¹. Robert, a Norman monk, made bishop of London by Edward the Confessor, was by the same prince promoted to the see of Canterbury after Edsius. He was driven from thence in the manner before related, and banished the kingdom by an assembly-general, and Stigand, bishop of Winchester, placed in his room. Robert appealed to the pope against these proceedings; but Stigand, notwithstanding the appeal, and without staying for the pope's determination, who for that reason suspended him, got himself consecrated. But, notwithstanding his suspension, and though he had never applied to Rome for the pall, he exercised all the metropolitical functions, till he was deposed in William the Conqueror's time². Very probably, in those days, the English were not of opinion that the archbishops elect could not exercise their functions till the pope was pleased to empower them, or that the pope's bare suspension was sufficient to put a stop to their acting as primates.

The succession of the archbishops of York was as follows. After the death of Oswald¹, Adulph succeeded him in 993, and governed his church till 1002, when by his death he made room for Wulfstan II. who, after twenty-one years, was succeeded by Elfric Putta, surnamed the Grammarian, thought by some to be the author of the translation of the Saxon Homilies. To him succeeded Kinfius², in 1050; after whom came Aldred, who was alive at the conquest.

Among the bishops of note in those days, Wulfstan, bishop of Worcester, was a person of an extraordinary character in some men's opinion, though Lanfranc thought him unqualified for the office of a bishop, for his stupidity and want of learning. But this is not the first time that weak men have been made to pass for saints. This prelate being consecrated by Aldred, archbishop of York, made his profession of canonical obedience to Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, tho

¹ Near Canterbury. Gervas. The archbishops formerly had a Chorepiscopus, or assistant; but this office was extinguished by Lanfranc. Coll. Eccl. Hist.

² Malmsbury says, he procured a pall five years after from Bennet the antipope, de Gest. Pontiff. l. 3. He was imprisoned at Winchester by William I. where he died. Malmsb.

¹ He was buried at St. Mary's in

Worcester, which he built. Stubbs, m Chaplain to Edward the Confessor: Stubbs says, he ordained one Magfues bishop of Glasgow, and John his successor, and received an acknowledgment of his metropolitical jurisdiction in writing, which was lost with many other instruments, when York was set on fire by the Normans soon after the Conquest.

Cressy,
p. 984.

suspended by the pope. To account for this disregard of the pope's suspension, it is pretended the submission was made to the see of Canterbury, and not to the person of Stigand: but when such assertions are advanced, they should be supported with some authorities, whereas this here is destitute of all.

Edmund bi-
shop of Dur-
ham.
S. Dunelm,
p. 30.

Edmund, bishop of Durham, was remarkable for the manner of his election. The chapter of Durham being met to elect a bishop, and not being able to agree upon their man, Edmund, a priest of that church, said jestingly, that since they were at a loss whom to chuse, they had as good take him and make him a bishop. As miracles were then much in-vogue, the chapter looked upon this motion as a divine impulse, and so unanimously agreed to elect him. Edmund became famous for his courage and boldness in reprimanding vice, even in persons of the highest birth and stations.

English
missionaries
in Sweden.
Jo. Magn.
lib. xvii.
cap. 19, 20.
Loccenius
Hist. Suec.

We must also reckon in the number of illustrious persons of that age certain English ecclesiastics, who flourished in Sweden and Norway. Olaus Scot-Kunung, king of Sweden, designing to turn Christian, desired Ethelred to send him some missionaries to instruct him in the gospel. Sigefrid, arch-deacon of York (and not archbishop, as a Swedish writer will have it), Eskil, Gunichild, Rudolf, and Bernard or David, undertook this mission. Sigefrid was made bishop of Wexia, a city in the province of Smaland in Sweden, and baptised Olaus. Some say however he received baptism at the hands of Bernard; but this is not very material. The greatest part of these missionaries were martyred by the pagans to whom they preached.

Sax. Gram.
lib. x.

I have spoken elsewhere, though in a very general manner, of the division of the kingdom into parishes. But since I am come to the end of the Saxon empire, it will not be foreign

o Through the laziness or ignorance of the monks, the only writers in those days, we have but few historians from Aſſer to the Norman conquest. Next to Aſſer was Ethelwerd, who wrote in the reign of Edgar, and lived till 1090, though he did not continue his Chronicle so far. He was (as he himself says) descended from the blood royal. His works consist of four books, which were published by Sir H. Savil. Bishop Nicolson says, the whole is an imperfect translation of the Saxon Annals. His style is boisterous and obscure, and in some places hardly sense; and there-

fore but of little use, unless in settling the reigns and deaths of some of our Saxon kings, who lived about this time, concerning which the copies of the Saxon Annals differ. From him to the conquest we meet with no historians, except Osbern, who wrote the Lives of St. Dunstan and St. Alphage, which are published in the first volume of Anglia Sacra; and the author of a treatise called Encomium Emmæ, being a short account of the times immediately preceding the reign of Edward the Confessor.

to the purpose to conclude what I have to say of the Anglo-Saxon church with a more particular account of this matter.

Augustin, the first bishop of the Saxons, receiving from the king of Kent some lands, for the maintenance of himself and the monks he brought with him, disposed of the profits of these lands and the offerings of Christians as he thought fit. But because he wanted instructions in this matter, he consulted Gregory I. who told him it was the custom in the church of Rome to divide the offerings into four portions, and distribute one of them for the maintenance of the inferior clergy. However, as Austin and his companions were monks of the same order, the pope exhorted them to live together as brethren. Thus also lived Aidan and Finan, bishops of the Northumbrians, who were monks as well as Austin, though of a different order. But it cannot be inferred from hence, that in all the churches the bishop and his clergy lived in common, as some pretend. On the contrary it seems to follow, from the bishop's being obliged to distribute the fourth part of the churches revenues among the clergy, that they did not live in common. Be this as it will, the bishop and clergy were maintained as well out of the profits of the lands given to the church, as by the daily offerings of the people.

The number of Christians daily increasing, and there being at first in each diocese, which contained a whole kingdom, but one church, it could not but be very inconvenient to many of the new converts to resort thither. It was necessary therefore that others should be built, and priests sent to officiate in them. These priests were not however fixed upon any particular church, but kept with the bishop, who sent out sometimes one, sometimes another, to minister in the remote churches, after which they returned to him. In proportion therefore as Christians increased, new churches were erected for the conveniency of those who lived at a distance from the cathedral. These churches were no more than chapels of ease to the principal church, to which belonged all the offerings that were made in the others. Accordingly the priests, at their return, put the offerings they had received into the bishop's hands, which served for the maintenance of the bishop, and the clergy that were about him. The priests then at first had no other titles but that of belonging to a certain diocese: for these first rural churches are not to be considered as distinct parishes, but as chapels belonging to the cathedral.

These

These rural churches were not at first very numerous. The reason is, because the lords who had large estates, were the only persons that founded them, and generally were contented with building one single church for the use of their vassals. The number of christians being greatly increased, it was become necessary to provide for the constant residence of a priest in each of these churches. But as the great men, as well as the people, did not care to have a new priest at every turn, the bishops were willing to continue the same to them; and from this time parishes may properly be said to commence. However, lest the priests, thus fixed to one cure, should be unmindful of their dependence on the cathedral, the bishops reserved in their own hands the revenues and oblations these churches were endowed with. This gave the founders some uneasiness: they could not bear to see the priest, who did all the duty, have so small a share of their donations. Wherefore the zeal of erecting new churches beginning to cool, at a time when there was most need of them, the bishops thought fit to yield a little. To this purpose they compounded with those who had a mind to build churches, and were satisfied with preserving to the cathedral a third or fourth part of the incomes, with the right of baptism and burial. This obstacle being removed, these private oratories became very numerous, almost every great man building one for the convenience of himself and vassals. Moreover, when any lord alienated part of his estate, the purchaser seldom failed of erecting a church in his new purchase. On the other hand, the bishops being greatly enriched by the grants made to their churches, built likewise churches on their lands, as well for the convenience of their tenants, as to imitate the nobles, among whom they themselves began to be ranked. By all these means the rural churches abounding every where, there was no necessity of sending priests from place to place, since each church, as was before observed, had one of its own: and thus by degrees the parochial division was settled. However, the bishops were long in possession of the tithes and oblations, till at length, in order to quicken more and more the zeal of christians, they removed this difficulty, which obstructed the building and endowing of churches. They not only left to the parochial priests the revenues the founders were pleased to assign, or, at least, the much greater part, but also granted them the power of administering the sacraments in their respective churches. This is the rise and progress of the parochial division, which was almost quite settled in the reign

Wharton's
Defence of
Pluralities,
p. 81.